

SELECTIONS

FROM THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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Nos. XXXII—XL, Dec. 1851—June 1854.

"No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world and, were they, but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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SELECTIONS
FROM THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

EASTERN MONACHISM.

BY REV DR. DUFF AND A FRIEND.

Eastern Monachism: an account of the Origin, Laws, Discipline, Sacred Writings, Mysterious Rites, Religious Ceremonies, and present circumstances, of the order of Mendicants, founded by Gôtama Budha (compiled from Singhalese MSS. and other original sources of information), with comparative notices of the Usages and Institutions of the Western Ascetics, and a review of the Monastic System; by R. Spence Hardy.
London. Partridge and Oakey, Paternoster Row. 1850.

WHEN the lark rises into the blue ether, it may sing as it soars; and whilst far away from the ken of the keenest eye, like a tiny skiff moored in an unruffled lake, it may float with motionless wing in its own undisputed dominion; but when the bird of passage addresses itself to its adventurous travel, in which hill and dale, and rolling river, in oft-repeated succession, will have to be crossed, and many a weary rood of the welkin measured with agitated pinion, a sternness of purpose and an indomitable perseverance are required for the accomplishment of the mighty task. By parity of process, there are some themes that we can treat lightly, and that are rather the play-toys of our leisure than the task-work of our more serious moments; but there are others that we must approach in a more solemn mood, as it is not possible to comprehend them in their immensity without patient and protracted research. The subject now before us partakes, in an eminent degree, of the more earnest of these characteristics. In an attempt at its elaboration, however, we have to descend rather than to rise; and the atmosphere around us resembles rather the murkiness that hovers above the morass, than the pure azure, in the midst of which the lark, we have started, would love to pour forth unseen its streams of melody.

There are many reasons why Buddhism deserves a more extended investigation than it has yet received. It is now, and has been nearly two thousand years, more widely spread than any other system. We speak numerically, and not of territory. This fact alone is strong proof that there must be within it some prehensile power that can lay hold upon man

with a grasp of amazing tenacity. And yet there is nothing in its exterior form, which would lead us to infer that it possesses a potency so great. Its energy, like that of the simoom of the desert, is imperceptible, except by the effects it produces. It contains, also, the germ of the scepticism of every age; and in its apparent respect for any creed whatever, that has in it the semblance of what it regards as the truth, maintaining that none are to be entirely rejected, though none but itself is to be entirely received, it is a perfect foreshadowing of too much of the educated mind of the present age. It ought to abate the pride of our modern sceptics, when they learn that their boasted discoveries are but a metempsychosis of primeval error. To call their system "neology" is a manifest misnomer. The wilds of Asia, in the most remote antiquity, generated thoughts that have only recently appeared in the schools of Europe. They are there regarded as being new, and as all-assimilative in their tendency; but with what truthfulness, let the times of old decide.

The archives of Buddhism are ample; and therefore it is not from the want of a pathway that its labyrinths have not been explored. Like all religions that abstract their votaries from the cares of the world, it has a vast mass of traditionary lore; and if a collection were to be made of its legends, Nepal, Burmah, Siam, Tibet, China, Japan and Ceylon, would each present its own voluminous *Acta Sanctorum*. The controversy as to whether its most precious remains are enshrined in Sanskrit or in Pali, has been set at rest by the admission of Mr. Brian H. Hodgson, "that the honours of Ceylonese literature and of the Pali language (as anticipated by Mr. Prinsep) are no longer disputable."

In the article on Buddhism, which appeared in our eighth number, many statements of fact were furnished, calculated to throw light on its "origin and diffusion." In the work which heads this article, Mr. Hardy has supplied information on one important department of the subject, which, to most of our readers, will be new—information, which we venture to say, is more full, more varied, more instructive, and more fraught with interest to the philosopher and the Christian philanthropist, than what is to be found in any other available book on Buddhism in the English, or any other language. In a prefatory note prefixed to the present volume, the author announces that he has prepared, and will publish if he receive encouragement, a work that is intended to be a synopsis of Buddhism, as the system is now professed in the sacred Lanká. In "*Eastern Monachism*" we have, therefore, little insight into the *general principles* of the system; as the author confines himself almost

exclusively to the affairs of the priesthood. Throughout the work, there are allusions to the analogous customs of other orders of ascetics, which will be of interest to many of its readers, but lessen its value in the estimation of the mere orientalist. In our notice of the work we shall confine ourselves to such parts of its contents as are more properly eastern in their character; and shall dwell more particularly upon the attributes of the system that are the least known out of the pale of Budhistical erudition. The author's information upon these subjects is derived from personal observation, during a residence of twenty years in Ceylon; from conversations with the priests, and from the perusal of Singhalese manuscripts.

The work is divided into twenty-four chapters, which we shall take in order; and we shall present as complete an analysis of their pages as our limits will permit.

I. *Gótama Budha*.—The venerated sage, who has more worshippers upon earth than any other being, was born, according to the Singhalese records, at Kapilawastu, B. C. 623-4. It was at the moment of his birth he uttered the arrogant exclamation—"I am the most exalted in the universe; I am its chief; I am the most excellent among all the beings it contains; this is my last birth; hereafter there is to me no other state of existence." At the age of sixteen, he was married to the beautiful Yasódhará, daughter of Supra Budha, who reigned at Kóli. Sudhódana, the father of Gótama, having learnt from the soothsayers that his son would become an ascetic, and that his resolution to leave the world would be caused by four things he would witness, viz., decrepitude, sickness, death, and the demeanour of a recluse—set a guard about him, that he might be prevented from meeting with any of the signs that were to produce consequences so important. Utterly bootless were all these precautions. First, he saw an old man wending his way with trembling steps and slow; then, a leper; afterwards, a putrid corpse; and more important than all, he met a recluse, whose modesty of deportment struck him as being worthy of universal imitation. It was on his way to a party of pleasure that he saw the last of these prohibited signs, and, whilst in the midst of its amusements, it was announced to him that Yasódhará was delivered of a son, his first-born child. On his return to the palace, the master of the revels gathered around him the most attractive courtezans; loud was the music, and rude the laugh; but the thoughts of the prince were away to the wilderness; and when the witching women saw that all they did to gain his attention was vain, their wiles became gradually less animated,

and after a time they fell asleep. But that which all their wantonness was unable to effect, was produced by the appearance of the sleeping throng. One was yawning here, and another rolling there, whilst a whole group were breathing loudly, in dissonant contrast to their former strain, so that the festive hall became to him a scene of aversion. This was all that was wanted to bring the thoughts of the prince to a practical issue. Already charmed by the gentle virtues of asceticism, and now disgusted with the pleasures of the world, he rushed at once into solitude, after a passing glance at his sleeping babe; and was enabled by the Dévas to elude the vigilance of the guard that had been placed around him by his anxious father. After a long course of arduous exercise, he became a supreme Budha, at the foot of a bó-tree, near which Budha Gaya was afterwards built. By virtue of his office, he now became supreme among all the intelligences of all worlds, and was in possession of an unlimited power to do or to know.

As this mysterious energy was the result of his own will, and came by intuition, not from the teaching of another; and as others, who were willing to pursue the same course, might attain to the same dignity, he began at once to proclaim the privileges connected with a renunciation of the enthrallment of sensuous existence; and in far less time than was required by the merchant of Mecca for the establishment of Islámism, thousands upon thousands had adopted the tenets of Gótama, and followed his example. Until the day of his death, he acted as the apostle of his own religion, wandering to Benares, Rajagaha, Wésáli, Sewet, and even Ceylon. Every where he gained converts to his creed. The opposition he met with was principally from the sect called Tirttakas; and, although the Brahmans are sometimes alluded to, we do not from this source derive any exalted idea of their respectability or influence. At the age of eighty years, Gótama Budha calmly expired, near Kusinára; his existence, according to his own dogma of Nirwána, passed into non-existence; and, after his body had been burnt with the honour due to his exalted rank, his relics were collected by his sorrowing disciples, among whom were many in the class of Rahats, that were not much inferior, either in power or wisdom, to their great teacher.

II. *The Laws and Regulations of the Priesthood.*—The number of the legislative enactments attributed to Budha, partakes of the immensity that characterizes all the thoughts of the Hindu. They are said to have amounted to ninety millions, one hundred and eighty-five lacks, and thirty-six. The more important of the laws, about 220 in number, are collected together in a manual, called in Pali, Pátimokkhan, which is to be

recited twice every month in an assembly of priests, at which not fewer than four must be present. At the commencement of his ministry, Gótama promulgated a more condensed code, as he was afraid that if, at the outset, he made known the sterner requirements of the institute, many persons would be deterred thereby from seeking to release themselves from the evils of existence. The items of this code were afterwards explained, modified, and enlarged, as the circumstances arose that called for additional legislative interference. There is a class of observances, called Teles-dhutanga, known also to the Chinese, to which allusion is frequently made in the works of the Singhalese authors. The priest by whom this class is respected, is to observe the following rules:—1. To reject all garments but those of the meanest description. 2. To possess not more than three garments. 3. To eat no food but such as has been received under certain restrictions. 4. To call at all houses alike, however mean they may be, when carrying the alms-bowl. 5. To remain on one seat when eating, until the meal be finished. 6. To eat only from one vessel. 7. To cease eating the instant that certain things occur. 8. To reside in the forest. 9. To reside at the foot of a tree. 10. To reside in an open space, without the covering of a roof. 11. To reside in a cemetery. 12. To take any seat that may be provided. 13. To refrain from lying down, under any circumstances whatever.

III. *Names and Titles.*—Under this head is included the vexed question, as to whether primitive Buddhism admits of such a distinction as the epithets Clerus and Laicus would designate. Into this controversy we shall not enter. Mr. Hardy says—"I have retained the word priest to designate the *sramana* of Budha; he is a monk as to the economy of his own life (if he live according to the stricter precepts), but a priest as to the world without; *clericus regularis*." The following are the principal names given to these wearers of the yellow robe:—1. *Sráwaka*, from the root *sru*, to hear, answering to the *ακουστικός* of the Greeks. 2. *Sramana*, from *srama*, the performance of asceticism, answering to the *ἀσκητής* of the ancient church. 3. *Th'éro*, or elder, answering to the *Zaken* of the Old Testament and the *πρεσβύτερος* of the New. 4. *Bhikkhu*, from *bhiksha*, to beg, literally a mendicant. This was the appellation generally used by Gótama when he addressed the priests.

IV. *The Noviciate.*—The aspirant to the privileges of the priesthood must be, at least, eight years of age, before he is allowed to commence the preliminary exercises, and must have the consent of his parents. No one who is diseased, a slave, or a soldier, can be admitted as a candidate, but any one else may

seek the privileges, and it was to this comprehensive arrangement that Buddhism was indebted for a great part of the success that attended it at its promulgation. The novice must be at least twenty years of age, before he can be ordained; but it does not appear how long the noviciate is to continue, if he enters on its duties in maturer years. The *Sámánera*, as the neophyte is called, usually begins his connexion with the monastery by becoming a pupil in the school of the priest; but when he has assumed the robe, he must comply with all the rules of the priesthood that are included in an abandonment of the world. At the time of his initiation, he has his head shaved, and bathes; and, taking a robe, he gives it to a priest, requesting that he may receive it again and be permitted to wear it. The priest then imparts to him the three-fold protective formulary, called *Tunsarana* :—

Budhang-saranang-gach'hámi,	I take refuge in Budha.
Dhammag-saranang-gach'hámi,	I take refuge in the Truth.
Saughang-saranang-gach'hámi,	I take refuge in the Associated Priesthood.

He is also required to repeat the ten ordinances, or obligations, and declare that he will observe them :—not to take life; not to take that which has not been given; to avoid sexual intercourse, the saying of that which is not true, and the use of intoxicating drinks; not to eat any solid food after mid-day; not to attend upon dancing, singing, music, or masques; to avoid the use of perfumes or flowers; not to use a seat or couch above the prescribed elevation; and not to receive gold or silver. The principal duties that are afterwards to be attended to are set forth in a manual called *Dina Chariyá*, or the daily observances, of which Mr. Hardy gives a translation. There are several other rituals that the novice is to learn by heart. If he omits any of his duties, he is likened to “a man who daubs himself all over with the most disgusting filth, in order to render himself beautiful; he is like an ass among cattle; he is shunned by all; he is like the fire of a cemetery where bodies are burnt, or like one blind, or an outcast.” There are five deadly sins that are especially to be avoided :—1. *Matricide*. 2. *Patricide*. 3. The murder of a *Rahat*. 4. Wounding the person of a supreme Budha (his life cannot possibly be taken). 5. Causing a schism among the priesthood.

A translation is given of the history of a Brahman youth, called *Rat'hapála*, intended to set forth the greatness of the difficulties that the novice has sometimes to encounter before he is allowed to assume the garb of the recluse. At its conclusion he declares to *Kórawya*, king of *Kuru*, the reasons that induced him to abandon the world. “Four aphorisms,” he says, “have been declared by Budha; and it was because I understood them, that

"I embraced the priesthood. They are :—1. The beings in this world are subject to decay ; they cannot abide long. 2. They have no protection, no adequate helper. 3. They have no real possessions ; all that they have they must leave 4. They cannot arrive at perfect satisfaction or content ; they are constantly the slaves of evil desire." After illustrating each of these positions, he proceeds to say :—"There are some men, who have much property, but on account of the false medium through which all things appear to them, it seems as if it were little ; they are covetous of more, and are continually trying to add to their possessions. There are kings who subdue the whole of the four quarters, even to the borders of the sea ; but they are still not content : they wish to cross the ocean, that they may find out more worlds to conquer, but they are never satisfied with what they acquire, and the craving continues until death. There is no means of satisfying the desire of the worldling. When he dies, his friends go about with disordered hair, and weep. They exclaim, he is gone, he is dead, and they then enwrap the body in cloth, and burn it upon the pyre. He cannot take with him either property or wealth ; even the corpse-cloth is burnt. When about to die, neither relatives, friends, nor companions can afford him any protection. He who dies, is accompanied only by his merit and demerit ; nothing else, whatever, goes with him ; he cannot take with him children, or women, or wealth, or lands. Decay is not prevented by riches, nor is old age ; and life continues only for a very little time. The rich and the poor, the wise and the unwise, men of every condition, must equally encounter death ; there is no one to whom its embrace will not come. The unwise man trembles at the approach of death ; but the wise man is unmoved. Wisdom is therefore better than wealth ; of all possessions, it is the chief ; it is the principal means by which evil desire is destroyed, and purity is attained. The cleaving to sensuous objects is the cause of many dangers, and prevents the reception of *nirvāṇa*. For these reasons I have embraced the seclusion of priesthood."

V. *Ordination*.—There is no word of ecclesiastical usage that properly designates the change undergone by the postulant, when he passes from the noviciate to the priesthood. It includes, in its consequences, both the profession of the regular, and the ordination of the secular priest ; and yet, in itself, it is a rite of the simplest kind. The mode in which the ceremony is conducted, appears in a work called *Kammawāchan*. A chapter of the priesthood having been called, the candidate is asked, if the requisites of the order (such as the alms-bowl, robes, &c., that have been previously prepared and deposited in the place

of assembly) belong to him. After answering in the affirmative, he is asked, if he is free from disease : if he is a human being, a man, and a freeman ; if he is out of debt ; if he is free from the king's service ; if he has the consent of his parents ; if he has attained the age of twenty years ; and if he is provided with the priestly requisities. A few other matters are then enquired into, and the moderator then requests him to advance. The candidate, addressing the venerable assembly, says respectfully thrice, " I request *upasampadā*," admission into the order of the priesthood. The moderator certifies that he is free from the impediments which would prevent his admission into the sacred community ; that he possesses the requisites, and requests "*upasampadā* ;" after which he thrice calls out, " Let him who assents to this request be silent ; let him who dissents from it, now declare it ! " If the assembly remain silent, the moderator infers that consent is given ; upon which he repeats to the candidate, the more important of the rules by which he will have to abide—relating to the food he may receive, the garments he may wear, the place in which he may reside, the medicaments he may use in case of sickness, and the crimes that involve expulsion from the priesthood. It is declared that these ordinances are worthy to be kept to the end of life, to which the candidate assents, without, however, taking any vow. From this time, he is regarded as being in possession of all the privileges of the priesthood.

In the life-time of the sages, when permission was given to a postulant to wear the garment of the recluse, Gótama simply said, " Come hither, mendicant " and it is affirmed that the requisites of the priesthood were supernaturally provided. It is not improbable, that the ceremony of "*upasampadā*" is an innovation upon primitive Buddhism.

There are other usages, of too interesting a character to be passed by without notice. " There is no order among the Buddhists," says Mr. Hardy, " distinct from that of the presbytery—the sangah being a congregation of elders presided over by a moderator, who is strictly *primus inter pares*. Whilst maintaining the necessity of a succession, the power is regarded as being resident in the association, and not in the individual. " The idea of a succession is not lightly treated by the Buddhists, " inasmuch as they consider that there can be no new *sangah* " unless its members have been admitted to the order by a previous sangah of legal constitution ; and they do not consider any sangah to be legally constituted, unless there has been, in the same manner, a succession of regular appointments, from the commencement of the order. When in any country the succession has been lost, no attempt has been made to create a

"spontaneous sangah. When better times have come, application has been made to some other country, for a renewal of the authority. And even when certain classes have been illegally shut out from this order, they have, in no instance that has come under my notice, regarded themselves as forming a perfect Church, until the succession was legally received. Furthermore, if all the priests in any given temple or district, though legally ordained, were to be guilty of some misdemeanor, requiring absolution, it would be out of their power to hold a legal sangah, until they had been absolved by some priest, who was free from the same impediment; and although the absolving priest were to be guilty of some other and even greater misdemeanor, it would be no bar to his power of absolution."

The order is not regarded as being indelible; and, as the ordinances are to be observed *durante bene placito*, a return to the world, under certain circumstances, is permitted, either for a temporary period, or until death. Inability to remain continent; impatience of restraint; a wish to enter upon worldly engagements; affection for parents or friends; or doubts as to the truth of the system propounded by Budha; are among the reasons that are regarded by Gótama as valid for the laying aside of the yellow robe. But no one is allowed to re-enter the priesthood, who has abandoned it, "without express permission had and obtained from a legal sangah." In some countries, almost every respectable male inhabitant enters the priesthood for a temporary period.

The upasampadá succession was several times lost during the wars of the Singhalese with their continental invaders. It was last renewed in the reign of Kirtti Sri, who, however, consented to an arrangement that was greatly opposed to orthodox Buddhism. A royal decree was issued, that ordination should be conferred only upon members of the gowi, or agricultural caste, this being the principal caste retained among the Singhalese. As Kandy was then the residence of the king, it was also forbidden to confer the privilege in any other place. These regulations produced great dissatisfaction among the inferior castes, and about the beginning of the present century, application was made by some of their number to the priests of Burmah, who admitted them into the sacred order. On their return to Ceylon, they established a new community, admitting postulants indiscriminately from all castes. In some other matters also, they profess to aim at a reformation of the unauthorized practices of the more ancient fraternity. The two communities regard each other with great bitterness and contempt.

VI. *Celebacy*.—The priest is told at his ordination, that “when the head is taken off, it is impossible that life can be retained in the body ; and that, in like manner, the priest who holds sexual intercourse, is thereby incapacitated from continuing to be a son of Sákya, or a sramana.”

The rules to be observed by the priest, that he may be prevented from transgressing the moral requirements of the institute, are numerous, and in their character, exceedingly comprehensive. As an instance of the complete abstraction under which the more devoted of the priests are said to live, we may extract the following narrative : The venerated Chittagutta resided in the Karandu-lena, a cave in the southern province of Ceylon, upon the walls of which were painted, in a superior manner, the stories of the Budhas. The cave was visited by some priests who greatly admired the paintings, and expressed their admiration to Chittagutta ; but he replied, that he had lived there sixty years, and had never seen them, and that he should not now have known of their existence, if it had not been for their information. There was near the entrance to the cave, a large ná-tree ; but he only knew that the tree was there, from the fall of the pollen and flowers. The tree itself he never saw, as he carefully observed the precept, not to look upward or to a distance. The king of Magan having heard of his sanctity, invited him to come to his palace, that he might have the privilege of worshipping him ; but though he sent three messages, the priest was unwilling to leave the cave. The king, to oblige him to comply, bound up the nipple of a woman who was giving suck to her child, sealed it with the royal seal, and declared that it should not be broken until he came. When Chittagutta heard of what the king had done, out of compassion, he went to the palace. The monarch worshipped him on his arrival, and told him that a transient sight of him was not sufficient, as he wanted him to impart to him the precepts during several days. This he did, in order that he might detain the priest ; and in this way, seven days passed over. At his departure, the king and his queens worshipped him, and the king carried his alms-bowl some distance ; but he merely said in return, “may you prosper.” When some other priests expostulated with him for not being more respectful, and told him that he ought to have said, “May you prosper, great king ; may you prosper, illustrious queens !” he replied, that he knew not to whom he was speaking ; he had not even noticed that they were persons of rank.

When the world is abandoned, all the affections of relationship are to be entirely annihilated. A priest, who resided at

Koranakara, in Ceylon, had a nephew who was a priest in the same Vihāra, but in the course of time, the nephew went to reside at Ruhuna, in the southern province of the island. After this, his parents were continually asking the older priest, if he had heard any news of their son. At last, as they were so importunate, he set out for Ruhuna, that he might enquire after the welfare of his nephew, and be able to satisfy the wishes of his parents. By this time, the nephew thought it would be well to go and see his uncle, as he had been absent from him a considerable period. The two priests met on the borders of the Mahaneli; and, after mutual explanations, the uncle remained near the same place, to perform a certain ceremony, and the nephew proceeded onward to his native village. The day after his arrival, his father went to invite him to perform the rite called *wass*, at his house, as he had heard that a stranger was come to the monastery. The priest accordingly went every day, for the space of three months, to his father's house, to say *hana*; but he was not recognised by any of his relatives. When the ceremony was concluded, he informed his parents that he was about to depart; but they entreated him to come the next day, and they then gave him a cruse of oil, a lump of sugar, and a piece of cloth nine cubits long. After giving them his blessing, he began his journey to Ruhuna. The two priests again met on the borders of the river, when the nephew informed his uncle, that he had seen his parents; and, at the same time, anointed his feet with the oil, gave him the sugar to eat, and presented to him the piece of cloth. He then proceeded on his journey, and his uncle set out to return to Koranakara. From the time that the son began to perform *wass* at his father's house, his parent went out every day in the direction of Ruhuna, to see if the priest was returning with his child; but when he saw him alone, as he concluded at once that his son was dead, he threw himself at the feet of the priest, wept, and lamented aloud. The priest saw the error into which the father had fallen, and made known to him what had taken place, convincing him of the reality of what he said, by showing him the cloth he had received. The father then went in the direction his son had gone, fell on his face and worshipped, saying that his son was without an equal, as he had visited his parents' house every day during three months, and yet never discovered himself to any of his relatives.

VII. *Poverty*.—The sramana is allowed to possess, in his own right, only eight articles, called *pirikara*, which are regarded as the requisites of the priesthood. 1, 2, 3. Robes of different descriptions, 4. A girdle for the loins. A *pātara*, or alms-

bowl. 6. A razor. 7. A needle. 8. A perahankada, or water-strainer. The strainer is considered to be a necessary article ; as, " if any priest shall knowingly drink water containing insects, " it is a fault that requires confession and absolution." As among other orders of ascetics, a distinction is made between the individual and the community : and a chapter of the priesthood can receive almost anything that the faithful choose to present, except gold and silver. The possessions of the sramanas in Ceylon are extensive, and include some of the richest domains in the island.

VIII. *Mendicancy*.—The priest is not allowed to bring within the door of his mouth any substance not given in alms, unless it be water, or some article used for the cleaning of the teeth ; and " when in health, the food that he eats, must " be procured by his own exertions in carrying the alms-bowl " from house to house, in the village or city near which he " resides." When going to receive alms, the bowl is slung across his shoulder, and is usually covered by the outer robe. It may be made of either iron or clay, but not of any other material. The priest may not, when carrying the bowl, by any word or sign whatever, intimate his wish to receive any particular alms, unless he be sick. But this law is not unfrequently evaded. There is an ancient legend, that a certain priest, who was suffering from hunger, went to a house to receive food. The woman of the house said that she had nothing to give him ; but she pretended that she would go and ask something from a neighbour, for which purpose, she left the house, and went to a little distance. The priest took the opportunity to look and see what the good woman had in her store ; and in the corner, near the door, he saw a piece of sugar-cane, he also saw some sugar-candy, salted meat, rice, and ghi, in different vessels ; after which he again retired to the outer court. When the woman returned, she said that she had not succeeded in obtaining any rice. The priest replied, " It is not a fortunate " day for our order ; I have seen an omen." She asked what it was, and he proceeded, " I saw a serpent, like a piece of sugar-cane ; on looking for something to strike it with, I saw some " stones like pieces of sugar-candy ; the hood of this snake was " like a piece of salted meat ; its teeth were like grains of rice ; " and the poisonous saliva falling from its gums was like ghi " in an earthen vessel." The woman, on hearing this, was unable to deny the truth of the inference ; so she presented the priest with the whole of the articles he had seen. But in this manner, to speak of what is near is forbidden ; it is *sámanta jappana*.

IX. *Diet.*—The requirements under this head are much less severe than might have been expected. The priest is entirely to abstain from the use of intoxicating drinks, as it is said that "they lead to indifference towards religion." After the sun has passed the meridian, he may not partake of solid food ; but, previous to that hour, he may eat whatever is presented to him, and, indeed, is absolutely forbidden to partake of anything else, but what is put into the bowl, when going his morning's round, unless food should have been provided for the priesthood of the Vihāra in which he lives, by some other mode. The death of Gótama was occasioned by eating pork.

X *Sleep.*—The night is divided into three watches, of four hours each. It is said that "Gótama slept during one-third of the third watch, or one hour and one-third. In the first watch he preached, or engaged in religious conversation ; in the second watch he answered questions put to him by the Dévas ; and in the first division of the third watch he slept, in the second, exercised meditation, and in the third, looked abroad on the world, with his divine eyes to see what being or beings it would be proper to catch in the net of truth during the day."

The last of the thirteen ordinances requires that the sramana, who keeps it, shall not lie down to sleep ; and, during the whole of one watch of the night, he must walk about. He may not recline at full length ; but may walk, or stand, or sit. All the ordinances of the dhutanga are divided into three classes, and the priest, who enters the superior class, may not lean on any place, or make his robe into a seat, or take hold of a piece of cloth fastened to a tree. He who enters the middle class is allowed to make use of any of these assistances. He who enters the third class may make seats (in particular ways that are mentioned.) But no member of any of the three classes is permitted to lie down.

XI. *The Tonsure.*—From the commencement of his noviciate the priest must be regularly shaved. All capillary excrescences are to be carefully removed from the body. There are fifteen evils connected with the growth of the hair, such as, that it must be ornamented, anointed, washed, perfumed, purified, unloosed, tied, combed, curled, unknotted, and freed from vermin ; and when it begins to fall off, there is regret. The hair is not to be permitted to grow to a greater length than two inches ; but it is the usual custom to shave every fortnight. The priests, generally, shave each other ; but it is not forbidden to have the operation performed by a laic.

XII. *The Habit.*—The precepts given in the Pátimokkhan,

relative to dress, are numerous. The priests are permitted to have three robes, and are not allowed to retain an extra robe more than ten days. The whole three are always to be in his possession, unless danger be apprehended, in which case, he may leave one robe in the village, but not more than six days, unless specially permitted. We have a further insight into the customs of the priesthood upon this subject, in a legend of the King of Kósala. His Queens having given 500 splendid robes, monuments of his affectionate munificence to the priests, he spoke in anger to Ananda, the nephew of Gótama Budha and his own personal attendant, and enquired if the priests intended to sell them, reminding him that Budha had declared that no priest was to have more than three robes. Ananda replied, "Yes, as their own property : but the priests may receive whatever is presented, in order that the giver may thereby obtain merit." The king enquired what the priests did with their old robes ; and the priests informed him, that after stitching them, they took them for loose wrappers. The king then enquired what became of the former wrappers ? Ananda : "They cut away the old pieces, and taking the good pieces that are left, they make them into inner robes." The king : "What becomes of the inner robes that have been cast off ?" Ananda : "They spread them upon the ground, that they may sleep on them at night." The king : "What becomes of the cloths upon which they slept previously ?" Ananda : "The priests spread them in the places where they dwell, that they may walk upon them." The king : "What is done with the cloths upon which they formerly walked ?" Ananda : "They make them into the rugs, upon which they wipe their feet." The king : "What becomes of their former rugs ?" Ananda : "They use the shreds in preparing the clay of which their huts are built." The king's anger was appeased by these answers ; and to show his satisfaction, he presented to Ananda 500 other robes of similar value, greatly praising the institutions of Budha.

XIII. *The Residence.*—There appears to be an inconsistency upon this subject in the teachings of Buddhism. Under some of its phases, it would seem to require peremptorily an abandonment of all the comforts connected with a substantial dwelling ; and yet, upon other occasions, it would appear as if the Vihára were a usual and necessary part of the economy. In the Pátimokkhan, it is directed, that "the residence of the priest, if it be built for himself alone, shall be twelve spans, according to the span of Budha in length, and seven in breadth inside. The site must be chosen in a place that is free from vermin, snakes, wild beasts, &c., that the life of the priest, or of those who

"resort to him, may not be in danger, and that the destruction of animal life may not be caused by its erection. There must be a pathway round it, wide enough for the passage of a cart. Before possession is taken, a chapter of the priests must pronounce, that it is not larger than the prescribed limits. Whether the residence is intended for one priest or for many, this rule must be observed. At the time the dwelling is erected, the priest may direct materials to be brought, two or three times, from grounds not under immediate cultivation, that the parts requiring stability, may be rendered firm ; but this number of times is not to be exceeded."

The priest who keeps the eighth of the thirteen ordinances, called *Araṇyakango*, is not allowed to reside near a village, but must remain in the forest, and never leave it, for any purpose whatever, if he belong to the superior class. The priest who keeps the ninth of the ordinances, called *Rukhamūlikhanga*, is to avoid all tiled houses, and live at the root of a tree (the root being defined to be the space within which the leaves fall, on a calm day, or on which the shadow falls at noon). But trees of the following kind are prohibited ; a tree at the limit of a country ; a tree in which any *Dēva* resides, who receives offerings from the people ; a tree whence gum is taken or edible fruits are gathered ; a tree in which there are owls ; or a hollow tree ; and a tree in the midst of the ground belonging to a *Vihāra*. The tenth of the ordinances, called *Abbhokāsikanga* enjoins, that the priest, who keeps it, shall not live in an inhabited place, or at the root of a tree, but in an open space. The eleventh of the ordinances, called *Sósānikanga*, requires the priest to live in a cemetery, a place where dead bodies have been deposited, or where they have been burnt. He may not make a place like a court of ambulation, nor frame a hut ; he may not sit on a chair, or recline on a couch ; and he is forbidden to provide water, as if it were a priest's regular dwelling. This is a very difficult ordinance, and is to be observed with much sorrowful determination. He is never to enter a house as he lives in the midst of the smoke arising from the funeral pile and the stench of dead bodies.

The residences of the modern priests are usually mean erections, in Ceylon and Burmah ; although the monasteries in Siam and China are of a more permanent character ; but in no country do we now find the devoted recluse of the primitive Buddhists.

XIV. *Obedience.*—As there must, necessarily, be great difficulty in keeping order among masses of celibates, who have few of the common cares of the world to engage their attention,

monastic discipline has always been stern in its character. Among the Sramanas, it is forbidden to the inferior priests to be in the company of the superior, or those who are more aged, without paying them proper respect. They are not to jostle them, nor go in front of them, when seated ; nor are they to sit on a higher seat, or to talk when near them, or, when talking with them, to use action of the hands or feet ; they are not to walk near them with their sandals on, or to walk about, in some part of the same court, at a higher elevation, or to walk at the same place at the same time. They are not to go before them, or press upon them, when carrying the alms-bowl. They are not to be harsh with the novices. And they are not to take upon themselves matters, with which they have no right to interfere, such as to put firewood in the place where water is warmed for bathing, or to shut the door of the bath without permission. If any priest causes divisions in the community, he will have to suffer for his crime, a whole kalpa, in one of the Narakas (hells).

XV. *The Exercise of Discipline.*—When the priests meet together, to listen to the reading of the Pátimokkhan, the position in which they are to place themselves, the order in which they are to sit, and the kind of place in which they are to assemble, are minutely prescribed. "When one section of the rule is "read," we learn from Eastern Monachism, "the enquiry is "made three times, if all that are present have observed the pre-
"cept ; and if no answer is given, it is supposed to be in the affir-
"mative ; but if any one has broken the precept, and does not
"confess it, he is regarded as being guilty of a wilful lie. When
"a priest has been guilty of any of the thirteen enumerated
"crimes that involve suspension and penance, and conceals
"the fact, upon its discovery, he is placed under restraint as many
"days as he has concealed it ; then for six nights he is subject to
"a kind of penance, and after this period he may be restored to
"his position by a chapter, at which twenty priests must be pre-
"sent. No priest is allowed to question the utility of reading the
"Pátimokkhan in the manner prescribed ; and if any priest is
"convicted of manifesting impatience, relative to the reading of
"this code, he is to confess his crime and receive absolution.
"The matters brought before the chapters are to be deliberately
"investigated, and the sentence is to be determined by the ma-
"jority. The modes of punishment that are appointed, are of the
"mildest description, including reprimand, forfeiture, penance,
"suspension, and exclusion. The principal exercises of penance
"appear to be, sweeping the court-yard of the Vihára, and
"sprinkling sand under the bó-tree, or near the Dágobah. In

"one legend, it is stated, that some ascetics, who were required, as penance, to go to the Ganges and take up a portion of sand which they were to bring to a certain place, had, by this means, in the course of time, made a mound of sand that was many miles in extent." It appears from the Thibetan works on Buddhism, as illustrated by Csoma Kőrös, that priests of that country were accustomed to put under ban or interdict, any person or family who had rendered themselves liable to ecclesiastical censure, in the following manner: In a public assembly, after the facts had been investigated, an alms-bowl was turned, with its mouth downwards—it being declared, by this act, that from that time, no one was to hold communication with the individual against whom the fault had been proved. According to the text, no one was to enter his house, or to sit down there, or to take alms from him, or to offer him religious instruction. After a reconciliation had taken place, the ban was taken off, by the alms-bowl being placed in its usual position.

XVI. *Miscellaneous Regulations.*—These will not admit of abridgment, and to transcribe the whole chapter would far exceed the space we have at command. We shall, therefore, confine our attention to one or two of the more important of the rules: "The priest is not allowed to take even so little as a blade of grass, when it is not given; and if he takes a sandal, or anything of the same value, or above that value, he ceases to be a son of Sákya, as the withered branch, that is severed from the tree, ceases to put forth the tender bud or bear fruit.

"The priest is not allowed, knowingly, to deprive any animal, though it be even so insignificant as an ant, of life; and if he deprives any being of life, though it be no more than the causing of a miscarriage, he ceases to be a son of Sákya, as the mountain that has been severed in two, cannot again be united.

"The priest (who is yet under the influence of the sensuous principle) is forbidden to make pretensions to the possession of the rehatship; and if any priest acts contrary to this precept, he ceases to be a son of Sákya, as the palm-tree cannot continue to grow, when deprived of the branches that form its head."

The above rules are literally translated from the Kammawáchan. Relative to the taking of life, we have further information from other sources. In the time of Gótama, there was a priest, who was under the influence of passion; and as he was unable to subdue it, he thought it would be better to die than to continue under restraint. In consequence, he threw himself from a precipice, near the rock Gijakúta; but it so hap-

pened, that as he came down, he fell upon a man who had come to the forest to cut bambus, whom he killed, though he did not succeed in taking his own life. From having taken the life of another, he supposed that he had become *pārājika*, or excluded from the priesthood; but when he informed Budha of what had taken place, the sage declared that it was not so, as he had killed the man unintentionally, his intention being to take his own life, whilst the death of the woodman was an accident. A law was made, however, forbidding the priests to commit suicide. Several stories are repeated, in the Thibetan Dul-vár, of suicide or poisoning among the priests or of causing themselves to be slain or deprived of life, out of despair, upon hearing of the various kinds of miseries or calamities of life. Budha, in consequence, forbade any one from discoursing on these miseries in such a manner as thereby to cause desperation. These circumstances will remind the classic reader of the story of Hegesias, whose gloomy descriptions of human misery were so overpowering, that they drove many persons to commit suicide, in consequence of which he received the surname of *Peisi-thanatos*.

In the city of Wésáli there was a priest, who, one day, on going with the alms-bowl, sat down upon a chair, that was covered with a cloth by which he killed a child that was underneath. About the same time, there was a priest, who received food mixed with poison into his alms-bowl, which he gave to another priest, not knowing that it was poisoned, and the priest died. Both of these priests went to Budha, and, in much sorrow, informed him of what had taken place. The sage declared, after hearing their story, that the priest who gave the poisoned food, though it caused the death of another priest, was innocent, because he had done it unwittingly; but that the priest, who sat upon the chair, though it caused only the death of a child, was excluded from the priesthood, as he had not taken the proper precaution to look under the cloth, and had sat down without being invited by the householder.

XVII. *The order of Nuns*.—An order of female recluses was instituted by Gótama: but the severe restrictions under which they were placed, are proofs of the low opinion he entertained of that division of the human species, which Christianity raises into the "better sex." "That, which is named woman," said Budha, with unwonted severity, "is sin," i. e., "she is not vicious, but vice." Other insults did he heap upon woman, which we shall not repeat. The female recluses carried the alms-bowl from door to door, in the same manner as the priests, and are represented as being present, upon some occasions, at

the chapters of the priests. They formed a chapter of their own, where females were admitted to the order. The converts were, in some instances, contiguous to the Vihāra; but the intercourse between members of the two orders was guarded by many restrictions. To violate a priestess involved expulsion from the priesthood, without the possibility of restoration.

In Ceylon, there are at present no female recluses. They exist in Burmah, but in far less numbers than the priests. They forsake the sisterhood, when they can secure husbands. The profession is looked upon as only a more respectable mode of begging. They are not numerous in Siam. In Arrakan they are equal in number to the priests. Their dress is white, and their heads are shaven. The Chinese nuns are said to be of coarse manners and unprepossessing appearance.

XVIII. *The Sacred Books.*—The Budhas, the sacred books, and the associated priesthood, are regarded as the three most precious gems of the universe. The second of these inestimable treasures is called in Pali, Dharma, which Mr. Hardy translates the Truth, under the supposition that the Law, its usual rendering, "gives an idea, contrary to the entire genius of Buddhism." In common conversation, it is called the Bana, or wood. The different portions of the Dharma, when collected together, were divided into two principle classes, called Suttāni and Abhidharmāni. These two classes are again divided into three collections, called respectively:—1. Winaya, or discipline. 2. Sutra, or discourses. 3. Abhidharma, or pre-eminent truths. The three collections are called in Pali, Pitakat-tayan, from pitakan, a chest, or basket, and tayo, three. A glossary and a commentary on the whole of the Pitakas were written by Budha-gōsha, about the year A. D. 420. It is not unfrequently said, but not with much precision, that the Winaya was addressed to the priest, the Sūtra division to the laity, and the Abhidharma to the Dévas and Brahmans of the celestial worlds. The Winaya Pitaka is divided into five books (the names of which are given), and contains 42,250 gāthās or granthas, whilst the commentary contains 27,000. The Sūtra Pitaka divided into seven sections, contains 142,250, and the commentary 254,250. The Abhidharma Pitaka contains 96,250, and the commentary 30,000. Thus, according to the native authorities, the discourses of Budha contain 84,000 khandas, 737,000 gāthās (including the commentaries), and 29,368,000 separate letters. The information upon these subjects is taken from Turnour's Mahawansa; Turnour's *Plia Buddhical Annals*, the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, July 1837; Gogerly's *Essay on Buddhism*, *Journal of the Ceylon*

Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I., and from the Singhalese Sadharmálarkáre.

The system that bears the name of Gótama was not committed to writing during the life-time of the sage. It is said that his discourses were preserved in the memory of his followers, during the space of 450 years, after which they were reduced to writing in the island of Ceylon. For the establishment of the text of the Pitakas, three several convocations were held. The first was at Rajagaha, sixty-one days after the death of Gótama; the second was at Wésáli, B. C. 443; and the third was at Pátali-putra, B. C. 308. Of each of these convocations, the history is given, taken from Shinghalese authorities. "The whole of the text of the Pitakas was rehearsed, every syllable being repeated with the utmost precision, and an authentic version established, though not committed to writing. As the whole of the persons who composed these assemblies, were rahats, and had, therefore, attained to a state in which it was not possible for them to err on any matter connected with religion, all that they declared was the truth; every doctrine was correctly delivered, and, in the repetition of the words of Budha, and of the other interlocutors, the *ipsissima verba* were faithfully declared. The rahats did not possess inspiration, if we consider this power to mean a supernatural assistance imparted *ab extra*; but they had, within themselves, the possession of a power, by which all objective truths could be presented to their intellectual vision. They, therefore, partook of what, in other systems, would be regarded as divinity." At the second and third convocations, the text was repeated without any alteration, except that an account of the previous convocations was added. It was further preserved in a similar manner, *i. e.*, *memoriter*, from the reign of Asóka to that of Wattagamani, who was king of Ceylon, from B. C. 104 to B. C. 76. It was then according to the Mahawansa, Chapter XXX, first committed to writing:—"The profoundly wise priests had, therefore, orally perpetuated the text of the Pitakattayan and the Atthakatha commentary. At this period, these priests, foreseeing the perdition of the people (from the perversions of the true doctrines) assembled; and, in order that religion might endure for ages, recorded the same in books." It is said that when Mahendra, son of the monarch Asóka, introduced the religion of Budha into Ceylon, he carried thither, in his memory, the whole of the commentaries, and translated them into Singhalese. By Budha-Gósha, about A. D. 420, they were again translated from Singhalese into Pali; and it is this version that is now in existence, the original Pali version

and the Singhalese version having alike perished. It is said in the Mahawansa, Chapter XXXVII., that "all the Th'éros" and Acháriyas held this compilation in the same estimation as "the original text." Until recently, this was also acknowledged by the priests of Ceylon; but when the manifest errors with which the commentaries abound, were brought to their notice, they retreated from this position, and now assert, that it is only the express words of Budha which they receive as undoubted truth.

The high state of cultivation to which the Pali, the vernacular language of Magadha in the time of Gótama, was carried, may be inferred from the fact, that a list of works in the possession of the Singhalese, formed by our author during his residence in Ceylon, includes thirty-five works on Pali grammar, some of them being of considerable extent. The oldest of the grammars referred to in these works is by Kachchayana; but the original is not now extant in Ceylon. It contains the well-known stanza.—"There is a language which is the root (of all languages;) men and Brahmas, at the commencement of the kalpa, who never before heard or uttered a human accent, and even the supreme Budhas spoke it—it is Mágadhi." The Singhalese suppose that it is also the language of the Déva and Brahma lókas. They have a story, in proof of its authority, similar to that which is related of the Egyptian Psammetichus.

XIX. Modes of Worship, Ceremonies, and Festivals.—The Budhists of the present age are invariably image-worshippers; but it is not known at what period they adopted this custom. The Singhalese have a legend, that, in the life-time of Gótama, an image of the sage was made, by order of the King Kósala; and the Chinese have a similar story; but it is rejected by the more intelligent of the priests. The limits of the Vihára are to be defined by a chapter, the form to be used on the occasion appearing in the Khammawáchan. It is not a consecration, but a segregation, or appointment of boundaries. Attached to one of the Viháras in Kandy, near the burial-place of the kings, there is an area, which was regarded as a sanctuary under the native Government. In the court-yard of nearly every temple in Ceylon, there is a bó-tree, supposed to have sprung from the tree under which Gótama attained the Budhaship. The authority to worship this tree is derived from the following occurrence:—"At the time when the usual residence of Gótama was near the city of Sewet, the people brought flowers and perfumes to present to him as offerings; but as he was absent, they threw them down near the wall of the Vihára, and went away. When Anápidu and the other lay

"devotees saw what had occurred, they were grieved, and
 "wished that some permanent object of worship were appointed,
 "at which they might present their offerings, during the absence
 "of the sage. As the same disappointment occurred several
 "times, they made known their wishes to Ananda, who
 "informed Budha on his return. In consequence of this inti-
 "mation, Budha said to Ananda :—' The objects that are
 "proper to worship are of three kinds, *serfika*, *uddésika*, and
 "paribhógika. In the last division, is the tree under which I
 "became Budha. Therefore, send to obtain a branch of that
 "tree, and set it on the court of this Vihára. He who worships
 "it, will receive the same reward as if he worshipped me in
 "person.' When a place had been prepared by the king for its
 "reception, Mugalan went through the air, to the spot in the
 "forest where the bó-tree stood, and brought away a fruit
 "that had begun to germinate, which he delivered to Ananda,
 "from whom it passed to the king, and from the king to
 "Anapidu, who received it in a golden vessel. No sooner was
 "it placed in the spot it was intended to occupy in the court,
 "than it at once began to grow ; and as the people looked
 "on in wonder, it became a tree, large as a tree of the forest,
 "being 50 cubits high, with five branches extending in the five
 "directions, each 50 cubits in length. The people presented
 "to it many costly offerings, and built a wall around it of the
 "seven gems." By this legend, the arborolatriy of the Budhists
 is carried back to the origin of their system. The vastness
 of the ruins now seen at Budha Gaya, is evidence that the
 original bó-tree must have been visited by great numbers, and
 have been regarded with peculiar veneration.

The *dágobas*, under which relics of the Budhas, or of their
 more celebrated disciples, have been placed, are found in all
 countries, where there are any traces of Budhism. The most
 stupendous are those at Anurádhapura, in Ceylon. The Ab-
 hayagiri *dágoba* is now only 230 feet high, but at its erection
 it towered to the elevation of 450 feet being about 50 feet
 less than the highest of the pyramids. The Jaitawanaráma,
 completed A. D. 310, was originally 315 feet high, though
 now reduced to 269 feet. It has been calculated that the
 contents of this erection are 456,071 cubic yards and that a
 brick wall, 12 feet high, 2 feet broad, and 97 miles long, might
 be built with the materials that yet remain. All the mounds in
 this neighbourhood have been built of brick, and covered
 over with a preparation of lime, coconut-water, and the juice
 of the paragaha. This composition is of so pure a white, and
 can be so highly polished, that when perfect, the structures are

said to have resembled "a crystal dome or a half-melted iceberg." The circumambulation of the *dágoba* is regarded as a work of great merit, and any mark of disrespect to it, is a grave crime. After the cremation of Gotáma's body, his remains were collected, and worshipped by his followers with tokens of the most profound respect. The most celebrated relic now in existence is the *Daladá*, or left canine tooth of the sage. The sanctuary of this treasure is a small upper chamber in the *Vihára*, attached to the palace of the former kings of Kandy, where it is deposited in a costly shrine, composed of six cases, the outermost of which, upwards of 5 feet high, is formed of silver, on the model of a *dágoba*.

Another form of relic-worship is seen in the respect paid to the impressions of Gotáma's foot, called *Srí srí-pada*. One of these impressions was left by him on the summit of the mountain, called Adam's Peak by Europeans—7,420 feet above the level of the sea. The soles of his feet are represented as being divided into 100 compartments, each of which contained within it some emblem or figure.

If Gotáma has passed away from existence, it appears singular that he should be worshipped at all, as he can now render no manner of aid whatever to his most devoted followers. Is he not unconscious? How, then, can he bless? The argument is illustrated by the Budhists from a great number of comparisons: but the following extracts from a long conversation between the priest *Nágaséna* and *Milinda*, King of *Ságal*, will suffice for our present purpose:—*Nágaséna*: "Does the earth say (when its vegetable productions appear), Let such and such trees grow upon my surface?" *Milinda*: "No." *Nágaséna*: "Then how is it that flowers, and buds, and shrubs, and trees, and creepers, passing from one to the other, are produced?" *Milinda*: "The earth, though itself unconscious, is the cause of their production." *Nágaséna*. "Even so, Budha, though now unconscious, is nevertheless the source of comfort, to those who seek his protection..." *Nágaséna*: "Did you never hear of the *Yaká Nandaka*, who struck the head of the priest *Serizut* with his hand, and the earth clove, and he went down to hell? Was this cleaving of the earth brought about by the will and appointment of *Serizut*?" *Milinda*: "No; this could not be: the world and "all the beings that inhabit it, might pass away; the sun and "moon might fall to the earth, and *Maha Méru* be destroyed; "but *Serizut* could not wish the endurance of sorrow by any "being whatever; the rising of anger would be at once over—"come by the virtue he possessed as a *rahat*; he could not be

"incensed even against his murderer. It was by the power of "his own demerit that Nandaka was sent to hell." Nágaséna : "It was even so. But if this demerit, though itself unconscious, could cause the yaká to be taken to hell, so may "merit, though also unconscious, cause those who possess it, to "be taken to a Déva-lóka, and receive happiness" Thus, as the worshipping of Budha is a merit, and all merit is followed by an adequate reward naturally from its own innate power, though there be no conscious entity to appoint it ; so will the man, who worships Budha, receive a reward for his act, though Budha is unconscious of its performance.

The principal festivals of the Budhists are at the reading of the "*bana*," during the three months of the rainy season, when the priests are permitted by their founder to live in a fixed habitation. This period is called *wass*. The place of reading is a temporary erection, usually seen near a Vihára. In the centre, there is an elevation for the convenience of the priests, around which the people sit upon the ground. These erections present, upon some occasions, an imposing appearance ; and the crowds that assemble, all in the gayest attire, behave with much propriety ; but they can derive no moral benefit from the ceremony, as it is conducted in a language they do not understand. The platform is occupied by several priests at the same time, one of whom reads a portion of the sacred books, in a kind of recitative, between singing and reading. Upon some of the festivals, one priest reads from the original Pali, and another interprets in the vernacular Singhalese ; but this method is not very frequently adopted. Whenever the name of Budha is repeated by the officiating priest, the people call out simultaneously, "Sádhu !" which gives them a participation in the proceedings, and prevents them from going to sleep.

The *bana* is usually read on the days called *polo*, when there is a change of the moon. Upon these days, it is not proper for the upásakas, or lay disciples, to do any manner of work ; they are not "to trade, or calculate the profits of trade." Their food is to be prepared on the preceding day ; and they are to spend their leisure moments in reflecting on "the impermanency, sorrow, and unreality connected with all things."

There is a ceremony called Páritta, or Pirit, which consists in reading certain extracts from the "*bana*," intended as a protection from the malice of the yakás. These discourses have been translated by that distinguished Pali scholar, the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, and appeared in the *Ceylon Friend*, April 1839. The ceremony continues during seven days—a preparatory ceremony being held on the evening of the first day. From the com-

mencement of the service on the morning of the second day, until its conclusion on the evening of the seventh day, the reading platform is never to be vacated, day or night. Not fewer than twelve, and in general twenty-four priests are in attendance, two of whom are constantly reading. When the courses are relieved, one priest continues to read, whilst the other resigns his seat to his successor, so that the sound of the "bana" never ceases. All the priests engaged in the ceremony are collected, three times in each day, at sunrise, mid-day, and at sunset, when they chaunt in chorus the three principal portions of the Pirit.

In some parts of Ceylon, the priests are partially supplanted by the upāsakas, who go about from house to house, after the manner of the Scripture-readers in Europe, and read works on religion that are written in the vernacular Singhalese. The same custom prevails in other countries, where this system is professed, and is attended with important results.

XX. *Meditation.*—In this, and the following chapter, we are introduced to some of the extravagancies of thought and action that are peculiar to the inhabitants of India ; that other nations have striven in vain to imitate ; and that present to the moralist a field of almost limitless investigation. There are said to be five principal modes of meditation :—1. Maitú. 2. Mudita. 3. Kaaruna. 4. Asubha. The account given of the last will be the most suited to our limits ; and, from its description, an idea may be formed of the character of the rest.

"The principal meaning of the word 'asubha' is inauspicious—
"that which is the opposite of good fortune ; and so, that which
"produces dissatisfaction, aversion, and disgust. In this exercise,
"the priest must reflect that the body is composed of thirty-two
"impurities ; that as the worm is bred in the dunghill, so it is
"conceived in the womb ; that it is the receptacle of filth, like a
"privy ; that disgusting secretions are continually proceeding
"from its nine apertures ; and that, like the drain into which all
"kinds of refuse are thrown, it sends forth an offensive smell.
"This is asubha bháwaná.

"The body exists only for a moment ; it is no sooner born
"than it is destroyed ; it is like the flash of the lightning as it
"passes through the air ; like the foam ; like a grain of salt
"thrown into water, or fire among dry straw, or a wave of the
"sea, or a flame trembling in the wind, or the dew upon the
"grass. He, who exercises meditation, must reflect upon these
"comparisons, and learn that thus impermanent is the body.

"By a continued repetition of birth and death, the sentient
"being is subject to constant suffering ; he is thus, like a worm

" in a nest of ants ; like a lizard in the hollow of a bambu that
 " is burning at both ends ; like a living carcase, bereft of hands
 " and feet, and thrown upon the sand ; and like an infant that,
 " because it cannot be brought forth, is cut from the womb piece-
 " meal. He who exercises this mode of meditation, must think
 " of these comparisons, and of others that are similar, and remem-
 " ber that their application is universal. These are the signs
 " connected with *dukha*, sorrow, or suffering.

" The body is unreal, even as the mirage that appears in the
 " sunshine, or a painted picture, or a mere machine, or food seen
 " in a dream, or lightning dancing in the sky, or the course of an
 " arrow shot from a bow. He who exercises meditation, must
 " think on these comparisons, that, in like manner, the body is
 " unreal, ' anata.'

" These three reflections on the impermanency, suffering, and
 " unreality of the body, are as the gates leading to the city of
 " *nirwāna*.

" The ascetic, who would practise this mode of meditation,
 " must apply to some one who is able to instruct him, who must
 " take him to a cemetery, and point out to him the offensive parts
 " of a dead body ; but if he hears that there is a body in the
 " forest, he must not go there, as he may be in danger of the wild
 " beasts that are attracted to the same spot ; nor must he go to
 " any place that is very public, as in such a spot his mind would
 " be distracted by the various scenes he would witness, and he
 " would meet with women. A man must not meditate on the
 " body of a woman, nor a woman on the body of a man. When
 " about to leave the Vihāra, he must inform the superior priest
 " of his intention, as in the place where the body is deposited there
 " will be noises from yakās and wild beasts, and he may become
 " so much afraid as to be sick. The superior priests will see that
 " his alms-bowl and other requisities are taken care of during his
 " absence. And there is another reason why he should give no-
 " tice of this intention. The cemetery is a place resorted to by
 " robbers ; and when they are chased, they might throw down
 " their booty near the place where the priest was meditating ;
 " and when the people come in pursuit, and see the articles near
 " him, they might accuse him of the theft ; thus, he might be
 " exposed to much trouble. But if the superior priest could
 " affirm that he went to meditate, he would be freed from sus-
 " picion at once. He must go to the place of meditation with
 " joy ; as the king goes to the hall where he is to be anointed, or
 " the Brahman to the yāga sacrifice, or a poor man to the place
 " where there is hidden treasure. He may take with him a staff

"to drive away dogs and wild beasts. In the exercise, he must turn his eyes and ears inward, and must not allow them to wander after anything that is without, save that he must remember the direction in which he came. In approaching the body, he must not come from the leeward, or he may be overpowered by the smell, and his mind will become confused. But if there be in the other direction any rock, fence, water, or other hindrance, he may approach the body from the leeward, provided he cover his nostrils with the corner of his robe. In fixing his eyes on the body, he must look athwart the course of the wind; he must not stand near the head or feet, but opposite the abdomen; not too near, or he may be afraid; nor too far off, or the offensive properties will not rightly appear. He must meditate on the colour of the body; its sex, age, and different members, joints, and properties—that this is the head, this the abdomen, and that these are the feet; and he must pass in order to the different parts of the body, from the foot to the head. Thus, in relation to the hair of the head, the following reflections must be made:—'It is different to all other parts of the body, even to the hair that grows in other places; it is in every respect impure; when not regularly cleaned, it becomes offensive; and, when thrown into the fire, it sends forth a disagreeable smell.' Fixing his eyes on the body, he must think a hundred and a thousand times on its offensiveness; that it is like a bag filled with wind, a mass of impurity; and that none of its excretions can be taken in the hand. And at times he must shut his eyes, and think inwardly and intensely upon the same subjects. All dead bodies are alike; the body of the king cannot be distinguished from that of the outcaste, nor the body of the outcaste from that of the king."

The course of discipline upon which the sramana is invited to enter, is most painful; but its results are a commensurate advantage. "Whoever considers these things," says Gótama, "will be convinced that in the body there is nothing but decay and misery; and therefore he will cast off all affection for it, and turn all his desires to *nirwána*, when these things do not exist."

XXI. *Ascetic Rites and Supernatural Powers.*—It is believed by the Budhists, that it is possible, by the performance of certain ceremonies, and the observance of a prescribed course of moral action, to arrive at the possession of supernatural powers. The circumstances in which the recluse of India is placed, are eminently fitted to prepare him for an unwonted extravagance of pretension; and as we glance at the record of his deeds, we

seem to be perusing the history of some ærial being, or of the inhabitant of some other world, rather than that of one, who is of the earth, and mortal.

One of the principal of these rites is called *Kasina*. Its moral intention appears to be, by fixing the mind intensely upon some serious object, to free it from agitation, and bring it to the imperturbable calm that is regarded as the highest state to which any intelligence whatever can aspire. Its mode of action is thus illustrated. When a bullock, unaccustomed to the yoke, is fastened to a waggon, it runs hither and thither, in any direction, whether there be a road or not. The husbandman therefore, takes a grown-up calf from its mother, and fastens it to a pillar; and, though at first it attempts to get away and is restless, it is not able; it is made to eat and sleep near the pillar, until its wildness is overcome; and in this manner it is, by degrees, rendered docile. So also the mind of the priest, who does not exercise the various ordinances of meditation, wanders after that which he sees, and is never at rest; but when he fastens his mind to the prescribed objects by the cord of wisdom, it is restrained, and is no longer attracted by sensuous appearance.

There are ten descriptions of *Kasina*, or ten prescribed objects, to which the mind may direct itself for the production of tranquillity. 1. *Pathawi*, earth. 2. *Apo*, water. 3. *Tégo*, fire. 4. *Váyo*, wind. 5. *Níla*, blue. 6. *Píta*, golden. 7. *Lóhita*, blood-red. 8. *Odáta*, white. 9. *Ahóka*, white. 10. *Akása*, space. Of each of these *Kasinas* we have a full description. The priest, who exercises the first, must make a frame of four sticks, which may be set up in such a way as to be easily removable to another place, or it may be fixed in the ground. Upon the top, a piece of skin, or cloth, or matting, must be extended, upon which earth must be spread, free from grass, roots, sand, and pebbles; and it must be well tempered, and made very smooth. After being gradually kneaded and worked, until it is of the proper consistency, it must be formed into a circle one span and four inches in diameter. If the frame be fixed in the ground, it must be narrow at the bottom and broad at the top, like the flower of the lotus. The circle of earth is to be to him as a sign upon which he is to fix his attention, like a man looking at himself in a mirror. In some circumstances, the circular threshing-floor in a field may be used as the sign; and, if the priest has been accustomed to exercise *Kasina* in former births, the sign may be dispensed with altogether. When a sign is used, it is necessary that it has a limit. When the frame has been properly prepared, the priest must take

water that falls from a rock, and therewith render the circular limit of earth perfectly smooth and even, like the head of a drum. Then, having bathed, he must sweep the place where the frame is erected, and place a seat, without any irregularities on its surface, one span and four inches high at the distance of two cubits and one span from the frame. Remaining upon this seat, he must look at the circle, and exercise meditation. If the seat be further distant than the prescribed space, he will not be able to see the circle properly, and, if nearer, its imperfections will be too apparent. If it be higher, he will have to bend his neck to see this circle; if lower, his knees will be pained. Thus seated, he must reflect on the evils connected with a repetition of existence, and on the manner in which it is to be overcome. By this method he will arrive at the possession of *nimitta*, or interior illumination, which will prepare him for the exercise of *dhyāna*, and initiate him into the deeper mysteries of the system.

The acquisition of supernatural energy is the result of these performances: and it is varied in its character and degree by the particular method pursued by the ascetic. "By the practice of *pathawi-kasina*, the priest will receive the power to multiply himself many times over; to pass through the air or walk on the water; and to cause an earth to be made, on which he can walk, stand, sit, or lie. By *apo kasina*, he can cause the earth to float, create rain, rivers, and seas; shake the earth and the rocks and the dwellers thereon; and cause water to proceed from all parts of the body. By *tejo-kasina*, he can cause smoke to come from all parts of the body, and fire to come down from the sky like rain; by the glory which comes from his person, he can overcome that which comes from the person of another; he can dispel darkness, collect cotton or fuel, or other combustibles, and cause them to burn at will: cause a light, which will give the power to see in any place as with divine eyes; and, when at the point of death, he can cause his body to be spontaneously burnt. By *vayo-kasina* he can move as swiftly as the wind; cause a wind to rise whenever he wishes, and can cause any substance to move from one place to another, without the intervention of a second person. By the other *kasinas*, respectively, the priest who practises them in a proper manner, can cause figures to appear of different colours; change any substance whatever into gold, or cause it to be of a blood-red colour, or to shine so with a bright light; change that which is evil into that which is good; cause things to appear that are lost or hidden; see into the midst of rocks and the earth, and penetrate into

"them; pass through walls and solid substances, and drive away evil desire."

There is another power, called *puti-udwega*, which enables its possessor to rise into the air, and pass through it to any distance; and yet another, called *sacha-kiriza*, which acts as a powerful charm. By the aid of the last-mentioned energy, the courtesan, Bindumati, was enabled to cause the waters of the Ganges to flow back towards their source.

XXII. *Nirwāna: its Paths and Tuition.*—By nirwāna, some persons understand annihilation; others a celestial tranquillity; but by our author, it is called, "the cessation of existence." The passages from native authors which he has translated, presenting the arguments through which he was led to form this conclusion, are of deep interest, but would require a dissertation devoted to this subject alone, to make them understood by those who are strangers to Buddhistical ontology. According to this system, if Mr. Hardy's conclusions be correct, all sentient beings are called upon to regard the cessation of existence as the only means, by which they can obtain a release from the evils of existence. This can only be accomplished by cutting off the moral cause of its continuance, viz., cleaving to existing objects. This sensuous adherence may be got rid of by obtaining freedom from the efficient cause of its continuance, which is *karma*, or the united power of *kusala*, merit, *akusala*, demerit, and *awyakratya*, that which is neither one nor the other. In order that this may be obtained, there must be "an entrance into one of the paths leading to nirwāna." In the sequence of existences propounded by Gótama, the two causes we have named, are not coeval, but consecutive, as in a chain composed of many links. The entire chain, one link naturally and necessarily producing the sequent link, is as follows:—ignorance; merit and demerit; the conscious faculty; the sensitive power; the perceptive powers; the reasoning powers; the body; the six organs of sense; contact, or the action of the organs; sensation; the desire of enjoyment; attachment; existence; birth; decay; sorrow in all its forms; and death. (See Gogerly's Essay on Buddhism, Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, i. 15). Thus, the process is rather like the undulations of a wave, one producing the other, and flowing into it, than the independent links of a chain.

The first of the four paths leading to nirwāna is called *sowān*. After it has been entered, there can be only seven more births between that period and the attainment of nirwāna, which may be in any world but the four narakas. The second is called *sakradágāmi*, because he who enters it, will

receive one more birth. He may enter this path in the world of men, and afterwards be born in a Déva-lóka; or he may enter it in a Deva-lóka, and afterwards be born in the world of men. The third, *anāgami*, is so called, because he who enters it, will not again be born in a sensuous world. He may, by the apparitional birth, enter a Brahma-lóka, and from that world attain nirwána. The remaining path, *arya*, that of the rahat, is so called, because he who enters it, has overcome, or destroyed as an enemy, all cleaving to sensuous objects. The rahat, at his death, invariably attains nirwána. When the fruit-tree is cut down, the latest fruit that is in it, which has not yet appeared, but which would appear in due time if the tree were premitted to grow, is destroyed. In like manner, by an entrance into the fourth path, the principle is destroyed that would otherwise have remained, and brought forth the fruit of successive existence.

Nirwána is said to be "the destruction of all the elements of existence." It is the end of sangsára, or successive existences—that which, in other systems, would be called transmigration, but of transmigration in the strict sense of the term, Buddhism knows nothing. It is an arriving at the opposite shore of existence—its completion. In answer to a question put to him by Milinda, Nágaséna said, "When the most meritorious Budha has attained nirwána, then there is no repetition of birth; we cannot say that he is here, or that he is there. When a fire is put out, or a lamp is extinguished, can it be said of the heat or the light, that it is here, or that it is there? Even so, our Bhagawat has attained nirwána."

XXIII. *The Modern Priesthood*.—As the priests procure their food by taking round the alms-bowl, they are as regularly seen every morning in the street of the villages and towns, where Buddhism is professed, as the postmen or costermonger is at the door at the dwellers in Britain. They usually walk along the road at a measured place, apparently unconscious of the scenes that are passing around. They have no covering for their shaven heads however fierce may be the sunbeams, and are generally bare-footed. They carry a fan in the right hand, with which they cover the face, when in the presence of any object it is improper for them to look upon. The alms-bowl is slung from the neck, and, except when held out for the reception of the alms that are presented, it is covered by the robe. The priest is easily distinguished from all other persons by his bare head and yellow garment.

The priests of Ceylon do not refuse to hold intercourse with Europeans. Our author was frequently visited by them

at his own house, especially by one old man, who had travelled through Bengal, Burmah and Siam, and prided himself upon being able to make calomel much better than the European doctors, as his preparation did not cause the falling out of the teeth, soreness of the mouth, or salivation. He learnt the secret from an ancient sage, whom he met with, under circumstances of much mystery, in one of the forests of India. Mr. Hardy informs us that when travelling through unfrequented parts of Ceylon, he was accustomed to take up his abode at the priest's *pansal* and was seldom refused a night's lodging, or a temporary shelter during the heat of the day. The priest would bring out the alms-bowl, when they saw that he was hungry, and stirring about the contents with the bare hand, exhibit them before him, that he might be tempted to partake of them; or they would bring tobacco, or some other luxury, to express their satisfaction at his visit. All that he had with him was a wonder to them, from the mechanism of his watch to the material of his hat. The paper upon which the Scriptures or Tracts he gave them was printed, was supposed to be the leaf of some English tree.

The priests of Budha manifest little hostility to the other religions that are professed around them. They cannot, consistently with the tenets they profess to venerate, be persecutors. At the commencement of the Wesleyan Mission, the priest of a certain village requested the use of the school-houses in which to read "bana," and could scarcely be brought to understand the motives upon which it was refused.

There is a school attached to each of the *pansals*, and in all Budhistical countries, the ability to read is general among the more respectable members of the male population. There is a regular course through which the student has to pass before his education is regarded as complete; but the teachings of the sramana, though his appliances are vast, are not calculated either to expand the intellect or purify the heart. The attendance of the children must be a great relief to the monotony of the priest's life; they tell him the news of the day, are a link between his seclusion and the world without, and assist him in such little offices as lighting his fire, bringing water from the well, running to the jungle to find some herb to make his potage more savoury, &c.

The interests of literature among the yellow-robed clergy appear to be at a low mark. No new books are written; no additions are made to the *pansal* library. The study of Pali is almost entirely neglected; and many of the priests are unable

to read at all. There is a general inertness as to the present, and a tone of despondency when referring to the future.

"In no part of the island that I have visited," says the author of *Eastern Monachism*, "do the priests, as a body, appear to be respected by the people; though there are individual exceptions, in which a priest is popular, either from his learning, his skill in medicine, the sweetness of his voice, or his attention to the duties of his profession. I feel unwilling to make any positive statement as to their conduct, as it was generally described to me by interested persons. It may be inferred, in some measure from their position as constrained celibates, in a country where the people pay little regard to the most sacred bonds. But when I have heard them spoken against, it has been rather on account of their rapacity than their licentiousness."

The permission to take off the robe and marry for a limited period is a strange custom, though not without a parallel among the monks of Christendom. (See Pascal's *Provincial Letters*, letter vi.) It has a tendency to preserve the official character of the priesthood, but lays open the system itself to severe animadversion. In many places, the people stand in awe of the priests, as they suppose that they have the power to inflict various calamities upon the subjects of their wrath. This fear is not, however, of universal prevalence. In 1839, some females went with brooms in their hands to the *pansal* at Raddalawa, near Negombo, and requested the priest to leave the place immediately, threatening, in case of his refusal, to use the brooms upon his back. The quarrel arose from an attempt of the priest to overcome the virtue of a young woman, who had brought some cakes as an offering to Budha. The indignation of the broom bearers triumphed; and the priest was obliged to leave the village.

At the conclusion of this chapter, we have a rapid sketch of some of the principal features of the system, more especially in reference to its practical results.

The titles of the two remaining chapters, entitled "The Voice of the Past," and "The Prospects of the Future," are an index to the matter they contain. We have a glance at the history of Monachism in all ages, with an account of the agreement or otherwise, that is presented between the principal elements of other systems, and the "bana" of Gótama Budha. There is an ancient prophecy, that after the lapse of five thousand years from the period of their establishment, "all knowledge of the doctrine of the Budhas will have entirely disappeared from the earth;" and "*Eastern Monachism*" appropriately closes with

a translation of the legend, in which this singular announcement is contained.

Having thus furnished our readers with an analysis of the leading contents of "Eastern Monachism," our principal task is ended. The work itself we most earnestly recommend to all our readers, who are interested in the welfare of the hundreds of millions, who acknowledge in some form or other the sovereign sway of Budha. It is a work of great research—abounding with original information—and, altogether, one of the most valuable contributions of our day to the cause of oriental religious literature. The title, "Oriental Monachism," is, perhaps, against it. It is apt to suggest to the minds of general readers, the case of the oriental churches; of which they may suppose they have already heard enough. "Budhism," or "the Budhist Priesthood," would, probably, attract more attention—more especially at a time when the interest of the religious world is so greatly excited towards Hindusim, Budhism, and other forms of oriental faith. But our own readers will now learn what the real objects and characteristics of the work are; and they ought to lose no time in possessing themselves of so rich a treasure. One effect of an increased demand for the present work would be, that the able and learned author would, thereby, be encouraged to risk the publication of his other work on the system of Budhism, now ready for the press. The non-publication of such a work, by so competent an author, we should regard as a prodigious loss at once to oriental literature and to the cause of Christian philanthropy.

BENGALI POETRY.

BY BABOO HUR CHUNDER DUTT.

1. *Kabikankan Chandi.*
2. *Annada Mangal and Bydya Sundar.*
3. *Gangabhakti Tarangini.*
4. *Panchuli, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4.*

THOUGH the Bengali language has sprung from, and bears a close analogy to the Sanskrit, it is in several respects, better adapted than the original tongue, as a vehicle for the interchange of thought. Being of comparatively modern origin, it has not undergone any of those deteriorating changes, which have rendered the Sanskrit different from what it once was. With it the perverse ingenuity, which delights to invent difficulties where no difficulties exist, and to turn clearness itself into mystery, has not been at work. Neither has the jealousy of an ambitious priesthood endeavoured to counteract its diffusion. Spontaneous in its growth, it has branched out of the parent stock unrestrained and uncared for, possessing many of its beauties, and few of its imperfections. Of all the derivative languages of the East, it is perhaps, the most simple in its structure, and lucid in its syntax. Its nomenclature, though not quite so full as that of the Sanskrit, is varied and precise. It is the spoken language of upwards of twenty-five millions of inhabitants, which is more than any thing that could have been said of the Sanskrit even in its most palmy days, the days of Kalidas and Bar-ruchi.

Of the merits and demerits of Sanskrit poetry, we have, on more than one occasion, spoken at large. We have endeavoured, with the help of Jones, Wilson, Schlegel, and other illustrious scholars, to give the reader some idea of those gigantic epics, the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, and to acquaint him with the beauties of some of the ancient Indian dramas. The capture of Sita by the ten-headed Ravana, from the forest of her exile; the invincible prowess and miraculous feats of the son of the wind; the lamentations of Rama in search of his beloved; the trial of Sita by the flames; the audience-hall of Durjodhun; the bridal of Rukmini, and the incidents previous thereto; the conflict between the Kurus and Panduvas; the virtue of

Yudhisthir ; the loyalty of Draupadi to her five lords, and the affecting story of Damayanti, the queen of Nishada are subjects with which he is already familiar. Of the renowned king Dushmanta, and Sacantola, the nymph favored of the sylvan goddesses ; of the loves of Malati and Madhava ; of the famed princess Ratnavali, and of the courtesan Vasantesena, he has often heard. He is also aware of the sceneries, dresses, and decorations that were used on the Hindu stage seventeen hundred years ago, and how that stage has gradually deteriorated. In the present notice, therefore, we shall have nothing to do with Sanskrit literature, or even with translations from the Sanskrit. The celebrated translations of Kāsida and Kirtivasa shall be passed over in silence. We shall confine our attention to *Bengali* poetry, and to the books placed at the top of this article.

But, before we proceed with our task, we must premise that Bengali literature stands in exactly the same relation to Sanskrit, as Latin literature stands to Greek. As in Latin, many metres,—the heroic, elegiac, and lyric, for example, are of Greek origin, so in Bengali, the metres *jayar* and *totak* are of Sanskrit origin. As the best Latin epic poems are faint echoes of the Iliad and Odyssey, so the best Bengali epic poems are faint echoes of the *Kamayana* and *Mahabharata*. As the best of Virgil's pastorals are imitations of Theocritus, so the best Bengali pastorals are imitations of Jaydeva. As Latin plays,—the plays of Livius Andronicus and Ennius and Plautus, are bad copies of Greek dramas, so Bengali plays (which are not many) are bad imitations of Kalidas and other Sanskrit writers. Almost all the standard Latin works are fashioned after Greek models, and almost all the Bengali works are on Sanskrit models. If ever there is a Bengali philosopher, we have little doubt that he will borrow as much from the *Nyaya* and *Patanjali* schools, as Seneca borrowed from the Portico and the Academy.

By far the greatest portion of the rules of Bengali *versification* have not, however, been derived from the Sanskrit, but owe their birth to the talent and ingenuity of Bengali poets. The following metres, viz., the *ekabali*, the *mal jhamp*, the *malati*, the *chamar*, the *lalita jhump*, the *laghu bhanga tripadi*, the *laghu tripadi*, the *dirgha bhanga tripadi*, the *dirgha tripadi*, the *laghu chatushpadi*, the *dirgha chatushpadi*, the *laghu lalita*, and the *dirgha lalita*, are of this class. Dr. Yates thus explains them :—

“ The *ekabali* consists of eleven syllables to the line, and the last syllable of each first line rhymes with the last syllable of the succeeding one.

“ The *mal jhamp* consists of fourteen syllables in each line ; the

" final syllable of the first line rhymes with the final of the second, and the final of the third with that of the fourth, besides which, the fourth, eighth, and twelfth syllables of each distinct line rhyme.

" The *malati* consists of fifteen syllables to the line, with the last syllable of the first rhyming with the last of the second, &c.

" The *chamar* has the same number of syllables as the preceding, and the same rhymes in the lines, but which differs from it in the regularity of its long and short syllables. With some trifling exceptions it consists entirely of troches, *i. e.*, a long and short syllable throughout.

" The *lalita jhamp* has fifteen syllables to the line, and the finals of the lines rhyming as before; but besides this, it has the rhyme extended to the fourth, eighth, and twelfth syllables in each line.

" The *laghu bhanga tripadi* has sixteen syllables in the first line and twenty in the second, which rhyme at the end. Also in the first line, the eighth and sixteenth syllables rhyme, and in the second, the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables.

" The *laghu tripadi* has twenty syllables in each line. Besides the usual rhyme at the end of each two lines, it has also a rhyme between the sixth and twelfth syllables in each line.

" The *dirgha bhanga tripadi* has twenty syllables in the first line, and twenty-six in the second. In this, besides the rhyme at the end of each two lines, there is also a rhyme between the tenth and twentieth syllables of the first line, and between the eighth and sixteenth of the second line.

" The *dirgha tripadi* has twenty-six syllables to each line, with the rhyme between the eighth and sixteenth of each line, and the final of every two lines.

" The *laghu chatushpadi* consists of twenty-three syllables to the line, with the rhyme between the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables of each line, and the final of every two lines.

" The *dirgha chatushpadi* has thirty-one syllables in each line, with the rhyme at the eighth, sixteenth, and twenty-fourth syllables of each line, and the final of every two lines.

" The *laghu lalita* has twenty-four syllables in each line, with the rhyme at the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables of each line, besides the final of every two lines.

" The *dirgha lalita* has thirty-one syllables to the line, with the rhyme at the eighth and sixteenth syllables of each line, and at the end of every two lines."

The oldest Bengali poem extant is the *Chandi* of Kabikankan. It is an epic celebration of the glory and power of *Chandi* or *Parvati*, and occupies the same place among Bengali epics

as Milton's *Comus* occupies among English dramas. It is decidedly pastoral. It commences with prayers to Ganesa, Sursutti, Lakshmi, Chytunno, and Rama. Then follows an account of the author, of which the reader shall have the substance. Kabikankan was the son of Damunya, who lived on the lands of a wealthy zemindar, close to the city of Simlabaz. The honest and sturdy farmer knew no grief, and died at a patriarchal age. Kabikankan succeeded to the paternal acres, but his life's course was far different. Then it was that Mushaud Sheriff was placed at the head of the Government of the three provinces, and tyrannized over certain landlords and their dependent ryots. Kabikankan was obliged to flee from the place of his birth with his wife and children. Passing over many miles, he had to cross the river Damuda. While reposing on its banks, he dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the goddess *Chandi*, girt with all her glory, had come to him, and commanded him to sing her praise. When he awoke, he determined to carry out the command, and proceeded on his journey. Several days elapsed before he reached Aroia, the city of Brahmans. The king of this place received him with every mark of favour, and made him instructor to his only son, upon a liberal allowance. While "teaching the young idea how to shoot," Kabikankan wrote the *Chandi*.

The book consists of two stories, not very ingeniously constructed. The first story related briefly is as follows : The son of Indra had, time out of mind, been banished from heaven by the gods, and was born on earth of humble parents. His name was Kalketu. As Kalketu grew up, he became a mighty hunter, and betook himself to the woods with his wife, Phulura. One morning, as he was going to his daily labours, accoutred with a bow and arrow, he saw a lizard lying on his path. Angry with the animal, the sight of which is considered unpropitious to the success of an undertaking, he tied it up by the tail to the branch of a tree, determined to make a fare of it, if he should chance to meet no other game. When he returned, he took the lizard down, and carried it to his wife to be roasted, not having been able to kill even a heron or a rabbit. Phulura then went out to fetch fuel, and Kalketu departed to bathe in the neighbouring stream. On the good dame's return, she found that a maiden "beautiful exceedingly" was standing at the door of the hut. Supposing her to be a rival, she hastened to her husband, and accosted him with angry words. Kalketu said that he knew nothing of the matter, and arrived at his dwelling place, questioned the maiden as to who she was, threatening to slay her if her answer was not prompt. When, lo ! the beautiful maiden

assumed the shape of 'Durga, as represented every year in Bengal. The hunter and his wife fell on their knees. "Follow me," said the goddess to Kalketu, "I am come to do thee good." The command was obeyed. In a secret part of the wood, where feet of man had never before intruded, Kalketu found hordes of treasure. His divine guide melted into air, but through her favour, which to him was great from that time, he at length became king of Guzerat.

The second story relates to the adventures of a soudagur named Dhunputty, and of his son Shrimant. Dhunputty had two wives, Euhuna and Khuluna, who were loving cousins before they became rivals. At the time of his departure for Sinhala (Ceylon) from his native city, on urgent business, the young Khuluna was, "as all woman wish to be, who love their lords," and he therefore extracted a solemn promise from his other wife to take every care of her during his absence. The promise, however, was only lip-deep. For no sooner was Dhunputty gone, and the girl delivered of a son (Shrimant), than Luhuna practised every art to give her pain and sorrow. Her conduct was even more severe than that of the younger wife of Elkanah toward the mother of Samuel. She pretended that she had received a letter from her husband, to the effect, that Khuluna must be disgraced and degraded from the position which she then occupied. Khuluna was commanded to put off her *sauree* and *orna*, and to wear the robes of a menial. Nay, she was ordered to do something still more degrading. A flock of goats was placed in her care, and every evening she had to count and lock them up in the fold, and to lead them again to "fresh fields and pastures new" on the morrow morn. While engaged in her sylvan duty one hot summer's day, on the banks of the river Ajuya, sleep had overcome her senses. Just at this time, *Hari* and *Parvati* were journeying through the air in a golden car, and pitying the poor soul's sorrows, determined to bring them to an end. When Khuluna woke, she found that one of the goats was missing. Apprehensive of the anger of the jealous Luhuna, she wept, and prayed for its recovery. *Parvati* or *Chandi* now appeared before her, and enjoined her to go back fearlessly to her home, as she would be persecuted no more. Khuluna obeyed the divine command, though doubtful of the treatment she should meet with. She was received by the rival with the utmost kindness.

We shall now accompany Dhunputty on his voyage to Sinhala. Many a barge "strong and trim" was fitted out for the expedition, and favoring winds wafted him to his goal. When

he visited the king of the place, he recounted to him a wonder which he had seen. Against the red of the distant horizon, (such was the wonder) there often appeared a lotus-bush and a beautiful woman with a young elephant in her arms, striking terror into the hearts of all who saw her. On his narration being disbelieved, he said that he was ready to substantiate it to the king and his court, on pain of perpetual confinement. Again the barges were put to sea, crowded with men, women, and children, anxious to behold the sight. Nowhere, however, was it to be seen, and after many days of expectation, Dhunputti was thrown into prison. Years rolled away. A similar scene was once more acted in the court of Sinhala, but with a far more terrible and startling termination. Shrimant had come to Sinhala in search of his father, and had related the same story to the king, perilling his life to prove its truth. He failed in his undertaking, and, bound hand and foot, was immediately carried to the place of execution. Here, while the headsman was sharpening his axe, a woman, "with age grown double," made her appearance and demanded Shrimant as her only child. The guards laughed and insulted her, but she went not away. A moment after, another decrepid female came to them with the same request, and the next moment another and another, till at last the whole yard was filled with crones, who began to dance hand in hand. While all wondered at the unexpected interruption, the whole company suddenly vanished, and *Chandi* descending from the skies with a sword of flame, commenced the work of destruction. Taking up Shrimant in her arms, she spared neither age nor sex. The very horses and elephants in the stalls were butchered, and one man only remained to carry the rueful intelligence to the king. Agitated and frightened in the extreme, the monarch hastened to the place of slaughter, and fell at the feet of the wrathful divinity, who consented to spare him on condition that Shrimant should be married to his only daughter Shushilya, and be allowed to go back to the place of his birth with his father, who was still a prisoner. This was readily consented to, and every thing ended happily.

The following passage, literally translated from the *Chandi* is in the original, really admirable:—

Spring, accompanied by the god of Love, had now come to the earth, and the trees and creepers were loaded with flowers. On the bank of the river Ajuya, and under a fragrant and spreading *Asoka*, the young woman had fainted with the pangs of separation. As she cast her eyes on the new leaves and tendrils, she thought the bridal of the earth was nigh, or the robes which it wore were the robes of a bride. The bee sucking the honey from one flower hastened away to another, as a *Guru* hastens from the

hospitable home of one *shishya* to that of another. The flowers were dropping to the ground, and with these Khuluna paid an offering to Cama. The kokila was cooing his love-song, the breeze was blowing softly, and the *shari* and *shuke* were kissing each other with their bills. Overcome with sadness at the sight, she thus addressed the latter in a tone of reproof—“*Shuke*, thou art the cause of my lord's departure ; at the king's command, has he gone to Sinhala, to bring a golden cage for thee ; hence all my pangs and sorrows. My condition is quite forlorn, nor food nor clothing have I. Fly thou to him, whom I love, and acquaint him with all I suffer. If thou neglectest my injunction, I shall learn the fowler's art and entrap thee, and so give pain to *shari*, the she-bird.” Both birds then winged away their flight. A creeper twisted round the stem of a tree then met her eyes, and she ran to the place where it was. Embracing the tender plant, she accosted it as sister, and as one most fortunate. The peacock and peahen, dancing with joy, she also saw, and was forcibly reminded of her own desolate state. To the male and female bee, she said the following words with joined palms :—“ Hum no more, hum no more your song of pleasure, for my breast is startled at the sound. You know not the pangs of separation. O ! male bee, if thou hast any regard, any love for your partner, cease thy song. Alas ! thou mind'st not my entreaties. Settling on that pale Dhatura, thou singest again.”

Here is a description of the unsubstantial show or miracle which Shrimant beheld on the sea. It is short, but characteristic of the author's mind and style of writing :—

“ Look ! look ! brothers,” said Shrimant to the rowers, “ at yon beautiful lotus bush ; the flowers are of various colours—white, green, blue, red and yellow. It must be the garden of some *Debta*, for the treasures of every season adorn it. The snow-white swan is passing a lotus from its own bill to that of its mate. The many-colored kingfisher is wheeling over the water for fishes. The *chacravaca* is screaming with joy, and as the thunder rumbles at a distance, the peacock and peahen display their gorgeous plumage. And look ! most wonderful of all, is that beautiful woman, (some goddess perhaps) holding a young elephant in her arms.”

In concluding our notice of the *Chandi*, we have to observe that the copy before us is embellished with several wood-cuts which do no credit to the artists.

The works of Barhut Chunder, the *Annada Mangal* and *Bydya Sundar*, are familiar as household words to the people of Bengal. They are read with delight and admiration by every class of native society. They while away the leisure hours of the Hindu lady of rank, as well as of the well-fed and wary *banya*, and materially lighten the labours of the *mangi* at the helm. We ourselves have witnessed young Bengali women lounging about from room to room, with one or other of the books in their hands, and can well conceive how their minds are contaminated by the perusal. There is nothing more grossly indecent in sense than certain chapters in the *Bydya Sundar*, made attractive to readers by the help of rhyme, rhythm, and diction. Idolatry, the bane and curse of India, is inculcated in all imaginable shapes, by every one of the poets with whom

we have to deal. The call for a healthy, and, at the same time, popular literature in Bengali, is really imperative, and we wish all success to those who are labouring to supply the want.

The *Annada Mangal* is a collection of hymns to different gods, and a metrical narration of the principal incidents in the life of Shiva. Of the hymns, we shall faithfully render two into English prose and these, we believe, will give the reader a pretty correct idea of the whole batch :—

HYMN TO SHIVA.

Sankara, the lord of Gowri, to thee, to thee, I bow. Thy throne is an ox, and thy three eyes are the moon, the sun, and fire. A necklace of human heads dangles from thy neck, a scull is in thy hands, and ashes are over thy body. Ghosts and spirits accompany thee wherever thou goest. Thy locks are long and matted, thy throat is blue, and red stripes beautify thy forehead. Thou hast bangles of snakes, and clothings of snakes. Thou art wrapt in meditation, but what thou art meditating, I know not. None can say thy origin. Those who repose under the shadow of thy feet are blessed with virtue and wealth in this world, and with salvation in the next. Thou, that art the giver of wisdom and joy, remove my sorrows and crown my undertaking with success.

HYMN TO VISHNU.

Kesava, I bow to thee. Thou art the eldest born of time. Thou hast four arms, and dost bestride that winged monster, *Guirua*. Thy complexion is that of the clouds, and a gem like a star illumines thy breast. A garland of wild flowers encircles thy neck. A conch, a *chakra*, a mace, and a lotus are in thy hands. Thy garments are yellow, and thy feet are sandalled and jewelled. Thy lips are redder than coral, thy face is fairer than the moon. The whole world is lighted by a reflexion of thy beauty. In heaven, *Indra* and *Varuna* worship thee, and *Nareda* on his *vina* sings thy praise. There, where the six seasons are all at once present, thou revelest in the moonlight, or in a *cadamba* grove blowest thy musical shell. Grant that my master's wishes be fulfilled.

Of the metrical tale which follows, we shall merely remark that it is not unworthy of the author's great name, the best portions of it verge even on the sublime, a characteristic very rarely to be met with in Eastern writers.

The *Bydya Sundar* is the most popular and admired of all *Bharut Chunder's* productions, and but for the indelicacies which disfigure it at places, would, perhaps, have been justly so.

The *Venus* and *Adonis* of the bard of Avon was not a greater favorite with the pensioners and court beauties of Queen Elizabeth, than is the *Bydya Sundar* with the young ladies of Bengal.

The best way to deal with the book, would, we think, be to give a few translated extracts, and an outline of the plot. But first we shall recount the origin of the story, which, according to our author, was as follows : *Pratap Aditya*, Rajah of Bengal, had his seat of Government in the city of *Jessore*. His

temper was haughty, and his passions knew no restraint. Having engaged in a feud with his cousin, Katchu Roy, for a supposed injury, he wreaked his vengeance on him by putting all his friends to the sword. Katchu Roy besought the help of the Emperor Jehangire, who, highly incensed at Pratap's tyrannical conduct, sent his General Maun Sing, with a round number of his soldiers, to bring the offender to his senses. While Maun Sing was marching through Burdwan, he beheld a number of builders and masons working under-ground, near the palace of the Rajah of that place. They were stopping the breach which *Sundar* had long ago effected to gain admittance into the apartments of *Bydra*. On enquiry they narrated to him the history of the lovers.

Bydra was the daughter of Bira Singha, and was famed, far and wide for her beauty and accomplishments. While scarce a woman, she had mastered the difficulties of the Sanskrit language and philosophy, and had vowed a vow to give away her hand to any that excelled her in learning. Princes and potentates came to her from various parts of India, but invariably their mental acquirements fell far short of those of the young woman whom they came to woo, and they were sadly disappointed. Bira Singha had therefore great difficulty in finding a fitting bridegroom for his daughter.

While affairs were in this state, there arrived at Burdwan a prince named Sundar, after a toilsome journey of many days. His appearance was extremely prepossessing, and his mind highly cultivated. As his horse browsed at a little distance, and he himself was reflecting on the best means of bringing to a happy termination his mission of love, a party of women in Bira Singha's service passed to fetch water from the neighbouring stream, and were greatly struck with his beauty. None, except Hira, had however the effrontery to speak to him. Hira, the flower-dealer, naturally bold, questioned the youth as to his name and parentage, and invited him to partake of the comforts of her home. To this Sundar gladly agreed. Being harboured with the flower-dealer, Sundar contrived various plans of winning the heart of the lovely Bydra. On one occasion he sent to her a flower effigy of Cupid. So artfully was this thing constructed, that the moment she saw it, she fell in love with the unknown author. An interview took place between the pair, in which Bydra was deeply smitten. Day and night she thought of none else but *Sundar* :

" Her lute strings gave an echo of his name.
She spoilt her half done 'broidery with the same."

One night, as she was conversing with her women in her sleep-

ing apartments, Sundar suddenly made his appearance by the subterranean passage already alluded to, but none then knew how. Surprised and agitated at this unexpected meeting, the young woman asked the purpose of this visit, and being answered in a *sloke*, or couplet, of which she could not understand the meaning, she was obliged to confess her inferiority in learning. Sundar then claimed her as his bride. The nuptials were celebrated by the attendant women, and night after night did he pass in the company of his wife, without the knowledge either of the king or queen. But when the Bydya was with child, the secret could no longer be kept from them. Both were now under the impression that the marriage ceremonies were not duly performed, and that Bydya had lost her honour. Guards were set about the house to apprehend the intruder, and when apprehended, he was immediately carried to the place of execution. But a voice from heaven spoke aloud that Sundar was no culprit. It was proved to Bira Singha's satisfaction, that he was the rightful lord of the matchless Bydya, and the lovers were once more happy.

The reader will perceive, that there is nothing either in the substance or arrangement of the above story, which an English author of the present day would be proud of. In it there is little of *passion*, and the denouement is not at all striking. The manner in which it has been worked out and embellished, however, is indeed worthy of admiration, and affords an incontestable proof of Bhaṭṭ Chunder's thorough mastery over the language in which he wrote. Each page is more musical, and contains a greater number of beautiful similes than the one that precedes it, and the reader is often lost in a labyrinth of sweets. To those unable to read and understand the work in the original, we can merely give an idea, and a very imperfect idea, of its contents. In the extracts which we shall now make, we shall endeavour to retain, so far as possible, the author's meaning. But to infuse the *harmony* and *spirit* of the original into the translation, is a task which we dare not undertake.

BYDYA

Beautiful was she, that maiden of fifteen summers. Her face was fairer than the moon of autumn; at its sight the lotus, instead of closing, expanded with joy. Dark were her eyes, and more transparent than those of the fleet gazelles. Her gait was firm and majestic. More music there was in her voice than sounds drawn from the *vina* of *Sursutti*. Her locks were black and curled. Her nails were red as rubies. Her eye-brows were the bows of Cama, and from underneath them shafts of light struck the gazer's heart. Pearls could not be compared to her well-set teeth. The *amrita*, for which the *Debias* and *Asurs* fought of old, was hid in her mouth. Her hands were slender and pliant. *Cadamba* blossoms could not vie with the softness of her bosom, neither could the golden *champak*

vie with her complexion. As she moved, the clanking of her armlets and bangles taught the bees their musical hum. In the deep shade of fragrant groves, she loved to loiter and meditate. Her presence diffused light and life, and she charmed the hearts of all that came near to her.

THE SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF SUNDAR IN BYDYA'S CHAMBER.

Sundar decked himself to visit his lovely bride. His dress set off his person to such advantage, that even the wife of Cama would have fallen in love with him had she seen him. His heart palpitated with a mingled feeling of hope and fear ; not knowing how he would be received, he often brought himself to a stand, and then walked on again.

In the meanwhile, Bydya was sorrowing and eagerly longing to see her heart's lord. The chances of another interview, however, seemed to her to be so slight, that she had given up all hopes of it. Said she to her favorite attendant, Shulachuna—"Say, sister, how shall we bring him, for I can no longer bear his absence ; where shall I ease my heart, if not to you ? The moon which was erst so fair seems now to rain poison from her sphere. The water, scented with camphor, is now nauseous and distasteful. The flowers have lost their perfume. The songs of my maidens are harsh and unharmonious. The winds are no longer gentle but boisterous. The voice of the *kok'il*, and the hum of the bee, yield me no delight. The ornaments that deck my body are like burning coals, and the blue clothes which I wear, sting me like serpents. The bed on which I sleep is a perfect disgust to me. The nights are long and dreary. Say how shall I survive my pangs." Thus sorrowed Bydya. At times she fell on the neck of one or other of her women, and at times on the marble pavement of the room. Of a sudden Sundar made his appearance ; the effect of his coming was, as if the moon had risen upon the earth. The first feeling of Bydya and her companions, at sight of Sundar, was that of fright ; when they recovered from their surprise. Shulachuna, on being instructed by her mistress, thus spake to Sundar—"Harm us not stranger, for we are helpless women. We know not who you are, but whether you are a *Gandarva*, *Nagu*, *Yaksha*, or human being, reveal to us thy name, and purpose of thy visit." Sundar answered—"Fear not, fair maidens, I am no spirit, but a man. I am the son of Guna Sindhu, Rajah of Canchipur. My name is Sundar. Having heard of Bydya's vow, I have come hither to try my fortune. Let her withdraw her veil, for all her attempts to conceal herself are ineffectual. Can a piece of cloth confine the lightning of heaven, or can the stars of the sky hide the lustre of the full-orbed moon ? *Her presence is as the fragrance of a lotus, or as the brilliancy of a precious gem.*"

MAUN SING'S ARRIVAL AT DELHI, AND THE EVENTS WHICH FOLLOWED.

Maun Sing arrived at Delhi with his prisoners of war. His victory was proclaimed throughout the city by trumpeters, and he was forthwith summoned to the Imperial presence. Jehangire commanded him to relate his adventures. Making a low obeisance, the General thus began—"The conquest of Bengal, great King, has been effected, but not without the loss and trouble which always attend such undertakings. Pratapaditya, the rebellious Raja of Jessore, has been defeated and captured ; but the glory of the victory cannot be claimed by me alone. On the eve of battle a great storm swept over the province, and the men, horses, elephants, and camels of the army under my command would all have been utterly destroyed, had not Mazundar, who now stands on my right hand, given us shelter. To him is due the credit of having pro-

* This passage almost reminds us of Longfellow's description of Evangelist:—
"When she passed, it seemed like the ceasing of exquisite music."

pitiated the goddess *Annada* by prayers and offerings, to put an end to the raging storm. To him I, and several of my companions in arms, owe our lives. The reward which my sovereign can most appropriately bestow upon him, is the Governorship of Bengal. Let the word of favor drop from his lips, and Mazundar is at once exalted and recompensed." A frown passed over the brow of Jehangire. "Renegade," exclaimed he, after a pause, "you too have been imposed upon by that wicked and deceiving race, the Brahmins. The faith of our Prophet hast thou disgraced in the eyes of idolators, who should not be touched but by the sword. Hinduism is full of abominations. Its doctrines and rites are both abominable. It inculcates the shaving of one's beard. It restrains widows from marrying. It commands the worship of stocks and stones, and creeping things. The Hindu race is composed of cheats and liars. It is priest ridden. Its *Puranas* have been penned by the Evil one. Pratapaditya was a Hindu, and I have hurled him from his throne, shall I then consent to place another of the same faith in his stead? Name some other reward, Mazundar, and I will grant it thee. It would be foolish in me to entrust to you the government of the conquered province." Mazundar, being thus accosted, spake to the following effect—"I am a Brahmin, and I have heard my class reviled; the authorship of the books I venerate, and the religion I follow, has been ascribed to the Evil one. Fear, therefore, has departed from me. The augustness of the presence in which I stand shall not restrain me from speaking out my mind freely. The religion of Mahomet is false and puerile; but the religion of the *Purana* comes direct from Heaven. The Mohometans pray in a vacant room, and not, as they should do, before god's image and likeness: many of their rites cannot be named. Their widows are allowed to take husbands unto them." "Hindu," said Jehangire interrupting the sage, "no more of this—there is insolence in thy look and words; call on thy thousand gods to save thee." Mazundar was immediately surrounded by the imperial guard. But who can harm the man that is favored of heaven? *Annada* heard his prayers, and on the third day of his captivity, came to his rescue with an army mighty and invincible. Thus sing I, Bharut Chunder Roy, the favourite of my master, and a true Hindu.

Without tiring the patience of our readers with any more prosy extracts like the last, we shall now proceed to a comparison of the respective merits of Kabikankan and Bharut Chunder.* Although Kabikankan is at times more pathetic and soft than any Bengali author we have met with, yet the palm of superiority must undoubtedly be awarded to his great rival. The genius of Bharut Chunder was more versatile and more prolific of poetical thoughts. He had the creative power,

"The vision and the faculty divine,"

in a more eminent degree. Kabikankan loves to depict in words, which become tender thoughts, the sorrows of a love-lorn damsel, the forests in spring, a moonlit bank, or a beautiful landscape. The Apsaras of heaven, and the nymphs of the wood, are his favourite companions. Purling streams, and flowering declivities; the song of the kokila, and the hum of the bee; sylvan

* They were contemporaneous authors of the time of the celebrated Raja Krishna Chunder Roy, the great encourager of Bengali literature; and the second Vikramaditya of India.

solitude, and the breeze laden with fragrance, are to him more than delights. There is a calm transparency, a tender beauty in his narrative, which fascinate every reader, and which are seldom, if ever, interrupted. Bharut Chunder is far more varied, and his style, although possessing less of what Cowper calls "creamy smoothness," is always felicitous and appropriate to the subject-matter. He describes, with equal truth, the court of a puissant prince, an evening cloudless and serene, a beautiful woman. The gathering tempest, the peal of the trumpet, and the neighing of war-steeds. The passages of imitative harmony, which we have met with in his works, have convinced us, and will, doubtless, convince all who read them, that Bharut Chunder was one of the gifted of heaven.

With the names of Kabikankan and Bharut Chunder must be associated the name of another poet, who lived at a comparatively modern time, and fully equalled his predecessors in the grandeur and pathos of his compositions. It is that of Durga Persaud, author of *Gangabhakti Tarangini*, a mytho-heroic poem, on the bringing of the Ganges from Swarga to earth by Bhagirath, in order to preserve the souls of sixty thousand of his ancestors, who had been reduced to ashes by the curse of Kapila, a sage. The work is well written, and although founded on a portion of the *Scanda Purana*, is quite within our range, not being a translation from it. The subject also is well chosen, for in the legend connected with the noble river, there are ample materials for poetic inspiration, and these our author has turned to very good account. The sacrificial horse, arrayed with gorgeous trappings, and checked in his course by "the ever sounding sea," the sudden transformation of Sagar's numerous sons into ashes, for charging Kapila with the theft of the same, Angshuman's intercession in their favor, the birth of Bhagriath, his prayers for the souls of his forefathers, the descent of the Ganges from heaven on the matted locks of Shiva, and from thence on the earth beneath, its impetuous course over leagues and leagues, and finally the ascension of Sagar's sons in sixty thousand radiant chariots, are all of romantic interest, and ably delineated. The episodes in the book, in general, describe the difficulties which Bhagirath met with in carrying on the stream in its onward flow. On one occasion it leapt in its wild fury among adamantine rocks, and was unable to extricate itself. Bhagirath hied him back to Indra's heaven, and besought the aid of *Eyrabut*, a huge white elephant, with tusks that could penetrate the hardest substance. The required assistance was given by the royal beast, on condition that Ganga would acknowledge him to be her lord and deliverer. But when the waves once more,

freed from obstructions, dashed themselves up to the welkin's pinnacle, he trembled at his late audacious proposal. On another occasion a sage, named Janhu, drank up the whole river in a sip for disturbing his meditations. Bhagirath fell at his feet. The sage relented. Forth sprang the foaming torrent from his thigh, and inundated the land. Elated with joy, the heroic and virtuous youth bounded before, sounding the conch-shell which he had received from Vishnu.

And now that we come to speak about Bengali ballads and songs, a few remarks on that description of poetry, generally, will not perhaps be out of place. It is certain that ballads and songs are a species of composition, with which all ages, and all nations, are more or less familiar. In Greece and in Rome, metrical accounts of the achievements of gods and of heroes, were sung to the lyre by wandering bards. The Anglo-Saxons celebrated in rude poems the victory of Brunanbargh and the precipitate flight of Anlaff and his confederate sea kings. Taliessin and Modred recited, from the cliffs overhanging the Conway, prophetic visions of the future destiny of Wales. The women of the interior of Africa, who sheltered the renowned traveller, Mungo Park, poured forth their lamentations in song at his departure. The North American Indian invoked the aid of Manitou, in lays full of spirit, before he rushed into the battle with his tomahawk and scalping knife. In Spain ballads and songs were once the delight of the people. The maiden danced to them on the green. The day-labourer solaced himself with them among his toils, and the mendicant repeated them to gather alms. Amid the "brooms and bæs" of Scotland may still be gathered relics of old songs, which were at one time exceedingly popular.

The ballads and songs of a people are a true index to its national character. With an idolatrous race they are tinged with sentiments at which the mind revolts, as for example, the lyrics of the Khonds addressed to Laha Pinu, the god of battles, and Bira Pinu the earth goddess, reveal to us that those deities were propitiated with human sacrifices; and the Rig Veda Sanhita, which is a collection of Sanskrit hymns, lays bare the abominations of the pristine mythology of the Hindus. Among a race prone to war and bloodshed, their tone is martial and their music wild and thrilling. Delicacy of texture they have none. They stir the soul like the sound of a trumpet. Again, the ballads and songs of a people naturally timid are characterized by softness, and have seldom anything in them to startle or terrify. The mind of the ballad and song-maker is moulded and fashioned by the society in which he lives. He

can, therefore, have no true sympathy with that which does not accord with the tastes and habits of that society. But supposing even that he *had* a genius, which could appreciate every kind of excellence, and an ear which could discern the music of a lute, as well as that of a war-horn, his labours would scarcely be directed to efforts that would not have for their guerdon the praises of those around him.

In most countries the ballad preceded the song. The reason of this probably is, that the former was more easily composed. The excellence of a ballad consists not in *sentiment*, but in its *story*. The hurried narration of events does not task the poetical faculties to a very great degree, nor need the feelings of the author's mind be wrought up to a high state of sensibility. With abstract ideas, the ballad writer has little or nothing to do. The bloody feuds of chiefs and nobles—the adventures of some errant knight or beauteous damsel, form the staple of his verse. The legends that exist in the language in which he writes, furnish him with ample materials. His imagination is not wholly inactive, but it does not soar to unexplored regions. Greater powers are undoubtedly required to compose a song like Burns's *Mary Morison* than to compose a ballad like *Chevy Chase*.

The ballads of King *Karna* and *Pralhaud Charitra* are both of Sanskrit origin, and highly celebrated throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. Many a young man, and woman too, have laughed and wept over them, after the twentieth perusal. *Karna* was a king famed for his good qualities; every morning the needy flocked to his palace gate, and were fed and clad in a princely style. The gods were jealous of his virtues, and Krishna descended from Bycunt to make a trial of his charity. Assuming the shape of a blind old Brahmin, he begged of him to give him food and shelter. *Karna* took him by the hand, and promised him all that he desired. The Brahmin then made a request at which even the cannibals, into whose hands the Arabian sailor, *Sindbad*, is said to have fallen, would have shuddered. The only repast which would please him, was the flesh of *Karna's* only child, prepared and cooked by the hands of his parents. The king was in a dilemma; his promise to supply his guest with all that he wanted recurred forcibly to his mind. Slowly, and with downcast looks, he repaired to his queen, and told her all that had happened. Rather than have the stain of perjury and uncharitableness to one of the priestly class upon them, they both determined, like Abraham of old, but with misdirected faith, to overcome their natural affection and slay *Brisacatu*. The careless boy, whose heart nor sin nor sorrow had touched, was

summoned from the field, where he was playing, and sawed to pieces by Karna and his wife. When the repast was ready, the inhuman guest wished that his host and hostess, and some other person from the neighbourhood, should also partake of it, and commanded Karna to go in search of the third party. No sooner had his feet crossed the threshold than he beheld at a distance Brisacatu, and a few of his playmates, running toward him. With infinite joy and wonder he once more clasped his boy, carried him in his arms to the expiring queen, and fell at the feet of the disguised god.

The *Pralhaud Charitra* is a ballad on the destruction of Hirana Kashipu the father of Pralhaud, and an *Asur* of mighty strength, by Krishna. Pralhaud had, at an early age, learnt to repeat the name of Krishna. The *Asur* considering his prowess and dignity insulted, punished him for this. But the boy was not to be dissuaded. The words, "Krishna, Krishna," were ever on his lips. Numerous were the trials and hardships which he had to endure, but his faith was strong and never swerved for a moment. He was dashed headlong from a high mountain, he was thrown into the raging sea, but rocks and waves alike spared him, and he was as sound as ever. At length Kashipu, tired out of all patience, asked him where his Krishna was. The child answered that he was everywhere, and that even within the crystal pillar on which the *Asur* then reclined, Krishna was present. With one stroke of his ponderous sword, the *Asur* broke the pillar into fragments. Instantly a monster, half man and half lion, made its appearance. Gradually dilating in size, it seized Kashipu and tore out his entrails with its claws.

Of the song-writers of Bengal, the most renowned are *Nidhu* and *Dasirathi Roy*. Their productions, although lively and clever, are by no means without fault. A *sameness* in the ideas is their principle defect. There is an endless jingle about heart-consuming woes, and women with beautiful eyes, and the love of the lotus for the day-god: the amorous feats of Krishna are the subjects of many of them. Similar to the *Hymenæos* of the ancient Greeks, the Bengalis have their bridal songs, which are sung in Zenanas on the occasion of a marriage. When the bridegroom, in most cases a boy of twelve or thirteen, decked with pearls, and with a glittering conical cap, stands in the middle of the yard or open space of the quadrangular building accompanied by the bride, and surrounded by dark-haired damsels, the *Shankha* is sounded, and these songs are sung by professional songstresses. We wish we could give the reader translations of some of them, so that he might have an insight into the present state of native female society, but

they are nowhere to be found in writing. The following is the late Dr. Tytler's versified translation of a song very popular in the streets of Calcutta twenty years ago. It has allusions to the failure of Messrs. Palmer and Co., and to the opinions of Rammohun Roy :—

From Bengal land, the Hindu faith must quickly now decay, man,
Since Suttis, all, both great and small, are banished quite away, man,
And Messrs. Palmer Company, so flourishing and gay, man,
Have lost their stores of bright gold-mohurs, and can no longer pay, man
In all our town, there's nought but sights and rare-shows to see, man,
But how shall I or any tell, what sort of sights they be, man ;
A Brahmin's son, brought up with all a Brahmin's holy rites, man,
Has left his caste, and printed books of politics indites, man ;
He once believed the holy Veds, and all their ancient stories,
The heretic forsakes them all, to talk of Whigs and Tories ;
His penances, his holy water, and his long bead roll, man,
He stops,— and stops the masses for his pious father's soul, man.

While on this subject, we are compelled to admit the truth of a charge often urged against the Bengali poets. All their writings, and more especially their *panchalis*, or songs, are interlarded with thoughts and expressions grossly indecent. The seclusion of women from society is not, as some have supposed, the only cause of this turpitude. Sanskrit authors, living at a time when in India women mixed freely with men, and the wits of the Restoration, from Dryden down to Dufsey are open to the same objection. The Plain-Dealer and the Country Wife are of a more immoral tendency than even Bydya Sunder. They were written to please men, who were determined to avenge themselves for the enforced morality of the Protectorate. Whatever, therefore, outraged the feelings of the Puritan, to them yielded delight ; whatever the one avoided with the utmost scrupulosity, the others were the most forward to join it. The male characters in Wycherly's plays are not libertines merely, but *in-human* libertines ; the women are not merely without modesty, but are devoid of every gentle and virtuous quality. The blots in the poetical literature of Bengal are more properly ascribable to the *religion* and *moral training* of its inhabitants, than to the seclusion of women from society. Let these be as they should be, and all that is bad shall soon be consigned to oblivion, or no more be read. Let these be as they should be, and a better race of authors shall adorn its annals. Let these be as they should be, and the rights and privileges of the Hindu lady shall be no longer denied her. Let these be as they should be, and the dying shall no more be exposed by his nearest relatives to the inclemencies of an ever-varying sky. Let these be as they should be, and horrible atrocities shall cease to be perpetrated, and invidious distinctions shall be abolished, and all shall live in brotherhood and love.

We have all along spoken of the Bengali poets in the spirit of kindly criticism. We have endeavoured, as much as we could, to palliate their faults, and have been lavish of praise on their beauties; but now that we have finished our notice of them, we must make the admission, that compared with the poets of Britain, and even with the Sanskrit poets, they sink into utter insignificance. Valmiki and Vyasa and Kalidas have no compeers among the authors reviewed; far less have Milton and Shakespeare. The poets of Britain are indeed a glorious band, and their productions are wonderfully varied. The profound simplicity of Chaucer, the luxuriance of Spenser, "immortal child in poetry's most poetic solitudes," the truth and depth of Shakespeare, the sublimity of Milton, the dreaminess of Coleridge, the gorgeous mysticism of Shelly, the rich coloring of Keats, the unaffected devoutness of Cowper, the deep feeling of the Ayrshire ploughman, the grandeur of him who sung of Thalaba, "the wild and wonderous song," the vigour and freshness of Thomson, the polish of Campbell, the gaiety and sparkle of Moore, and the philosophic thoughtfulness of Wordsworth, are unequalled in their several ways. Nor can the ballads of King Karna and *Pralhaud Charitra* bear any comparison with the old English ballads of Chevy Chase, Sir Cauline, and Childe Waters.

Meanwhile, we have strong hopes of better days for Bengali poetry and Bengali literature generally, as well as for the people of Bengal. Already have issued, under the patronage of the Council of Education, works in the vernacular tongue which, whatever may be their defects, have a laudable object in view; and under that of the Vernacular Literature Committee, an illustrated Penny Magazine for the diffusion of useful knowledge among all classes of native society. These, and like undertakings, will materially help to develop the latent capabilities of the Bengali language. They will accelerate the approach of the wished-for time, when the Bengalis, instead of being an idolatrous, priest-ridden and semi-barbarous race, shall rank high in the scale of civilization. And this time is not distant. The great and glorious consummation is at hand. Glimpses of the promised land, the land of Beulah, the land flowing with milk and honey, are clearly discernible, and our joy is similar to that of the thirsty stag in a trackless desert, so often described by Bengali poets, at the far off semblance of refreshing waters. Ours, however, is no transient delusion,—no unsubstantial show. Ere long the prospect before us shall be vividly defined, the uplands and hills shall "wear like a garment, the glory of the morning;" the clouds shall disperse and vanish from the firmament, and the sun shall shine *until it is perfect day*.

BENGALI FESTIVALS AND HOLIDAYS.

BY REV. LAL BEHARI DAY.

1. *A view of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus.* By W. Ward. Serampore, 1818.
2. *Raghu Nandan's Institutes of the Hindu religion.* Sanskrit MS.
3. *Nutan Panjiká, a new Almanac.* Serampore, 1852.

IN a foregoing number of this periodical, we attempted, very briefly, to give an account of some of the games and amusements of the Bengalis; we purpose in this article to describe some of their leading festivals and holidays. The festivals of the Bengalis, like those of every other people, are partly religious and partly social, though the former exceed the latter in their number and variety. Instead of treating of them separately, we shall take them up in the order of their occurrence, beginning with the month of *Baisákh* or the end of April and beginning of May, which, as is well known, commences the Bengali year.

It is not a little singular, that the first day of *Baisákh*, or the Bengali new year's day, is not celebrated by public rejoicings. The commemoration of the nativity of a new year, by religious solemnities and social merry-makings, is so natural, that it is observed by almost every nation. By the greater part of the people of Bengal, however, the commencement of a new year is hardly noticed. It is a day remembered only by tradesmen and shop-keepers, who, on that occasion, close their yearly accounts, exchange their old journals and ledgers for new ones, and paint on their door-posts the images of the god *Ganesha*—a custom not unlike that of the ancient Romans. New year's day gifts, so common in Europe, are here utterly unknown. But in place of making presents on new year's day, a custom prevails which illustrates several points in the character of the people. If the Bengali is too tenacious of his money to part with it, he may be persuaded to deposit it, for a certain period, in the hands of tradesmen. Hence it is customary to deposit a few rupees on new year's day in the safe-keeping of tradesmen, who return them after a short time, and who are eager for the deposits, as it is thought very auspicious to fill their books with monetary accounts at the commencement of the year.

Though the day which ushers in the year is not celebrated, yet the commencing month itself is regarded as peculiarly holy: it is, pre-eminently, the month of good works and religious duties. Whatever may be said of the unreasonableness of the ancient Hindu legislators and sages, in prescribing many

unmeaning ceremonies, it must be confessed that some of their religious injunctions were based on rational grounds, and that some of their institutions were established with a view to general utility and the public good. The month of *Baisakh* is, perhaps, the hottest month on the plains of Bengal. The atmosphere, exposed to the direct rays of a vertical sun, becomes surcharged with exhalations; the chafed soil, as if heated by a universal furnace, burns the bare foot; the reservoirs of water are, in general, dried up; and man and beast pant for breath. In this season of drought and extreme heat, it is wisely ordained by the Hindu lawgivers, that men, beasts and plants should be religiously provided with ample supplies of water. In this month may be seen, by the doors of the houses of respectable Hindus, a number of jars of water, for slaking the thirst of cows, and vessels containing the same element, put up in high places, for the use of the feathered race; while an inclined wooden frame, through which sola grain, treacle and water are constantly being poured, is set up for the refreshment of the weary traveller. In this month, the wide-spreading *Ashwat* tree, and the humble *Tulsi* plant, may be seen to have their roots refreshed by water-pots hung over them. In this month, the very gods are fed more daintily than usual, inasmuch as an extra allowance of all sorts of fruits and delicacies is given to their images in the cool of the evening. In this month, pots of *Gangā* water are suspended over the heads of *Shiva* and the *Shālgrāms*, to preserve them from the influences of intense heat. In this month, presents of cocoa-nuts, betel-nuts, plantains, the sacred thread, bathing-towels, and last, not least, money, are made in abundant profusion to Brahmans. In this month, too, are all sorts of religious vows observed by mothers for the benefit of their children, by husbands for the benefit of their wives, and by wives for the benefit of their husbands. Two festivals are held in this month, the worship of the river *Bhāgirathi*, and the bathing of *Vishnu*, which are too insignificant to merit description. In addition to these, however, is celebrated, in this month, a third festival, which deserves notice on account of its singularity. We allude to the worship of the *dhenki*. What is a *dhenki*? our readers will naturally ask. The *dhenki* or pedal, is a beam balanced on a pivot, placed horizontally, with a piece of wood attached vertically to one extremity, which serves the purpose of a mallet. The object of this simple machine is to separate rice from its husk, which is put in a hole, into which the head of the engine falls. The force by which the *dhenki* is moved, is neither that of steam nor electricity, but the foot of a woman, which is ever and anon applied

to the shorter arm of the lever. This primitive machine, so necessary to the purposes of Bengali life, is set up in almost every household in the mofussil. Agreeably to the well-known principle of Hindu theology, that what is useful is adorable, the *dhenki* has divine homage rendered to it, on the occasions of giving the first rice to a child, of marriage, and of investiture with the sacred thread. But besides these occasional adorations, the homely pedal is regularly worshipped by females, in some parts of the country, with much pomp, once a year, in the month of *Baisakh*. On that occasion, the head of the rice-cleaning machine is painted with vermillion, anointed with the consecrating oil, and presented with rice and the *durva* grass. The origin of the worship of the pedal is no less singular. A worthy religious preceptor had commanded his disciple to repeat the word *dhenki*, at least one hundred and eight times a day. *Nárad*, the musician of the celestials, and the patron deity of the pedal, delighted with the devotion of the disciple, paid him a visit riding on a *dhenki*, and gave him a blessing, in virtue of which the self-denying votary was translated into heaven.

In addition to the great swinging festival, to be noticed in its proper place, there is held in this month a swinging festival, on a smaller scale, in honour of an inferior god named *Dharmardj*. This festival is, by no means, prevalent throughout the country, but is confined to particular localities. In connection with the swinging festival of *Dharmardj*, we may remark, that in some places is worshipped, in this month, a log of wood dignified with the name of *Debánsi*, or partaker of the divine nature, and to which is attributed the rare quality of visiting sacred places through subterranean roads.

In the month of *Jaishtha*, that is, end of May and beginning of June, the descent of *Gangá* is celebrated. *Jagannáth* is bathed, the protectress of children adored, and sons-in-law feasted.

We shall not recount here, for the hundredth time, the story of the descent of the sacred river Ganges from the sublime top of *Baikuntha*; how she rushed from the matted hair of the vagabond *Shiva*; how she followed the footsteps of the conch-sounding *Bhagiruth*; and how, after passing through places rendered memorable in the geography of Hindu pilgrimage, she fell into the wide sea, and liberated the sixty thousand sons of the mighty king of Oude. The anniversary of this event is celebrated with much pomp in Bengal, in the month of *Jaishtha*. On that occasion, the banks of the sacred river are adorned with garlands of flowers, and lined with thousands of people, who perform their ablutions; the favour of the river deity is celebrated by suitable adorations; the finny inhabitants

of the deep are presented with offerings ; lamps of clarified butter are lighted up ; the officiating priests are amply rewarded, and brahmans in general entertained. The festival is called *Dasahara*, because it is believed that a proper observance of it takes the sins of ten births.

The patroness of mothers and the protectress of children is *Shashti*, who is represented by the image of a woman, riding on a cat, and nursing a child. This amiable goddess is regarded with particular affection by all Hindu mothers. At the birth of a child, homage is rendered to her ; and presents to her are neither few nor far between, so long as the child does not give proofs of approaching manhood ; at the attainment of which, an end is put to her controlling influence. Every son, every daughter is regarded as the child and servant of *Shashti*, and when afflicted with sickness, offerings proper to her dignity and taste are cheerfully made. The domestic cat, the animal on which the guardian of children chooses to ride, is, in consequence, in every Hindu family, treated with peculiar tenderness ; to strike puss with a broom-stick being looked upon as a species of daring impiety. Many are the vows which Hindu mothers pay to *Shashti*, for the preservation and welfare of their offspring. No less than six festivals are annually celebrated in honour of this child-protecting goddess, of which the one held in the month of *Jaishtha*, is the most remarkable. Not unlike the Dryads of a foreign mythology, *Shashti* loves to dwell in the trunk of the Indian fig. In the outskirts of every Hindu village in Bengal, there is found a *Banian* tree, dedicated to this wood-nymph. There might you see, on a fair and sunshiny day of *Jaishtha*, all the women of the village assembled. There might you see the smiling faces of mothers, all radiant with joy, their hands bearing the holy offering, and their persons dressed with the finest clothes and adorned with the costliest ornaments. There might you see, too, women unblessed with "*bonnie bairns*," those pledges of love, their countenances tinged with the deepest melancholy, and their lips muttering fervent petitions to the unpropitious deity. The officiating priest or priestess, as the case may be, repeats the sacred *mantras*, the musical *tom-toms* give out their harsh dissonance ; barren women eagerly receive presents from those blessed with children ; and the fair procession retraces its steps to the village. But the festival is not over yet ; for newly married men it has peculiar attractions. Sons-in-law are invited by their fathers-in-law, are presented with flowers and clothes, and are hospitably entertained. Festivity gladdens every home, and all rejoice in the amenities of the child-protecting goddess.

A third festival is held in the month of *Jaishtha*; it is the bathing of *Jagannāth*. Every resident in Bengal must have seen the armless stump of an ill-shaped image, dignified with the appellation of the "lord of the world." On the occasion of the bathing festival, this ugly divinity, wrapped up with cloth, is carried out of its temple and seated on a recess built for the purpose. Amid the chaunts of *Vedic* incantations by Brahmins, and the loud shouts of the spectators, the *soi-disant* "lord of the world" is divested of his garments, and bathed with the water of the *Bhūgirathi*. The ceremony over, the spectators make presentations of flowers, sweetmeats, and money, to the new-washed deity, all which, we need scarcely say, are appropriated by the priests to their own use. The bathing festival is celebrated with the greatest pomp, at the sacred *Puri* in Orissa; but in Bengal it is held nowhere in a grander style, than in a small village near Serampore. Thousands of people repair to the village to witness the spectacle. It is a scene, however, more of dissolute licentiousness than of superstitious devotion. Old women, no doubt, go thither, purely for purposes of mistaken sanctity; but most of the spectators regard the whole affair as a sort of wanton amusement. Blackguards of every shape leave the metropolis, and frequent this scene of merriment. Most of the public women of the city make it a point of going every year, to witness the celebration of the grand bathing festival. Young coxcombs, with their mistresses, swell the throng of the devotees. In the boats which leave the several ghāts of Calcutta, to waft the gay religionists to *Māhesh*, for that is the name of the village where the festival is celebrated, nothing is to be heard but the most licentious songs and the filthiest language. The pernicious influence which such a congregation of men and women exerts on Hindu society, is inconceivable.

In the month of *Āśārha*, that is, the latter part of June and former of July, the only considerable festival that is held is what is called the *Ratha-Yātrā*, or the car festival. About a fortnight after the bathing of *Jagannāth*, he is placed on the wooden car, comfortably seated, in which he enjoys the benefit of a summer drive. The car is a huge unwieldy sort of chariot, moving upon wheels, and dragged by means of ropes attached to it. For facilities of locomotion, it is, perhaps, the worst possible machine that could have been invented. Besides the monstrous cars at *Puri* in Orissa, every Hindu village almost in Bengal has its separate car, in which the "Moloch of the East" is paraded about. In the city of Calcutta, there are, we imagine, several hundreds of cars; although, of late years, the number has considerably

diminished. Before every large car, as it goes clattering along the ground, is poured fourth the rich music of the deep-sounding *mridanga* and the deafening cymbals. Bands of singers, with stentorian voices, celebrate the praises of Krishna, and shows are exhibited. To assist in the movement of the ponderous machine, is reckoned a meritorious act; and hence old men, as well as children, eagerly grasp the dragging rope. We need not remind the reader that the car festival is celebrated with the greatest pomp and in the highest style in the Puri of *Jagannāth* in Orissa, to which hundreds of thousands of Hindus resort from all parts of India. Time was, when the deluded votaries of a most diabolical superstition, stretched themselves under the wheels of the gigantic cars, and crushed themselves to death, with the hope of obtaining felicity in the coming world; but the beneficent spirit of the British Government has put a stop to these enormities. But in spite of this auspicious circumstance, every village car, by the filthy representations painted on it, exerts a most baleful influence on the morals of the people.

In the month of *Śrādhana*, consisting of part of July and part of August, are held two festivals, the rocking festival, and the worship of the queen of serpents.

Krishna, the most popular of all gods of the Hindu pantheon, is the object of adoration in the *Jhulana-Yātrā*, or the rocking festival. A throne made sometimes of silver, but oftener of wood, is suspended from the ceiling by ropes, in a room adjoining the residence of the god. On this throne is placed the black deity, decked with gay ornaments. Like a child rocked in its cradle, the playful shepherd of *Gokul* is made to swing in his chair of State. The god, after being rocked to his heart's content, is removed to his shrine, where he is worshipped with a variety of offerings, accompanied with instrumental music. The adoration over, the friends of the proprietor of the house, where the festival takes place, are entertained with sweetmeats. The revelry of the night is concluded with a scenic representation of the loves of Krishna, in which ugly boys and grown-up men perform the parts of the charming *Rādhā* and the fair milk-maids of *Brindāban*. In this representation, the amours of the wanton lover of *Mathura* are detailed with disgusting circumstantiality; filthy songs are sung, with the melody of the screeching night-owl; and the actors exhibit a thousand indecent gestures and gesticulations of the body. For five, or more generally, for three successive nights, is the god rocked, friends are entertained, and the abominable representations repeated. Need we wonder, after witnessing

these and other similar exhibitions, at the general profligacy of Hindu manners, and the destruction of all refined feelings of morality and delicacy? Need we be surprised, in the face of these deteriorating causes, if the combined influence of education and Christian truth has not yet effected so much improvement as is desirable in the moral tone of the Hindu community?

It is not a little singular, that the odious and venomous race of serpents should ever become the objects of human adoration. Whether it be that the mighty dragon who "deceived the mother of mankind" has, by his wicked arts, prevailed upon men to establish the worship of the serpent, as a monument of his great power, and a memorial of their inglorious fall; or, that the shape and the voluminous coils of the hateful reptile, suggested the ideas of eternity and power, as they did to the Egyptians of old; or whether it be that it is reckoned an acknowledged maxim in religion, that what is dreaded should be worshipped,—certain it is, that most nations of antiquity rendered divine homage to serpents. It is well known that all tropical countries are infested with snakes. Towards the end of the summer season, but especially during the rains, serpents issue out of their holes, and do great mischief to men and animals. In Bengal, hundreds of persons die every year of the bite of the snake. Hence, on many occasions throughout the year, the dead *Manasá Devi*, the queen of snakes is propitiated by presents, vows, and religious rites. In the month of *Shrābana*, the worship of the snake-goddess is celebrated with great eclat. An image of the goddess, seated on a water-lily, encircled with serpents, or a branch of the *snake-tree* (a species of euphorbia), or a pot of water, with images of serpents made of clay, forms the object of worship. Men, women and children, all offer presents to avert from themselves the wrath of the terrific deity. The *Máls* or snake-catchers signalize themselves on this occasion. Temporary scaffolds of bambu-work are set up in the presence of the goddess. Vessels filled with all sorts of snakes are brought in. The *Máls*, often reeling with intoxication, mount the scaffolds, take out serpents from the vessels, and allow them to bite their arms. The whole race of serpentry is defied. From the slender and harmless *Hele*, to the huge *Boa-constrictor* and the terrific *Cobra-de-capello*, all make their appearance, and exert their might to strike dead the playful *Máls*. Bite after bite succeeds; the arms run over with blood; and the *Máls* go on with their pranks, amid the deafening plaudits of the spectators. Now and then they fall off from the scaffold, and pretend to feel the

effects of poison, and cure themselves by their incantations. But all is mere pretence. The serpents displayed on the occasion, and challenged to do their worst, have passed through a preparatory state. Their fangs have been carefully extracted from their jaws. But most of the vulgar spectators easily persuade themselves to believe, that the *Máls* are the chosen servants of Shiva and the favorites of *Manasá*. Although their supernatural pretensions are ridiculous, yet it must be confessed, that the *Máls* have made snakes the subject of their peculiar study. They are thoroughly acquainted with their qualities, their dispositions and their habits. They will run down a snake into its hole, and bring it out thence by main force. Even the terrible *cobra* is cowed down by the controlling influence of a *Mál*. When in the act of bringing out snakes from their subterranean holes, the *Máls* are in the habit of muttering charms, in which the name of *Manasá* and *Mahadeva* frequently occur; superstition alone can clothe these unmeaning words with supernatural potency. But it is not inconsistent with the soundest philosophy to suppose, that there may be some plants whose roots are disagreeable to serpents, and from which they instinctively turn away. All snake-catchers of Bengal are provided with a bundle of the roots of some plant which they carefully carry along with them, when they set out on their serpent-hunting expeditions. When a serpent, disturbed in its hole, comes out furiously hissing with rage, with its body coiled, and its head lifted up, the *Mál* has only to present before it the bundle of roots above alluded to, at the sight of which it becomes spiritless as an eel. This we have ourselves witnessed more than once. But to return; the exhibitions of snakes, of which we have been speaking, take place in all parts of Bengal. There is a small village in the district of *Hugli* where thousands of people annually assemble together to enjoy the sight. Skilful *Máls* are always presented, by the gaping multitude, with clothes and money. In giving an account, however short, of the great festival of the queen of snakes, it would be unpardonable were we to omit noticing a circumstance which occurs a day or two before the public exhibitions. Bengali mothers, anxious for the preservation of their children from the bite of serpents, implore the favour of *Manasá*. On one of the last days of *Shrabana*, women may be seen coming out of a village, with vessels in their hands containing a composition of rice milk and sugar. Proceeding out of the village, they take their station generally near a tank, and offer their homely present to the goddess on behalf of their children. The presentation being done, they help themselves to the rice,

milk and treacle; and after thanking the goddess, of whom however, no image is set up, they return home with the sure hope of seeing their children preserved, during the ensuing season, from the bite of venomous snakes. In towns and large villages, where women cannot go out, this ceremony, termed *Ban-bhofna*, takes place in the house. In spite, however, of the caution and piety of Hindu mothers, their children are sometimes bitten by snakes. In all such cases, the power of *Munasa* is, by no means, questioned; the blame rests either on the children themselves, who are alleged to have been killed for their irreverence to her, or on the mothers, who are supposed not to have properly propitiated the angry goddess.

In the month of *Bhadra*, composed of the end of August and beginning of September, the only festival worthy of notice is the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of *Krishna*. The festival is named *Nandotsaba*, literally, the "joy of *Nanda*," the reputed father of the shepherd-king. The way in which the votaries express their joy on the anniversary of the birth of their god, is not of the most refined sort. When the strictly religious ceremonies are over, the rejoicing religionists dig a hole in the yard, before the temple of the deity, and pour into it water, curds, turmeric, earth, and other substances. The followers of *Krishna* jump into the hole in the yard; besmear their bodies with the poured materials, and thus adorned, dance with infinite zest, their hands lifted up, and their brazen throats vociferating the praise of their beloved god. From the yard of the house they go out to the streets, and make a perambulation of the village. After they have danced and sung to exhaustion, they throw themselves into a tank, where they wash their bodies. The devotional merriment of the forenoon being over, they betake themselves to rest. In the cool of the afternoon, the sound of the *mridanga* rouses the slumbering *Vaishnavas*, who form themselves into companies, and sing the praises of *Radha* and *Krishna*. As the bands of choristers perambulate the streets, they dance, laugh, weep, and sometimes fall to the ground. With *Vaishnavas*, the anniversary of *Krishna's* birth is a season of high festivity. They wash their houses clean; send presents to one another; put on their best clothes and their brightest ornaments; concoct the finest dishes, and eat the best sweetmeats. Fasting and humiliation, doubtless, accompany the festival; but these precede its celebration. In this festival, the *Goshavamis* reap the greatest benefits, for their deluded and blind votaries make to them ample and substantial presents. The regular and the mendicant *Vaishnavas* are, also, on this occasion, munificently rewarded.

In the month of *Ashvina*, consisting of part of September and part of October, are held the *Durgā* and the *Lakshmi pujās*. Of all Bengali festivals, that celebrated in honour of *Durgā*, is unquestionably, the most popular. Men, women and children, the learned and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the self-righteous and proud Brahman, as well as the humble and despised *Chandāl*, all welcome the approach of this festival with the greatest delight. It is a season of universal festivity throughout the land. All people, to whatever part of the country they may have gone for purposes of gain, return to their homes at this festival. The Mofussilities that reside in Calcutta, wind up their business, shut up their shops, and hasten to the country. During this festival, all the wealth, all the pomp of the people, are displayed. Every man puts on the best clothes and the best shoes that his means afford. There is no Hindu family, in the whole country, which does not buy new clothes on this occasion. For months before, all classes of people, tradesmen, merchants, shop-keepers, husbandmen, &c., lay up some money in store against this monster festival; and very often the hard earnings of a whole twelve-month are spent in the course of the three *Puja* days. The Jews were not more joyous at the feast of *Purim*, the people of Christendom not more merry at Christmas, than the Hindus are gay during the *Durgā Puja* holidays. All is bustle and merriment. The husbandman lays aside his plough, the merchant his books, the tradesman his tools, and the landed proprietor his zemindari cares, and all partake of the general mirth. From every village proceeds the music of the *tom-tom*, and in every house is heard the voice of festivity. In this season of universal excitement, what signs of joy does one behold! what gleesome looks! what joyous faces! what congratulations of friends! what rivers of delight! what oceans of gladness! It is not our object to give to our readers lessons on the Hindu ritual and mythology, but to exhibit a picture of Bengali manners and customs; therefore the institution of the high festival under consideration, and the strictly religious ceremonies connected with it, will not detain us long. The goddess *Durgā*—the female principle by whose influence the universe was created—the wife of the *bhāng*-eating god *Shiva*, is said, among other things, to have, in time immemorial, destroyed a giant of the name of *Makisa*, who had maltreated the gods, and oppressed the inhabitants of the three worlds. To commemorate this extraordinary act of beneficence to gods and men, is the object of the *Durgā* festival. The image which is worshipped in this festival is terrific to behold. Possessed of ten arms, which grasp different

sorts of weapons, the goddess supports her right leg on a lion, and her left on the shoulder of the giant whom she conquers, and into whose heart a serpent from one of her arms strikes its deadly fangs. Over her head, in a painted arch, are exhibited her numerous attendants in the battle-field, and the carnage of the countless hosts of the giant. On her two sides stand, in graceful posture, her two daughters, the goddess of *prosperity* and the goddess of *wisdom*—the Ceres and Minerva of the Grecian mythology; while close to them are placed *Ganesha*, with his head like that of an elephant, and the fair *Kārtikeya* riding on a peacock. The worship of this image, which is made of straw and clay, lasts three days; on the fourth day it is thrown into the river or a tank. After a world of preparatory rites and ceremonies, on the first day of the *puja*, the image is animated with the spirit of *Durgā*, to which religious adorations are rendered. Her attendants, in the canopy overhead, and the accompanying gods and goddesses on her right and left, also receive their due share of worship. The chief peculiarity in the worship of the second day is, that the goddess is bathed with great solemnity. On this day widows fast, with a view to obtain benefit for themselves as well as their children. Unlike the first two days, when the goddess is worshipped more than once, on the third day she is worshipped only once. On all the three days great numbers of animals are sacrificed. Kids, sheep, and buffaloes are led to the altar, and sacrificed by a Brahman or a blacksmith, amid the deafening music of *tom-toms*, and the plaudits of the spectators. On the third day, which is emphatically a bloody day, the largest number of animals is killed. On all the three days, after the conclusion of the daily ceremonies, Brahmans and friends are feasted profusely with sweetmeats, fruits, and curds. On very *puja* night also, before the goddess are sung filthy and other songs, and scenic representations are enacted. The nature of these amusements varies as the tastes of the parties who worship the goddess. In one house you see *natch-girls*, dressed in transparent clothes, through which their every member, their every muscle is discoverable, gently pace the floor to the sound of musical instruments, while your refined and delicate feelings are shocked, no less at the songs, which though sung with silvery voices, are of the filthiest description, than at the indecent gesticulations of their fair forms. In another you perceive two bands of songsters rending the skies with their shrieks, miscalled singing; chaunting at the highest pitch of their voice the praises of the giant-killing *Durgā*; casting at each other the foulest language; and you wonder how a people, laying the least claim to civilization and

refinement, can derive gratification from these disgusting and horrible exhibitions. In another house still, you witness those execrable representations in which grown-up boys, with sooty faces and screeching voices, enact the parts of the lovely milk-maids of *Brindaban*. The moral influence of these licentious exhibitions and grotesque representations is pernicious in the extreme. Apart from the hardening effect of idolatry, the *Durgá puja*, with its boisterous and obscene merriment, its vigils of three successive nights, its monetary extravagance, its ludicrous sights, its licentious exhibitions, produces an awful deterioration in the moral health of the community. But the operations of the fourth and last day remain to be noticed. On this day, in which no sacrifices are offered, after going through a round of religious adorations, the officiating priest dismisses the goddess and implores her to return the next year. The dismissing ceremony over, the females of the house pour out their lamentations at the near prospect of the departure of so beneficent a deity. The goddess is then presented with gifts, and the dust of her feet is rubbed on the foreheads of the votaries. Nothing now remains to be done, but to consign the image, from which the divine spirit of *Durga* has already departed, to the care of the waters. Borne on the shoulders of stout bearers, the idol is paraded through the streets with great pomp. The streets resound with music and singing, and the acclamations of the worshippers. As the carcass of the divinity passes along the streets, the spectators join their hands in sign of adoration. The parade over, the idol, with all its trappings and its tinsel ornaments, is cast into the waters, where the people vie with one another in rifling the goddess of her decorations. On returning from the immersion, the priest sprinkles the votaries with holy water, and offers them his benedictions. They now embrace each other with much enthusiasm, and partake of a draught of a solution of hemp leaves, which produces a gentle intoxication. It is not a little interesting to see a whole people embracing one another with much cordiality, and entertaining each other with suitable refreshments. We are not aware that drunkenness crowns the operations of the last day of the festival; for the potation of hemp leaves, diluted with much water, produces only a little excitement, too slight to lead to any serious consequences.

On the full moon, which immediately follows the *Durgá puja*, is celebrated the festival of *Lakshmi*, the goddess of prosperity. In every Hindu house a basket, which serves as a measure of corn, is set up as the representative of prosperity, and worshipped. This basket or corn-measure is filled with paddy,

encircled with a garland of flowers, and covered with a piece of cloth. In some houses, however, an image of the goddess, seated on the lotus, is worshipped. There is nothing remarkable in this festival, further than that, in every house, one or two persons sit up the whole night ; for it is believed that in some part of the night *Lakshmi* passes over every house, and blesses those who are awake. With the expectation of obtaining this blessing, multitudes in every village sit up the whole night, after drinking a little quantity of the water of the cocoanut. These watchers spend the night in playing at card, chess, &c., and though they find no perceptible accession to their wealth, they yet believe that negligence in watching would bring down misfortunes upon the house.

In the month of *Kārtik*, consisting of part of October and part of November, the goddesses *Shyāma* and *Jagaddhārī*, and the god *Kārtikēya* are worshipped ; brothers are feasted by their sisters, and the *Rāsa* festival is celebrated.

The mythological story connected with the *Shyāma* festival is soon told. In the celebrated war of *Durgā* or *Kālī*—for the latter is only a modification of the former—with *Sumbha* and *Nisumbha*, *Kālī* obtained a victory over *Rakta Bija*, the commander-in-chief of the enemy's forces. So transported was she at the triumph, that she danced. But the dancing of the sable goddess was quite a different affair from the dancing of ordinary balls. Her dancing shook the universe to its centre, and gods and men were frightened and ran to her husband *Shiva*, to persuade his amiable wife to discontinue the terrific dance. Solicitous of the welfare of the gods, *Shiva* instantly hastened to the battle-field, and perceiving no way of alleviating his consort's joy, threw himself among the mountains of the dead. When the goddess saw that she was dancing upon the body of her husband, she put out her tongue and remained motionless. The images generally formed of *Kālī* represent the above-mentioned scene in the battle field. The body of *Shiva* lies on the ground, on which the dreaded goddess takes her station. She stands trampling upon her husband ; her tongue put out to a great length ; her four arms extended, one grasping a sword, another the head of a gaint, and the other two signalling to her innumerable hosts ; her ears adorned with two corpses worn as ear-rings ; her neck ornamented with a necklace of skulls ; her waist encircled with a zone of the hands of fallen gaints ; her sable tresses falling down to her heels in ample profusion. Intoxicated with the blood of enemies, her terrible eyes flash red with rage, her eyebrows are dyed with crimson, and blood in rills flows adown her breast. The nature of her

worship is in keeping with her dreadful appearance. It takes place exactly in the middle of the night of new moon. The number of the animals sacrificed to her is immense. The yard before her temporary temple becomes often deluged with blood. The horror of the scene baffles description. The natural gloom of midnight, unbroken by moonshine ; the piteous cries of animals led to the slaughter ; the glancing of scymitars ready to fall upon the devoted victims ; the streams of blood deluging the yard ; the horrid din of deafening tom-toms ; the terrific yells of the spectators, when the sacrificial knife lays low the extended animal ; the frantic dances of the votaries, besmeared with the clotted blood of slaughtered buffaloes : the appalling exclamation of the officiating priests, bawling aloud, as they often do, "*Jaya Tárá ! Jaya Tárá !*" that is, "Victory to *Tárá !* victory to *Tárá !*"—the drunken feats of the intoxicated worshippers, who this night all partake of spirits ; and in the fine, the sable goddess before whom these scenes are enacted ; all this produces an accumulation of horrors too frightful to behold.

Two days after the *Shyámá* festival, it is customary with Hindu sisters to feast their brothers. On this occasion, the sisters mark the foreheads of their brothers with a certain paint prepared for the purpose. While in the act of putting on the paint, they implore a blessing in behalf of their brothers to the following effect :—"While I put the paint on your forehead, may the path 'towards the regions of *Yama* be planted with thorns." To *Yama*, the Indian Pluto—the king of the infernal regions, at this time, suitable acts of worship are rendered. The brothers are then feasted with all sorts of Bengali delicacies, and presented with clothes. In the beginning of this month, the unmarried girls of every house perform a ceremony which deserves notice, as it illustrates the manners of the people. In this ceremony, homage is rendered to the king of death, from whom the virgin worshippers solicit the agreeable gifts of husbands and sons, and exemption from punishment in the future world. What is the way in which such desirable gifts may be obtained ? A small pit is dug near the front of the house ; the four corners of this pit are sown with barley or wheat, and planted with branches of the plaintain tree ; misses putting on clean clothes, their heads sprinkled with Gangá water, repair to this pit, and present flowers to the Indian Pluto ; a *kouri* every morning, for thirty days successively, is put into an earthen pot ; on the last day these thirty *kouries* are presented to the person who dug the pit ; and after going through all this, spinsters rejoice in the confidence of obtaining agreeable husbands and seraphic boys.

The goddess *Jagaddhatri*, riding on a lion, and grasping in her four hands a conch, a discus, a water-lily and a club, is only one of the almost countless forms of *Durgā*. Her worship, like that of her anti-type, lasts one day. The repetition of incantations, the presentation of offerings and bloody sacrifices, the recitation of sacred stories, the entertainment of Brahmans, together with scenic representations, songs, and dances, make up the several items of her adoration. She is last of all thrown into the river or a pool, the common reservoir of all Hindu gods and goddesses.

At the close of the month of *Kārtik* is held the festival of the god *Kārtikeya*, the Indian Mars, the son of *Shiva* and *Durgā*. It is inconsistent with the design of this article to relate the circumstances connected with the birth of the six-faced hero-god, how the immortals smarted under the iron rule of a supercilious giant; how the fair daughter of the king of *Himālaya* courted the mighty lord of *Daurās*; how the Indian Cupid was reduced to ashes by the wrath of *Shiva*, whom he wounded with one of his maddening arrows;—all which events have been described by the graphic pen of *Kālī Dās*, in his great epic entitled the *Kumar-Sambhava*. The knightly *Kārtikeya*, riding on a peacock, and holding in his two hands a bow and arrows, is a very popular god. His worship, lasting only one short night, and being moreover attended with very little expense, thousands of images are annually adored in all parts of the country. An unmarried bachelor as the god is, and living as he does, in concubinage with a mistress presented him by the king of heaven, he is a favourite of the Calcutta strumpets, who perform his annual rites with much pomp. There is nothing remarkable in the celebration of the *Kārtikeya* festival, except that it is attended with much indecent and licentious festivity, more animated music than on other occasions, and uncommon pomp and circumstance of processions.

The *Rāsa-Yātrā* completes the list of festivals in the month of *Kārtik*. We should have mentioned this festival before, inasmuch as it invariably precedes the *Kārtikeya* festival. The *Rāsa-Yātrā* is an annual commemoration of the sports of *Krishna* with the milk-maids of *Brindāban*. It is held for three successive nights. On a high recess, open on all sides, and built for the purpose, the god is brought out of its temple and seated. Around it are placed many images of the god made of clay. On the open space, in front of the recess, is a canopy spread, from which are suspended paper-made images of various animals and reptiles. The god is worshipped with due solemnity, and the spectators amused with love-songs and

the execrable *Yâtras*. Towards the morning the god is carried to its temple, whence it is taken on the two following nights, and the same ceremonies and scenes are repeated. The silvery brightness of a full-moon night—the time when this celebration takes place ; the unclouded serenity of a Bengal autumn ; the merry-makings and festivities before the *Râsa-Manja* ; and the gay recollections of the festive sports and wanton gambols of the lover of *Râdhâ*, which this festival calls up in the minds of the votaries, make the *Râsa* a favourite festival of the inhabitants of Lower Bengal. Before the house in which this festival is celebrated with considerable ostentation, temporary sheds are erected and shops are opened, where sweetmeats, *pân-leaves*, and *betel-nuts* are sold in large quantities. Altogether, it is a scene of animation and enjoyment. But we need scarcely inform the reader, that these pleasures are not unmixed with outrages on the female character. We would be doing injustice to the Bengalis, however, did we maintain that these outbreaks are invariable attendants of the festival. But we do hold, notwithstanding, that the *Râsa* serves greatly to demoralize the national character.

In the month of *Agrahâya*na, consisting of part of November and part of December, only, one festival worthy of notice is celebrated. It is the festival of the *first fruits*. Bengal being an agricultural country, and rice being the staple food of its inhabitants, the harvest is a season of joy and thanksgiving. But the Bengalis are also a religious people ; the system of Hinduism exercises a vast influence on their manners and customs. Hence, before the general harvest, the first sheaves of paddy are offered to the gods. On this occasion the new rice of the year, together with milk, and the fruits and roots of the season, are presented to the immortals with due solemnity. The great progenitors of the human race, the far-famed *Munis* and *Rishis*, and the immediate forefathers of the celebrating family, are not deprived of their just shares. Even the beasts of the field, and the birds of the air, are attended to, for the new rice is placed in the fields, and on high places for their benefit. The Bengali, who is the humblest of all men, after presenting the first fruits of the season to the gods, the progenitors, the jackals and the crows, last of all partakes of it himself. This festival, which is appropriately termed the festival of the *new rice*, is concluded in some parts of the country with manly sports, pyrotechnic exhibitions, and entertainments given to brahmans and friends. The institution is not unlike the Jewish feast of the first fruits. Excepting for the corruptions of superstition which disgrace this feast, it is to us

a most delightful spectacle to see a whole nation, by presenting the first fruits of the year to the higher powers, give a marked expression to the religious sentiments of common humanity, and acknowledge their dependence on the bountiful giver of all things. It is pleasing to contemplate that the Hindu does not feel himself at liberty to use the staple food of the country without first offering it to Him who is the Creator and Preserver, not only of men, but also of the beasts and birds that perish; though regarding Him, the Hindu, it must be confessed, entertains most dishonouring notions in other respects.

In the month of *Poush*, which comprises part of December and part of January, are held two festivals which merit description. The first which we shall mention, is a social institution, and seems to have no connection whatever with the performance of religious rites and ceremonies. It is named *Poushali*, from the circumstance of its celebration in the month of *Poush*. On a certain day of the month, parties, with baskets in their hands, and loads on their backs, may be seen begging large quantities of rice and ordinary vegetables from every house in the village. The begging over, they repair to a garden on the outskirts of the village, where they make preparations for a feast. The males of every household which has contributed to the general stock of food, are invited to partake of this sylvan banquet. In order to allay all apprehension arising from the distinctions of caste, three or four brahmans are appointed *cuisiniers*. While the sacred cooks busily carry on their work of concoction, the guests divert themselves with running and swimming matches, and the robust exercises of *Dāndā-guli* and *Hadu Gadu*. After all have refreshed themselves with a genial bath in the adjoining tank, they sit down on the grass, and partake on plaintain leaves of the elements of a rude repast. After crowning the feast, not indeed with flowing bumpers, but with betel-nuts and tobacco, they oftentimes lie down on the grassy couch of nature, indulge in agreeable talk, and return to their houses in the cool of the evening. Sometimes, in considerable villages, several parties are formed, which celebrate separate feasts in different groves. We need scarcely inform the reader, that this festival is unknown to the inhabitants of the metropolis, where the same facilities are not afforded. These sylvan repasts, besides the innocent hilarity connected with them, contribute in a great measure to produce feelings of friendliness and brotherly love between the several members of the Hindu community.

The only other festival of any consequence in the month of *Poush* is the *feast of cakes*. On this occasion, as at Christmas

in England, every cottage in every hamlet of Bengal is provided with a plentiful supply of cakes. Perhaps some of our readers will put the question—What sorts of things are Bengali cakes? For the gratification of these readers, but especially for the benefit of certain Calcutta *restaurateurs*, who may think of entertaining European ladies and gentlemen in the forthcoming Christmas with a dish of Bengali delicacies, we, though no confectioners, give the following *recipe* :—Let rice be pounded and formed into a sort of paste; take a small quantity of this paste, and by means of your fingers spread it out into the form of a small hollow cup; fill this cup with a mixture of the kernel of the cocoa-nut and treacle, or with cream; carefully cover this substance by joining the ends of the paste spread out in the manner described; put this closed cup in a *handy* of boiling water; take it out of the *handy*, say, after five minutes, and you will have a Bengali cake of the first quality, invaluable for producing stomach-ache. For three days do men, women, and children indulge in these abominable cakes. During these days the goddess of *prosperity*, and the queen of serpents, are worshipped. On the first day of the festival all the articles of furniture of the house are bound by pieces of straw, with the view that they may never pass out of their present owner's hands. In some places a large cake, in the form of a cat, is offered with due solemnity, accompanied with the repetition of incantations to *Shasti*—the protectress of children. Long may the feast of cakes, but purified from its heathenish associations, continue on the plains of Bengal, and bring with it every year, household joys and comforts! Long may old men and old women, boys and girls, partake of the rice-made cakes, which, though noxious in their effects on delicate stomachs, contribute to the mirth and festivity of thirty millions of people! And long may the month of *Push* continue to crown the labours of Bengal farmers with golden success!

In the month of *Mágh*, which consists of part of December and part of January, only one festival is celebrated, *viz.*, the worship of *Saraswati*. The fair and eloquent *Saraswati*, standing upon a water-lily and playing upon a lute, is the Minerva of the Hindus, the goddess of learning. It was she, who inspired in bye-gone ages, the sublime *Vjds*, the mighty *Valmiki*, and the versatile *Kali Dás*; and it is the same beneficent goddess that, in these degenerate days, instructs the humble Sudra in the elements of learning, and initiates the exalted Brahman into the mysteries of *Nyáya* and of the *Vedánta*. In every hamlet in Bengal, on the fifth day of the increase of the moon in this month, is the worship of this patroness of learning celebrated by her

votaries. Unlike the other goddesses and gods of the Hindu Pantheon, this beautiful and amiable daughter of Bramha has not a particular clique of adorers and supporters. Every person who is acquainted with letters, from the merest tyro that writes the alphabet on palm leaves, to the venerable Principal of a Sanskrit *Choubati*, is a votary of the celestial *Bagbadini*. At this festival, divine homage is rendered to manuscripts, printed books, pens, inkstands, and all the implements of reading and writing ; and flowers, accompanied with the repetition of certain forms of prayers, are offered to them by every male. It is quite in keeping with the woman-degrading spirit of Hinduism, that females are excluded from paying adoration to the goddess of learning, since they have neither part nor lot in her gifts : but it is not a little singular that the Hindus should make a *female* divinity preside over wisdom and intelligence. Mr. Ward, in his "*History, Literature and Religion of the Hindus*," to which we are much indebted in the drawing up of this article, says that shocking indecencies are connected with the celebration of this festival. We are not aware of such being the case, and are induced to suppose that he drew a general conclusion from an isolated fact which came under the eye of his observation, but which had no necessary connexion with the festival which we are now reviewing. We may here remark, once for all, that Mr. Ward's book contains a mass of the most valuable information regarding the Hindus, and that we have been struck with its minute accuracy. But we cannot help at the same time observing, that in a few instances Mr. Ward is a little too severe upon the Hindus : he holds out the dark side of the native character oftener than he does the bright.

In *Phúlgun*, the eleventh month of the Hindus, the most considerable festival is celebrated in honour of Krishna, and is termed *Dole* or the *Holi* festival. The *Holi* festival is held in the grandest style in the Western Provinces, where, for a long period preceding the full moon, the "noise of riot and injury, and outrage" used in bye-gone times to "ascend the loftiest towers of luxurious cities." We say *in bye-gone times* ; for the mild and peaceful administration of the British has considerably abated the fury of these diabolical rites. During the *Holi* festival the Hindus are permitted to indulge in the grossest licentiousness with impunity. Gambling prevails universally ; the everlasting sound of tinkling cymbals is heard day and night ; the filthiest songs are sung in the open streets ; the vilest abuse is cast in the teeth of the passengers ; women are insulted ; red powder is ever and anon doing its business of blinding the eyes ; a solution of this powder, or any

other liquid preparation, is constantly being discharged from syringes ; and the dance of drunken devotees crowns the scene. All this, to a considerable extent, prevails even now in this city. But we must admit that in the Mofussil such atrocities are not committed. There the god Krishna is worshipped, the devotees besmear themselves with red powder, and amuse themselves with singing, music, and fire-works. This festival is a commemoration of the sports of the merry-hearted lover of *Gokul* with the milk-maids of *Brindaban*.

Omitting the mention of *Shiva's night*, it just occurs to us to say, that an elegant divinity is worshipped this month with due solemnity. What may our readers imagine this amiable god to be? Why, it is none other than the lovely *Ghentu*, the patron of that cutaneous eruption, which in common *parlance* passes under the name of itch. The pomp and circumstance of the adoration of this god are in beautiful keeping with the dignity of his character, and the services he renders to humanity. The scene of worship is the dunghill, a necessary appendage to every Bengali house in the country. A broken *handy* of earthen-ware, its bottom blackened by the soot of many a month, and daubed white with lime, and interspersed with a few strokes of turmeric, together with a branch or two of the *Ghentu* plant, and last, not least, a broom-stick of the genuine palmyra or cocoa-nut stock, serve as the representation of the presiding deity of itch. The mistress of the family for whose benefit the worship is performed acts the priestess. The repetition of a few doggrel rhymes over, the *handy* is broken into a thousand pieces, to the no small delight of the little urchins who dance around the place, and conclude the rites of adoration by gathering up the shivered fragments, and by reciting songs to the honour, or rather to the shame, of the god of itch. It may not be here out of place to remark that the Bengalis pay homage to the patrons of some of the other diseases that break out with peculiar virulence in the country. In addition to the patron deity of itch, they have *Shitalá*, the goddess of the small-pox, and *Olá Bibi*, the patroness of that frightful scourge of modern times, the cholera. By conciliating the favour of these *nosopoietic* divinities, the Bengalis fondly hope for an exemption from the influence of those maladies over which they preside.

In *Chaitra*, the closing month of the Bengali year, the great *swinging festival* takes place. It is said to have been instituted by an ancient king, by undergoing great austerities, procured an interview with the drunken lord of *Kailás*, in whose honour this festival is celebrated. The Hindus who particularly

signalize themselves in performing the rites of this far-famed festival, are called *Sannyāsi*. A Hindu of any caste whatever may become a *Sannyāsi*. These devotees, for the space of a month or a fortnight, or ten days at the least, go through a round of preparatory purifications. They take only one meal; visit every day *Shiva's Lingam*; repeatedly pronounce his various names; dance round his temple, and abstain from all ceremonial pollution. Not unlike the drunken devotees of Bacchus in classic Greece, who, during the celebration of the orgies, wore the sacred *Prætexta*, the votaries of the Indian Bacchus put on the holy *upabiti* during the swinging festival. The preparation services over, on the first day of the festival the *Sannyāsis* throw themselves down from a bambu stage upwards of twenty feet high. At the foot of the bambu stage are placed, in an inclined position, knives and spikes of iron put upon heaps of straw. Upon these instruments do the votaries of *Shiva* cast themselves from the high stage. Hardly is any body injured; for, owing to the peculiar posture of the iron instruments, they do not penetrate into the bodies of the falling worshippers, but fall along with them to the ground. Then follows the great day of boring. It is needless to describe what every resident in Calcutta, or any other city of India has often witnessed. The arm of one *Sannyāsi* bored by a spear; a long iron bar put through the slit tongue of a second, which he holds by both his hands; a third dancing in the middle of two rattans, which have pierced his sides; and a fourth, all planted over with needles, all these sights must be familiar—painfully familiar—to every inhabitant of Calcutta. These borings are accompanied with shows and pantomimic exhibitions. Long rows of fantastic figures pass along the streets. The well-digger, with a basket in one hand and a hoe in the other, his body daubed over with clay; the school-boy in his short dress, and his tucked-up hair, with a bunch of palm leaves under his arm; the bended *bhisti*, with his leathern *mussuck* and his sounding tin; the intoxicated *mather*, his one hand holding a broom-stick, and the other twisting up his *moustache*; the potatoe-seller, with a basket on his head, crying potatoes “most musically up and down;” a rabble of savage Burmese in their peculiar habiliments and superb ear-rings, eternally crying *po-po-po*; the paper-made and moving Church, in which the *Padre Sahib* reads from his holy book and addresses the assembled multitudes; the peacock-shaped boat gliding along to the sound of dulcet symphonies; the glittering square rooms in which Bengal fairies display the charming beauty of their person and the rich music of their voice: all

these, and a hundred other shows, erewhile graced the streets of Calcutta. We say, *erewhile graced the streets of Calcutta*; for, to the infinite regret of the good Hindus of this city, these shows are not allowed by the Gothic myrmidons of the police to pass through its streets! On the last day of the *Charak puja*, swinging, strictly so called, takes place. An upright pole of twenty feet or more in length, is put vertically into the ground. On the top of this pole, a transverse beam is made to move round a pivot. To the ends of this transverse beam are attached two ropes, the one for fastening the swinging devotee, and the other for turning round the machine. The back of the devotee is bored by a hook which is fastened to the rope of the transverse beam. On a signal given the machine is set agoing, and the wretched devotee describes a painful circumference round the *Charak-tree*. The swinging *Sannyasi*, whose aerial sojourn is often half an hour long, amuses himself with throwing to the gaping crowd plantains, sweetmeats, and fruits, with which he had plentifully provided himself before his ascension. It is not to be supposed that only one man swings at one time round a *Charak-tree*, although this is very generally the case. In this city itself, sixteen men have been seen to swing round one tree at the same time; and we have been informed, on credible authority, that no less than thirty-two men have been observed to swing simultaneously round one tree in the village of *Santipore*, near Kishnagur! The place where the swinging is performed is always a scene of excitement and bustle. The loud acclamation of the spectators, and their noisy eagerness to obtain the substances thrown by the hero of the moment from his aerial position; the vociferations of those turning the beam, who cheer on one another; the sounds "*De pák! De pák!*" that is "Turn more violently, turn more violently," which the swinging devotee in bravo often makes; the horrid din of deafening *tom-toms*, which pour out "many a bout of linked sweetness;" all these circumstances turn the swinging place into a perfect Babel. Around the *Charak-tree* in the Mofussil is invariably held a fair, where knives, razors, sweetmeats, clothes, and trinkets of all sorts are sold in large quantities. Old wives and young maidens, the man of seventy and the boy in his *teens*, all dressed in their holiday's best, repair to the Charak-ground as to a gay fair. The last man comes down from the tree, the goods are bought and sold, mountebanks close their seats, and the scene is wound up. The *Charak* is ended. All the annual festivals are ended. The Bengali year is ended.

And this article too shall shortly be ended. Only we would,

before we close, direct the attention of our readers to a subject of much importance connected with the celebration of these festivals. We refer to the practice of closing the Government offices on occasion of a large number of these festivals. We do not wish at present to regard the question, as to the propriety of this practice in a religious aspect, nor to enquire how far it is right for a Christian Government to countenance the practices of idolatry, regarded merely as religious rites. But considering that into the celebration of the greater number of these festivals a large amount of dissipation and debauchery enters, and enters as an essential and indispensable element, we hold that the Government ought to afford no facilities whatever for the celebration. With respect to some of the festivals, such as the *Charak* and the *Holi*, the more respectable of the natives themselves acknowledge their debasing tendency, and would rejoice even at their forcible suppression. But all we ask is the withdrawal of that countenance which is afforded by the cessation of all public business in honor of them.

We confess that we are altogether unable to sympathize, to any extent whatsoever, with the squeamishness of those who would represent the requirement of the attendance of the native-officials on these days, as an infringement of the right of conscience. Conscience has nothing at all to do with the matter, except in so far as a Bengali most conscientiously delights in idleness. In point of fact, the most conscientious Hindus are the men that would find least fault with the change; the only men that would grumble would be the idle and the dissipated.

But the matter may be very easily settled. Let the public offices be kept open, and let it be announced, that all who choose to attend shall receive their full salaries, and that all who absent themselves shall forfeit their day's pay. Thus would the most tender conscience be left intact. We venture to predict that the saving effected to Government would not be infinitesimally small.

We do not know any one way in which the Government could more effectually diminish the amount of licentiousness and crime, and elevate, to a considerable extent, the character of the people, than by withdrawing their sanction from these holidays, and requiring their offices to be kept open on these as on other days.

THE HIMALAYA IN KUMAON AND GURHWAL.

BY SIR J. STRACHEY.

1. *Official Reports on the Province of Kumdon, with a Medical Report on the Mohamurree in Gurhwál, in 1849-50. Edited, under the orders of the Hon'ble the Lieut.-Governor, N.-W. Provinces.* By J. H. Batten, Esq., C. S., Commissioner of Kumáon. Agra. 1851.
2. *The Tarai and outer Mountains of Kumdon.* By Major Madden, Bengal Artillery. (Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1848.
3. *Notes of an Excursion to the Pindri Glacier in September, 1846.* By Capt. Ed. Madden, Bengal Artillery. (Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1847.
4. *On Himálayan Coniferæ—being a supplement to the "Brief Observations," &c. Journal of Agricultural & Horticultural Society, Vol. IV., Part IV.* By Major E. Madden, Bengal Artillery. (Journal of Agricultural & Horticultural Socy.) Calcutta, 1849.
5. *Narrative of a Journey to Cho Lagan (Rakas Tal), Cho Mapan (Mánaserówar), and the valley of Pruang in Gnari, Húndés, in September and October 1846.* By Henry Strachey, Lieut., 66th Bengal N. I. (Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1848.
6. *Description of the Glaciers of the Pindúr and Kuphinee rivers in the Kumdon Himálaya.* By Lieut. R. Strachey, Bengal Engineers. (Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1847.
7. *Note on the motion of the Glacier of the Pindúr in Kumdon.* By Lieut. R. Strachey, Bengal Engineers, (Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.) Calcutta, 1848.
8. *On the Snow-line in the Himálaya.* By Lieut. R. Strachey, Bengal Engineers. Communicated by order of the Hon'ble the Lieut.-Governor, N.-W. Provinces. (Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1849.
9. *On the Geology of part of the Himálaya Mountains and Tibet.* By Capt. R. Strachey, Bengal Engineers. F. G. S. (Proceedings of Geological Society of London.) June, 1851.
10. *On the Physical Geography of the Provinces of Kumdon and Gurhwál in the Himálaya Mountains, and of the adjoining parts of Tibet.* By R. Strachey, Esq., Bengal Engineers. Read before the Royal Geographical Society of London, on the 12th of May, 1851.
11. *Report on the Cultivation and Manufacture of Tea in Kumdon and Gurhwál.* By William Jameson, Esq., Superintendent,

- Botanical Gardens, N.-W. Provinces. (Journal of Agricultural and Horticultural Society, Vol. IV.) Calcutta, 1845.
12. *Report on the Progress of the Culture of the China Tea Plant in the Himálayas from 1835 to 1847.* By J. Forbes Royle, M. D., F. R. S. (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.) London, 1849.
 13. *Report upon the Tea Plantations in the N.-W. Provinces,* by Robert Fortune. Printed by the Government, N.-W. P., Agra, 1851.
 14. *Suggestions for the Importation of Tea-makers, Implements, and Seeds from China into the N.-W. Provinces.* By W. Jameson, Esq., Superintendent, Botanical Gardens, N.-W. Provinces. Printed by the Government, N.-W. P. Agra, 1852.

SOME seven years ago, we were lamenting, in one of the earlier numbers of this *Review* (No. VII. Art. VI.,) over the discreditable fact, that after thirty years of British rule, we were still without any trustworthy accounts of our Himálayan provinces. The list of valuable papers which stands at the head of this article, will show that much has been done, during the last few years, to remove this reproach. We have not yet obtained all that we could desire. We want something more accessible to the world, and of a more comprehensive character, than papers scattered through the pages of scientific journals and official reports. But a good beginning has been made; we have proof that competent observers have been at work; and we trust that ere long we may obtain the great desideratum, a complete account of a tract of country, which, in its physical characteristics, is perhaps the most interesting and most wonderful in the world.

We shall not enter now into any elaborate criticisms of the papers that we have referred to. We propose in the present article to endeavour to show how vast and interesting a field of enquiry here lies open to the instructed observer, and to give a sketch, necessarily a very general and imperfect one, of some of the chief characteristics of our Himálayan provinces of Kumáon and Gurhwál. We shall touch more particularly on some points which have received hitherto the least elucidation; we do not pretend to give, in an article of a *Review*, a complete physical description of a country like this; and some of the most interesting and important branches of the subject we shall be compelled to pass by altogether.

The British provinces of Kumáon and Gurhwál comprehend

that part of the Himálaya mountains situated between the Alaknanda, the main stream of the Ganges on the west, and the Káli or Sárdah on the east. The former river, and its affluent, the Mandákini, separate the British territory from the protected state of Gurhwál; the latter forms the boundary between Kumáon and the Nepalese province of Doti. The plains of India are the limit of these districts to the south, while the water-shed line of the main range of the Himálaya forms the frontier, with Tibet to the north.

These districts consist entirely of mountains. From the plains to the cordillera of the snowy range, a distance of nearly a hundred miles, not only do we find nothing that can be called a plain, but hardly a valley of any considerable breadth. The direction of the main range of the Himálaya is here, as elsewhere, from about north-west to south-east; and the inferior ridges, which rise immediately above the plains of India, preserve a general parallelism with the line passing through the great peaks of the chain.

Perhaps in no part of the world does a traveller behold Nature under more various and more wonderful aspects within so small a space, than he who passes from the plains of India into the Himálaya. Leaving behind him the flourishing cities and the rich cultivation of Rohilkhand, he enters gradually into a tract covered with tall reeds and grasses, and intersected by sluggish streams that rise from pestilential swamps, with here and there a wretched village, inhabited by a squalid and miserable race. This tract, usually called the *Tarai*, lies between the cultivated districts of Rohilkhand, and the great forest, which extends along the base of the Himálaya. Its average breadth is perhaps ten miles, but it has generally no very marked limits; although, taken as a whole, it is perfectly distinct in aspect and character from the country on either side. The traveller, after passing through this region of swamp and prairie, comes into a tract of a very different character, the magnificent forest, which extends uninterruptedly along the foot of the Himálaya. The breadth of this forest-belt is generally from ten to fifteen miles.

The change from the Tarai is not only one from grassy swamps to the splendour of a tropical forest. The geological phenomena present a change not less striking than the botanical. In the Tarai the tall reeds and grasses everywhere betoken the marshy ground from which they spring; the streams, which carry off only a portion of the superfluous water, run sluggishly, doubling back constantly on their course; the soil consists of moist, alluvial matter, without a sign of rock, either

in fragments or in site. In the forest, on the other hand, no water rises from the ground. Throughout its whole extent, not a single spring, nor any water can be seen, except occasionally where one of the larger rivers of the *Himálaya* takes its course. In the rainy season alone, numerous torrents cut into the ground, and the ravines thus formed exhibit characteristic geological sections of this remarkable tract. They show that the superb forest derives but scanty support from the soil on which it stands. A few feet of earth rest on a vast dry bed of boulder and of shingle, through which all rain that falls sinks rapidly, and which absorbs, in the same way, with the few exceptions of the great rivers, all the drainage of the lower ridges of the *Himálaya*.

It is necessary briefly to explain the causes of this remarkable contrast ; or rather, we should say, to explain the only theory which, so far as we are aware, affords any satisfactory interpretation of the physical peculiarities which this tract exhibits. All along the foot of the mountains lies this great bed of shingle, sand, and boulder. No rivers can be supposed to have laid out such a vast deposit, and we can only conclude, that we see here the bottom of an ancient ocean, which once washed the base of the *Himálayan* chain. We must suppose that the boulders and shingle were spread out only to a distance of ten or fifteen miles from the mountains from which they were derived, and that only the finer particles of the detritus were carried out into the sea beyond. When the plains of India were upheaved, and what was once the bed of the ocean had become dry land, this great boulder deposit was left along the base of the *Himálaya*, and into it, instead of into the sea, the mountain streams now pour their waters. When they reach the loose stones and shingle, they begin at once to be absorbed : their course is too rapid to let a fresh deposit of more imperious character accumulate ; and what was a considerable stream before it left the hills, has vanished altogether soon after it has entered the plains. The waters find their way below the boulder deposit, and at its southern limit, where it has thinned out into the alluvial plain, they begin again to appear in the swamps of the *Tarai*, and thence they flow on as the rivers of *Rohilkhand*.

This theory, even if it should be incorrect, will serve at any rate to convey to the mind some notion of the actual phenomena which this tract exhibits.

We have then, between the fertile plains of *Rohilkhand* and the outer ridges of the *Himálaya*, two belts of country, each about ten miles broad, the region of grass and swamps, called

the Tarai, and the waterless forest. The Tarai attained no inconsiderable prosperity in former times, notwithstanding its deadly climate; and at the present time it is not altogether devoid of inhabitants and cultivation. Mr. Batten's *Report on the Bhábur* contains a valuable account of the past history of this tract, and of its actual state; and in a former number of this *Review* (No. IX. Art. III,) will be found a description of the projects for irrigation connected with the Tarai.

The forest, with the exception of a narrow belt immediately below the hills, of which we shall speak presently, is almost devoid of human habitations;—a necessary consequence of the want of water, but one which may hereafter be removed by the plans of scientific irrigation, which are now beginning to attract attention.

We reach the foot of the hills almost without being sensible of any ascent, although the actual slope of the ground in the forest is very considerable. There is no gradual transition from the plains to the mountains. We pass at once, and most striking is the change, into the *Himálaya*, which rises like a wall from the great plains of India.

The lower ranges of hills present very different aspects to those entering Kumáon on the eastern and on the western side. From the Sárdah westward to the Nihál, a stream, which rises in the hills immediately to the south of Naini Tál, the sandstone ridges which rise above the plains, are immediately connected with the crystalline formations which constitute the great mass of the Kumáon mountains. When a traveller going northwards has once entered the hills, he comes again to no level plain, until he crosses the snowy passes of the *Himálaya* into Tibet. But to the west of the Nihál we generally find that the hills, which are first reached from the plains, form a distinct low ridge, composed of conglomerates and sandstones, running parallel to the higher ranges to the north, and separated from them by a belt of plain or valley, from five to ten miles broad. The valleys thus formed are generally known by the name of *Dún*. It is this outer range of hills, which, west of Hurdwar, under the name of *Sirrálík*, has become so famous to palæontologists from the discoveries of Dr. Falconer and Colonel Cautley. In these valleys we again find the great deposit of gravel, sand, and boulder, and the streams entering the *Dúns* from the hills are generally absorbed, like those which flow directly from the hills, into the plains.

It has been before incidentally noticed, that the part of the forest immediately below the hills is not always devoid of cultivation and inhabitants. In Kumáon, the streams which

come down from the mountains are often turned off into artificial channels before they have been absorbed in the shingle deposit, and are made available for irrigating the country which lies immediately at the foot of the hills. In this way a very considerable quantity of land has been brought under most profitable cultivation; but owing to the unskilful manner in which the water-courses are constructed, not half the available water has been hitherto made use of. Now, however, the attention of Captain H. Ramsay, Senior Assistant Commissioner in Kumaon, has been turned to the subject, and we have no doubt that, under his zealous and energetic management, we shall, in the course of a few years, see a very great increase of the cultivation at the foot of the hills.

Nearly the whole population of the southern parts of Kumaon, between the plains and Almora, moves down in the cold season to this tract, thus made available for cultivation, and to the Tarai beyond, the attraction in the latter case being pasturage for the cattle. West of the Kosilla, along the Gurhwal frontier, this annual migration does not take place, and the forest along the foot of the hills, and in the *Duns*, is almost entirely without cultivation or inhabitants.

As the climate of the Tarai and forest does not materially differ, in point of heat at least, from that of the neighbouring plains of Northern India, the vegetation approximates in character to that of the tropics. The valuable papers by Major Madden, on the Botanical Geography of Kumaon, are the best guide that we possess to this branch of science for the tract in question; and we can do no more than refer to them now.

It would require the genius of a Humboldt to describe worthily, and with both picturesque and scientific accuracy, the magnificent beauty of the forest scenery. During the greater part of the year, heat and malaria make it almost inaccessible to the European traveller, but in the perfect climate of the cold season, the lover of Nature will soon discern that the magnificence of the "shining orient" is no fiction of poets and romancers, as we in India are perhaps too generally apt to suspect. But it is not easy to get an adequate idea of forest scenery; for a thick underwood, of innumerable thorn-bushes and prickly acacias, usually covers the ground between the larger trees, and makes all locomotion, except on the back of an elephant, difficult or impossible. As we approach the hills, the peculiar beauties of the forest become more and more striking, and the rich cultivation frequently adds a new charm to the scenery. He who has once seen them will never

forget the mango-groves of Kota, and Kálidhúngi, "dense with the stately forms" of the ancient Huldús.*

But we must linger no longer at the foot of the hills. The ridges of the Himálaya, which immediately overhang the plains or the *Dáns*, attain in Kumáon and Gurhwál an average elevation of about seven thousand feet; and after we have once entered the mountain region, we come again to nothing that can be called a flat country, until we have passed far to the north of the great peaks of the chain. From the plains of India, to the line of maximum elevation, the average distance is about eighty or ninety miles; but the whole breadth of the Himálaya probably exceeds two hundred miles.

Let us suppose that we have ascended the first range of hills that rises above the plains in Central Kumáon to the lofty peak of Chinar, which overhangs the lake and station of Naini Tál. From this point, the elevation of which is about eight thousand seven hundred feet, an observer can obtain an admirable general idea of the structure of this part of the Himálaya. The horizontal distance from the foot of the hills is only about five miles. We look down over the beautiful wooded mountains of the Gágur range, covered thickly with oak and pine, mingled with the gorgeous rhododendron, to the Bhábar forest, which lies almost at our feet, seven thousand feet below, and beyond it the Tarai and the great plain of Rohilkhand. Turning to the north, we have before us a scene which the painter and the poet can alone describe, but which can never pass from the mind of him who has once beheld it. A chaotic mass of mountains lies before us, wooded hills, and deep ravines, and dark blue ranges, rising one above the other; and behind all, piled up into the sky, the snowy peaks of the great Himálaya. He who has seen this view, or the still finer ones that are to be obtained from other parts of Central Kumáon, may feel quite satisfied that he has seen the most sublime and astonishing of all earthly spectacles.

No one who can understand the effect which the contemplation of Nature produces on a cultivated mind, can ever think of making foolish comparisons between what he must feel to be only the different parts of one vast and harmonious whole. We acknowledge with thankfulness the delight that the mountains of other countries have often given us. No one, whatever he may have seen elsewhere, can look on the majestic Alps without the highest admiration, or forget the lovely vision of the Lombard lakes and the enchanting Bay of Naples.

* *Nauclea Cordifolia.*

But in considering the effect which the various scenes of Nature produce upon the mind, not at all comparing the beauty of one scene with that of another, we cannot but feel how much larger a portion of the great "Cosmos" is opened to us in the Himálaya than in the most favored parts of Europe.

We cannot attempt here to give any detailed account of the almost innumerable ridges of mountains which cover Kumáon and Gurhwál. The direction of the main ranges corresponds with that of the general strike of the strata, that is about north-west to south-west. Perhaps the easiest way for a person unacquainted with the country to obtain a clear idea of its configuration, is to study the river-systems by which the waters of the chain are carried down to the plains of India. We may consider that there are four river-basins in those provinces, the Ganges, the Rámghanga, the Kosilla, and the Káli or Sárdah. This is true, however, only in the hills; for taking a more general view, the three last named rivers are, of course, mere affluents of the Ganges.

While speaking of the Himálayan rivers, we may refer to a question that in former days was much agitated, and one which was generally quite incorrectly answered—Where is the true source of the Ganges?

It is well known that two rivers, the Alaknanda and the Bhágirathi, unite at Deopryág, to form the Ganges, which at Hardwár, forty miles below, issues from the Himálaya into the plains of India. Of these two rivers, the Alaknanda is by far the most important, whether we regard the quantity of water that it contributes, or the extent of country that it drains. The superior sanctity of the Bhágirathi in Hindu mythology and present belief, has, however, led to a very common idea among Europeans, that this river is the superior stream; and though several travellers have mentioned the greater size of the Alaknanda, the source of the Bhágirathi in the glacier above Gangotri is still generally spoken of as the true source of the Ganges. This mistaken idea received great support from the writings of Herbert and Hodgson, and from the map which they constructed; with this difference only, that another affluent of the Bhágirathi was chosen by them instead of the more sacred stream that flows from Gangotri. In Map No. 65 of the Indian Atlas, the Jáhnvi, which joins the Bhágirathi a few miles below Gangotri, is represented as a great river breaking through the Himálayan chain, and coming from unknown regions of Tibet. It is now well known that the supposed facts on which all this was based, were purely imaginary. The Jáhnvi, instead of having, as was supposed, a trans-

Himálayan origin, rises, like almost all the affluents of the Ganges on the southern side of the water-shed range, above Nilang; and its sources are very little more remote than the upper part of the Bhágirathi glacier. Neither the Jáhnavi, nor the Bhágirathi, has in reality any claim to be considered the main stream of the Ganges. The source of the Dhauli, the chief feeder of the Alaknanda, is undoubtedly the true source of the great river. The Hindus seem to have generally had a curious predilection for the less important affluents of their sacred streams. This is exemplified both in the Bhágirathi and Alaknanda, but especially on the latter. Thus, at Vishnu-pryág, at the foot of the great snowy peaks, two streams, the Vishnuganga and the Dhauli, unite to form the Alaknanda. The latter is the larger, but the former the more sacred. Going still higher, we find a similar junction of the Vishnuganga and Saraswati, a little above the temple of Badarináth. Here again the sacred river is the Vishnuganga, the smaller of the two. Still proceeding up the Vishnuganga, we soon reach the *ultima Thule* of the pilgrim, Basudhára. A little above this, we find that a petty affluent, which rises in a small glacier close by, is the sacred stream, while the great river is quite disregarded, which, a few miles higher up the valley, rushes out of an immense glacier, an impassable torrent at its very source.

It has often been observed in other mountain ranges, and it is the case in this part of the Himálaya, that the water-shed line is not the same with that of greatest elevation. From twenty to thirty miles north of the great peaks of the Himálaya, the rivers still flow south; and it is only when we have thus left far behind us the mountains which appear from the central parts of Kumáon, to be an impassable icy barrier, that we reach the water-shed of the chain, the ridge rising immediately above the Tibetan plateau.

From this water-shed ridge, the general direction of which is from north-west to south-east, a series of great transverse ranges run down nearly from north to south, and on these are found all the loftiest peaks of this portion of the range. "A line," says Richard Strachey, "drawn through the great peaks, will be almost parallel to the water-shed, but about thirty miles to the south of it." Between these ranges lie the valleys in which the most important of the affluents of the Ganges have their origin.

Hardly inferior in importance to the rivers which rise to the north of the great peaks, are those which come from the southern edge of the belt of perpetual snow. They spring in

most cases from glaciers, and they all join the Ganges or Klái, before reaching the plains.

The third class of Himálayan rivers comprises those which drain no part of the snowy range, but which rise in the lower hills, between the boundaries of the second system of rivers, that has just been mentioned, and the plains of India.

We speak of the rivers in this manner, only because some such division is a convenient help to a person wishing to become acquainted with the general geographical features of the country. For higher purposes, we must not think too much of the rivers.

A general description of the province of Kumáon, treating of its great physical features, its picturesque aspects, and the various races that inhabit it, is a thing which we do not yet possess. Mr. Traill's *Statistical Sketch of Kumdon* is excellent as far as it goes, considering the time at which it was written; but it does not supply our present want. Mr. Batten's *Settlement Reports* contain an immense quantity of valuable information, not only regarding the revenue system established in the hills, but on almost every subject of interest. But from their very nature, reports of this kind cannot give a general picture of the country, and they must necessarily be more useful to people already in some degree acquainted with the province, than to those who have no such previous knowledge.

Of the geological structure of this part of the Himálaya, we have at last obtained a clear and consistent sketch, which, we trust, will prove the forerunner of a greater work. We have no intention of entering into any criticisms of the labours of Captain Richard Strachey's predecessors in the branch of science in Kumáon. Those of Captain Herbert alone deserve to be mentioned with respect. But when he wrote his *Report on the Mineralogical Survey of the Himalaya Mountains*, which was published some years ago in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* of Bengal, geological science was in its infancy. In those days a person, who could tell the names of minerals, and understood something of their nature, was considered a geologist. Captain Herbert was something more than this. But although he was not a mere mineralogist, his geological observations were not very important, owing to the state of the science at the time. For example, though granites and greenstones abound in these provinces, the geologists of that day declared that there were no igneous rocks to be found here, while the wonderful succession of fossiliferous strata on the north of the great peaks of the Himálaya was hardly suspected; for though some fragments of bones and ammonites had

been brought down, nothing at all was known of the localities where they had been found.

The admirable paper by Captain Richard Strachey, of the Bengal Engineers, which was published last year by the Geological Society of London, and the sections and map which accompanied it, gave the scientific world the first intelligible account of the geological structure of this part of the Himalaya. The manner in which Captain Strachey's labors have been acknowledged by many of the most eminent philosophers of Europe, renders any praise of ours quiet superfluous. It has been universally admitted by all capable of forming an opinion on the subject, that seldom has a more important or more interesting contribution been made to the stock of geological knowledge than this, of which the paper just noticed gives only a slight and imperfect outline.

No organic remains have been discovered hitherto in the first ranges in Kumaon that rise above the plains. The Seivalik hills, so famous for their magnificent fossils, have here a very slight development, and the older fossiliferous strata are equally obscure. Captain Strachey's examination of these lower hills was, as he tells us, a very cursory one, and the geological difficulties of this tract have still to be cleared up.

Leaving the outer hills of Kumáon, and entering the great mountain region, we come first to a series of rocks, totally devoid of fossils, consisting of argillaceous schists, grits, and limestones, dipping generally to the N. N.-E., and intersected by several lines of igneous action, which follow generally the direction of the strike.* Proceeding northwards, we then enter "a tract of considerable breadth, the main rock of which " is a mica-schist of a not very crystalline order. " . . . " Along " the central part of this region runs a line of granite, that extends, with hardly any interruption, from the Kali to the Ganges, near which river it seems to end in a large outburst in a " mass of mountain, the elevation of which reaches 10,300 feet.† " The ordinary summits along the line are not, however, more " than 7,000 feet in altitude. This granite nowhere appears " to produce any particular disturbance of the strata on a large " scale; the dip remaining at much the same angle, and constantly to the N. N.-E. on both sides of the granite."‡ Still proceeding northwards, we come to slates, limestones, and quartzites,

* The Gagar range in which Naini Tál is situated.

† Dudatoli in Gurhwal.

‡ This and the succeeding quotations are taken from Captain R. Strachey's paper "On the Geology of Part of the Himalya Mountains and Tibet,"—*Proceedings of the Geological Society of London, June 1851.*

traversed by a line of igneous action. "The eruptive rock is, for the most part green-stone, but a black basalt also is found in one or two places. The green-stones along this line are frequently seen to pass into decided schists, and the conglomerates and breccias, that have been termed 'ash' or 'volcanic grit,' are common." . . . "Iron and copper likewise follow the line of the eruptive rocks; the iron usually near the eruption, the copper further off, with the limestone and steatite, and with these is also commonly found a rather remarkable carbonate of magnesia. The dip of these beds is to the north-north-east; but in the vicinity of the eruptive rocks they are frequently very much disturbed and contorted, and have every appearance of having undergone considerable change from the action of heat." . . . "The schists and limestones generally become talcose along the northern part of this region, and we then pass into the crystalline schists, that are invariably found along the line of the great peaks; and this we find to be a line of granitic eruption." . . . "Entering the region of the crystalline schists of the great line of peaks, we find the strike still remaining the same, with the dip pretty constantly to the N. N.-E. Along the line on which the points of greatest elevation are found in this part of the range, we invariably see, for a breadth of several miles, veins of granite in great abundance penetrating the schist, often cutting through them, but, perhaps, most frequently following the bedding of the strata, between which they seem to have been forced. The great peaks are, I think, in almost every case, composed of schistose rock, but the granite veins may be most clearly seen on the faces of the mountains to a very great elevation.* Kamet, one of the highest of the peaks in this region, seems, however, to be among the exceptions to this rule; its summit, which is upwards of 25,500 feet above the sea, appearing to consist of granite alone." . . . "Thermal springs are met with in many of the valleys along the line of granite, and in several that I am acquainted with, the temperature seemed pretty regularly to be about 128° Fahrenheit."

After passing to the north of the great snowy peaks of the range, the geology assumes extraordinary interest. The existence of fossils in these elevated regions has long been known; but it is entirely to Captain R. Strachey's researches that we owe the discovery of the wonderful fact, that we find here, in regular succession, each distinguished unmistakeably

* These veins can be distinctly seen through a telescope, on the great face of Trisul, from Binsar and Almora.

by its characteristic fossils, almost every one of the principal formations, from the Silurian to the Tertiary periods.

After passing the crystalline schists, and the granites of the snowy peaks, we first come to a tract composed of coarse slates, grits, and limestones, all devoid of fossil remains. At the top of these strata, generally at an elevation of not less than 14,000 feet above the sea, we arrive at the Palæozoic strata. Their lowest beds are undoubtedly of Silurian age, and consist, says Captain Strachey, of "dark-coloured, thick-bedded limestones, in some places filled with corals. They are succeeded by limestones mixed with slates, in which were found a strong-ribbed *Orthis*, *Terebratula*, *Lingula*—a large univalve, and fragments of *Encrinurites*. Above these come flaggy limestones with grits, that contain the greater part of the *Trilobites*, *Strophomena*, *Leptaena*, *Lituites*, *Ptilodictyon*, *Cystidea*, and *Fucoids*. The beds then become more argillaceous, and shales and slates, mixed with an impure concretionary limestone, follow. In these beds are found *Cyrtoceras* and *Orthoceras*, and amongst the nodular concretions of limestone, a *Chaetetes* is common. Next in order come dark red grits, sometimes marly, containing only a few fragments of Encrinurite stems. Above these, pale flesh-coloured quartzite, and finally a white quartzite, in neither of which I ever found any fossils, and which from the highest peaks of the ridges composed of the Palæozoic rocks." These Palæozoic beds are found as a "general rule, to which, however, there are no doubt many exceptions, forming the summits of the highest passes between the British provinces of Kumaon and Gurhwal, and Tibet, which probably average 18,000 feet in elevation; and the highest points of the ridges on which these passes are found, not unfrequently reach nearly 20,000 feet in altitude."

Proceeding upwards, we come, Captain Strachey tells us, to some remarkable beds, closely resembling the Muschelkalk of Europe, and above these again to Oolitic strata, among which the presence of the Oxford clay is strongly marked by the peculiar fossils of that formation.

Still ascending, we reach the Tibetan plateau, "a great tertiary deposit, at an elevation of from 14,000 to 16,000 feet above the sea, still preserving an almost perfectly horizontal surface. On crossing the water-shed ridge between the streams that flow to the south into the Ganges, and those that fall into the upper part of the Sutlej to the north,—which ridge here constitutes the boundary between the British territory and Tibet,—we find ourselves on a plain 120 miles in length

"and ranging from fifty to sixty in breadth, that stretches
"away in a north-westerly direction. Its western portion is
"everywhere intersected by stupendous ravines, that of the
"Sutlej being nearly 3,000 feet deep. The sections afforded
"by these enable us to see that this plain is a deposit of
"boulders, gravel, clay, and mud of all varieties of fineness,
"laid out in well-marked beds, that run nearly parallel with
"the surface, and that hardly deviate from a horizontal posi-
"tion.

"The discovery of the fossilized remains of several of the
"larger mammalia distinctly marks the tertiary age of this de-
"posit. The existence of such fossil remains in the northern
"parts of these mountains had been long known, but we were
"altogether ignorant of the precise locality whence they came,
"and had no facts before us from which any conclusions could
"be formed as to their geological import. The Niti Pass, from
"which it is said that the bones had been brought, was not the
"place where they were found, but one of the routes only by
"which they came across the great Himálayan chain, from the
"unknown regions beyond."

Bones of rhinoceros, elephant, hippotherium, horse, and
of several ruminants, have been*recognized among these fossils.
As the existence of such animals in such a country as this
is a physical impossibility, we see, beyond a doubt, that these
strata have been raised to their present immense elevation
since the time of their deposition; and there is a very high
probability that they are of marine origin; though, as no shells
have yet been found, the direct proof of this is wanting.

But we must leave this part of our subject, on which we have
already dwelt too long. We have no doubt that Captain Strachey
will endeavour to complete worthily what he has so well
begun. No one who has not himself visited the more difficult
of the Himálayan passes into Tibet, can have any idea of the
toils and privations that must have been gone through in the
prosecution of these researches. Labouring from morning to
night, over mountains often 18,000 feet above the sea, is a
task which no *dilettante* geologist is likely to undertake. Nor
were Captain Strachey's labours, in other departments of
scientific enquiry, less energetically pursued. He has now
difficulties of quite another nature to overcome, difficulties
which would tempt many a man to abandon his work with dis-
gust. But when a man sees clearly the work that he has got
to do, and has determined that he will do it, he will take small
account of the obstacles which he may have to overcome.

We cannot close this sketch of Himálayan geology more

appropriately than by the following quotation from one of the chiefs of the great English geologists, Sir Roderick Impey Murchison. It illustrates the most interesting point in the researches of which we have been speaking, the fact that there has now been added another chapter to the history, which the geologists of Europe have been giving us, of the periods when animal life was beginning on the earth. "After a patient study of the types of Palæozoic life, we can now fearlessly assert, that the geological history, or sequence of the earliest races of fossil animals, is firmly established. Its truth is sustained by the display of forms, which mark the period when the first vestiges of life can be discovered, as well as the following successive creations; and thus whilst, with the exception of one sacred record, we can truly say, that the origin of the greatest empires of man is buried in fable and superstition, the hard and indelible register, as preserved for our inspection in the great book of ancient Nature, is at length interpreted and read off with clearness and precision."—*Russia, vol. i., p. 9.*

The sanctity of the Himálaya, in Hindu mythology, is known to every one, and still the pilgrim seeks salvation at the sacred sources of the Ganges. "He who thinks on Himáchal," says the Mánasá-khanda, one of the numerous Máhátmyas of the Skanda Purána, "though he should not behold him, is greater than he who performs all worship in Káshi. In a hundred ages of the gods I could not tell thee of the glories of Himáchal. As the dew is dried up by the morning sun, so are the sins of mankind by the sight of Himáchal."

It is not often that the sacred books of the Hindus tell us much that we can depend on, regarding the various kingdoms of ancient India; and, as far as they have hitherto been interpreted, they have not given us much information regarding the country of which we are now speaking. The wide diffusion, through an immense breadth of Asia, of the name *Khasa*, has frequently been noticed. Thus we have *Kashmir Kashgar*, the "land of Cush," and *Caucasus*, which last as has been ingeniously conjectured, may be *Koh-Khasa*, the mountain of the Khasas. We read in Manu of the Khasa, as one among several races of Kshatriyas, who have become degraded by the neglect of religious rites. The story of their degradation is found in the Máhábhárata, and in several of the Puránas. The greater part of the present inhabitants of Kumáon belong to the tribe now called Khasiya, which is spread so widely through a great extent of Indian Himálaya. That these *Khasiyas* are the

same people called *Khasa* in the ancient Sanskrit books, cannot be doubted. There is, moreover, direct evidence from inscriptions that have lately been decyphered in Gurhwál, that certainly not less than a thousand years ago, the king of these provinces called himself the king of *Khasa*. The term is now *dyslogistic*, but it evidently was not so when these inscriptions were written.

We can not pretend to say that Manu's mention of the *Khasas* as a *Kshatriya* race, is at all conclusive as to the fact of their being so ; for with them are mentioned several other tribes, whose *Kshatriya* origin the learned will hardly be ready to admit. Still the statements of Manu and the *Máhabhárata* are worth something, especially if it can be shown to be probable, as we believe *can* be shown, that when those ancient authorities mentioned the *Khasas*, they were referring to the *Khasas* of these very provinces, of which we are now treating, and not necessarily to all the tribes bearing a similar name. It is curious that the traditional belief of the *Kumáon Khasiyas*, regarding their own origin, agrees exactly with the story of Manu and the other ancient authorities. They say that they are *Rájputs*, fallen from their first honorable state. That in reality this belief may have been *derived*, from the sources which we have just indicated is, however, not at all impossible. That this question must be decided mainly on quite other grounds than these, is very evident ; we have merely touched on some of the points which have hitherto, we believe, not been noticed, but which seem to deserve investigation when this question in ethnography is debated. It has commonly been almost taken for granted, that these *Khasiyas* are of mixed Tibetan and Indian blood. It may be so ; but we think no evidence has yet been produced to prove the fact. The vocabularies, which profess to show it, we believe, show nothing of the kind : and the other fact that is often appealed to, the peculiarities of form and feature which indicate the Mongolian race, and which are said to be seen in the *Khasiyas*, we suspect to be an equally imaginary one. We must repeat, that we are speaking only of the *Khasiyas* of *Kumáon* : and that we accept no evidence as conclusive, which is founded on facts observed among a people of the same name a thousand miles away. Mr. Hodgson, who has done so much for ethnographical science in India, and whose opinion on such a subject is incomparably more valuable than any that we can pretend to give, appears to consider that the evidences of Tibetan blood in the *Khasiyas* of *Nepál*, cannot be doubted : but his researches have only an

indirect bearing on facts connected with the Khasiyas of Kumáon.

However this vexed question may be hereafter determined, one fact seems to be certain, that at the present time, the Khasiyas of Kumáon and Gurhwal are, to all intents and purposes, Hindus. "They are so," says Mr. J. Strachey, "in from and feature, in language, religion and customs ; and all their sentiments and prejudices are so strongly imbued with the peculiar spirit of that faith, that although their social habits and religious belief are often repugnant to Hindu orthodoxy, it is difficult for any one who knows them, to consider them any thing but Hindu.

The constitution of society amongst them is thoroughly Hindu. The people are purely agricultural ; and the village communities are as characteristic and as permanent as they are, perhaps, in any part of India, except in those parts of the province where the excessive steepness of the mountains, and the poverty of the soil, make the means of subsistence more than commonly precarious. For the greater part of the country which the Khasiyas inhabit, we may say in the words of Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe :—" A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the place of their fathers ; the same site for the village, the same positions for the houses, the same lands will be occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated."* "The landed proprietors," says Mr. Traill, speaking of Kumáon, "ever evince the most tenacious attachment to their estates, whatever be their extent, and never voluntarily alienate them, except under circumstances of extreme necessity."†

In the Kumáon villages, the greater part of the land is cultivated by the actual proprietors. The operation of the Hindu law of inheritance has brought about a minute sub-division of the land, and large estates are almost unknown. Property in the soil is termed *thát* and the proprietor *thatoi* or *thátwán*, but the two latter terms are now almost superseded by the modern name of *hissaddr*. "In such a state of property," says Mr. Traill, "the characters of landholder and farmer are naturally united, as the former cannot afford to part with any portion of the profit of his petty tenement ; accordingly, full six-tenths of the arable land are cultivated by

* Quoted in Elphinstone's India, vol. i., p. 12.

† "Statistical Sketch of Kumáon"—Official Reports, p. 32.

"the actual proprietors, who may be termed *thātwañ* cultivators. Of the other four-tenths, one-half may be assumed for the estates which are cultivated by resident tenants, having no claim to the property in the soil. This class may be divided into the Khaikar and Kaini or *Khurni*; the Khaikar enjoyed an hereditary, though not transferrable right of the cultivation; the Khurnis were tenants, and settled on the estate by the proprietors, and by the long continued occupancy, might come to be considered in the light of Khaikars, from whom, indeed, they differed little, except in the nature of the rent to which they are liable."

This quotation represents accurately the present state of things; but Khaikars and Kainis are not now what they were in former times; and this fact has not, we think, been sufficiently pointed out. We believe that the *Khaikar*, as far as his present condition is concerned, may be considered to have been invented by Mr. Traill, and we are not sure that the invention was a happy one. There is little doubt, that under former Governments, the Khaikar had no hereditary rights that were ever recognized. Now he is, to all intents and purposes, very frequently the actual proprietor of the land, paying merely nominal dues to the theoretical owner. A *Khaikar* might, in old times, become a *Kaini*, but the process which Mr. Traill has described in the passage above quoted, by which a *Kaini* could be converted into a *Khaikar*, we believe to have been an impossible one. The two tenures were totally distinct. The Khaikar was a tenant at will; the Kaini was *adscriptus gleba*, a serf who could be disposed of with the land, at his master's pleasure, but who could not be ousted as long as he performed hereditary services. Even the name of Kaini will soon seldom be heard in these provinces.

The artizans of the country belong to a different class to that of *Dúm*, or as they prefer to say themselves, *Bairsua*. The *Dúms* were not, as has sometimes been stated, strictly speaking, slaves: they possessed numerous rights, and could not be sold. Slaves (*Chyōra*) were common, but they were not *Dúms* but *Khasiyas*. The question has been raised, whether the *Dúms* may not be a remnant of the aborigines of the country; but this is at present a mere speculation.

Probably nine-tenths of the population of that part of these mountains, which is situated between the plains of India, and the snowy peaks of the chain, are *Khasiya*. Mr. Traill has given us an excellent account of the general character of the

* Quoted in Mr. Batten's Reports on the Settlement of Gurhwal—Official Reports, p. 138.

people, and we shall terminate what we have to say of this part of the province, with a quotation from his report. It must be remembered, that after we pass the snowy peaks, we come to a different race of people, to whom we shall refer more particularly hereafter : " The population of the interior, as has been " already stated, is comprised almost solely of the agricultural " classes. From the nature of the country, the communication " between villages is commonly both tedious and labourious ; and " the intercourse of the inhabitants of even adjacent hamlets is " confined to the periodical festivals, which occur at neighbour- " ing temples ; on these occasions again, the meeting is com- " posed wholly of the villagers of the surrounding district ; and " the presence of individuals from other parts of the hills is " viewed almost as an intrusion. This state of restricted inter- " course, continued through ages, has tended to preserve a dis- " tinctness of character and manners among the mountaineers, " who accordingly still exhibit the compound of virtues and " defects common to agricultural tribes, in a rude state of " society. Honest, sober, frugal, patient under fatigue and " privations, hospitable, good-humoured, open, and usually sin- " cere in their address,—they are, at the same time, extremely " indolent, fickle, easily led away by the counsel of others, " hasty in pursuing the dictates of passion, even to their own " immediate detriment, envious of each other, jealous of stran- " gers, capable of equivocation and petty cunning, and lastly, " grossly superstitious. To personal courage the lower orders " make no pretension ; the high Rajpút families . . . are in no " way deficient in the inherent spirit of their race. Conjugal " affection has scarcely any existence in the hills ; wives " are universally considered and treated as part of the " live-stock, and little or no importance is attached to the " breach of female chastity, excepting when the prejudices of " caste may thereby be compromised. To their children, how- " ever, they evince strong affection ; and instances of suicide, " by fathers as well as mothers, from grief for the loss of a " child, are far from uncommon. The indolence of the male " sex is insuperable, even by the prospect of gain ; and the " whole labor of the domestic economy and of agriculture, " excepting only ploughing and harrowing, is left to the " women ; and a rate of wages, greater by one-half than that " which exists in the plains fails in inducing the voluntary " attendance of day laborers ; * the people of this class will,

* It may be added, however, that this is very much owing to the vile system of forced labor, not only for public but for private works, which is only now beginning to be really abolished (in 1852.)

"however, without hesitation, wander hundreds of miles, and
 "spend weeks, to gain a few annas by peddling the commodities
 "of the plains. All mountaineers unite in an excessive
 "distrust of the natives of the low country, whom they
 "regard as a race of swindlers and extortioners." . . .
 "Local attachments are very predominant, and an eventual
 "return to their natal village continues to be the cherished
 "hope of those whom the want of means of subsistence
 "may have compelled to migrate; from the same sentiment,
 "the petty landed proprietors entertain an overwhelming
 "affection for their hereditary fields. Of the honesty of
 "the hill people, too much praise cannot be given; property
 "of all kinds is left exposed in every way, without fear and
 "without loss: in those districts whence periodical migration
 "to the *Tarai* takes place, the villages are left with almost a
 "single occupant during half the year; and though a great
 "part of the property of the villages remains in their houses,
 "no precaution is deemed necessary, except securing the doors
 "against the ingress of animals, which is done by a bar of
 "wood, the use of locks being as yet confined to the higher
 "classes. In their pecuniary transactions with each other, the
 "agricultural classes have rarely recourse to written engage-
 "ments; bargains concluded by the parties joining hands,
 "(*hath marna*), in token of assent, prove equally effectual and
 "binding as if secured by parchment and seals."*

We must now leave the Khasiyas and their country, referring those who wish to know more about them to the volume of official reports edited by Mr. Batten.

It has already been stated, that we get among a different people when we pass to the north of the great snowy peaks.† *Bôd*, the Tibetan name for Tibet (the latter being a name quite unknown to the inhabitants of that country,) corrupted by the people of India into *Bhôt*, has given rise to the designation *Bhōtiya* for the border tribes between the two countries. *Bhôt*, without having lost its original meaning, for it is still applied generally to the tract north of the great peaks, without reference to any physical or political boundaries, is now more commonly used in Kumáon to signify the country which lies within the snowy range south of the Tibetan frontier. To avoid confusion, we shall always apply the name in this restrict-

* Traill's Statistical Sketch of Kumáon—Official Reports, p. 63.

† Possibly a few sentences here, and in another part of this article, may have been printed before, almost exactly in their present form. We cannot now verify the fact, but should it prove to be the case, no plagiarism need be assumed to have been committed.

ed sence, distinguishing the adjacent province of Tibet by the well-known name of *Hundes*, and its inhabitants by that of *Huniya*. The name of this country has, on the great authority of Dr. Wilson, been said to be *Him-des*, i. e., the snow-country; it was called by Moorcroft *Undes*, the wool-country; but there can be no doubt that the real name is *Hundes*, the land of *Huns*. From ancient inscriptions found in Gurhwál, it is proved that the country in question was known under the name of *Huna*, probably more than a thousand years ago, and there can be no doubt that the race of *Hunas* often mentioned in the *Puránas*, were the people of the same country. The name reminds us at once of *Huns* and *Hiong-nu*; but we will not enter into this field for speculation.

The limits of *Bhót*, in these provinces, cannot be very strictly defined, for the term is an ethnographical, rather than a geographical expression, and signifies the tract inhabited by the people called *Bhótiya*, rather than a country of which any positive boundaries can be named. To the north alone can the limits of the *Bhótiya* districts be easily defined. The water-shed ridge of the *Himálaya*, every where in *Kumáon* and *Gurhwál*, separates them and the British possessions from the Tibetan territory of *Hundes*. To the south any boundary that may be named must be a purely artificial one; but it will give a tolerably correct idea of the general limits of the *Bhótiya* tract if we consider it to be bounded on the south by a line passing a little to the north of the great peaks of the *Himálaya*.

The only published account of these *Bhótiyas* is Mr. Traill's *Statistical Report on the Bhótiya Mehals of Kumáon*, which will be found in the volume of official reports. It contains a great deal of valuable information; but it cannot be depended on in all its details; and a complete and accurate account of this part of *Kumáon* is still a desideratum. As the tract in question is a most curious and interesting one, we shall endeavour to give the reader a slight sketch of some of its chief characteristics.

The only parts of the *Bhótiya* districts which are habitable, are the narrow valleys lying between the great snowy ranges which run down to the south from the water-shed of the chain, in which flow the principal sources of the *Ganges* and the *Káli*; and by far the greater portion of the tract consists of mountains, which are either covered with perpetual snow, or the elevation of which is too great to admit of any human habitation. The *Bhótiya* villages are all situated to the north of the great peaks, which are found for the most part

near the southern limit of the belt of perpetual snow. They have an elevation above the sea varying from 7,000 to more than 12,000 feet ; and as their inhabitants depend almost entirely for subsistence on their trade with Tibet, it is not far from the truth to say, as Mr. Batten has remarked, that those villages are generally the most prosperous which are situated the nearest to the passes and to the marts of Hundes, and therefore at the greatest heights and in the most inhospitable climates.

It has been already mentioned that the water-shed line lies generally about thirty miles to the north of the line of greatest elevation. The great peaks of the chain, many of which in Kumáon exceed 23,000 feet in height, and one of which, Nanda Devi, approaches 26,000 feet, are almost always situated near the southern limit of the belt of perpetual snow, or great transverse ranges that run down from the water-shed of the chain. Owing to this structure, the climate and vegetation, the two most important influences with regard to the inhabitants of the country, are entirely different in the Bhótiya districts from those which we find at similar elevations further south. On the southern side of the great peaks, the country is every where within the influence of the summer and the winter rains of India. We have a damp climate, and a luxuriant vegetation, up to 12,000 feet above the sea ; and the line of perpetual snow descends to a height of almost 15,500 feet. When we pass to the north of the great peaks, the contrast is most striking. Here we find a dry climate, almost beyond the influence of the periodical rains ; the magnificent vegetation has ceased ; as we proceed northward, the air and the soil become constantly drier and more arid ; the fall of snow, as well as that of rain, gradually diminishes ; and, as we approach the water-shed of the chain, and the Tibetan plateau, which in this part of the Himálaya are the northern limits of the belt of perpetual snow, the snow-line, under the hostile influence of the climate, recedes to an elevation of between 18,000 and 19,000 feet above the sea. Captain Richard Strachey's excellent paper, "On the snow-line in the Himálaya," which will be found named in the list at the head of this article, has explained these phenomena very clearly ; and to it we refer all who wish for information on this interesting and much debated subject. We hope that, as far as the great facts are concerned, we shall hear no more of this snow-line controversy ; and that the question, whether it be highest on the southern or northern face of the Himálaya, may be considered finally disposed of. How any one, who has himself travelled in the snowy range

can ever have had any doubt on the subject, is quite incomprehensible to us. The great mistake committed by one side in this controversy, has been the notion that there is one particular ridge which constitutes the main Himálaya. There is no *ridge* of mountains perhaps in the world,* in which snow will not lie longer on the northern than on the southern face. Certainly there is no ridge in the Himálaya of which this is not true, and indeed we do not know that any body ever dreamed of denying it. But the snowy part of the Himálaya is not a *ridge* but a vast range of mountains; and when we say that the snow-line is lower on the southern than on the northern face of the Himálaya, we do not mean to say that there is any particular ridge of hill on which there is more snow on the southern than on the northern side, but that taking the great belt of mountains covered with perpetual snow, as a whole, the snow-line is several thousand feet lower on the southern than on the northern edge of that belt. And that this indisputable fact is sufficiently explained by the fact, that the line of greatest elevation in the Himálaya is very near the southern edge of the belt of the perpetual snow, has been sufficiently shown by Captain Strachey in the paper to which we have above referred.

At the heads of the rivers, which flow through the Bhótiya valleys are situated all the practicable passes of this part of the Himálaya. The paths follow, as far as possible, the courses of the streams; and except where high spurs interrupt the regularity of the drainage, and increase the number of ridges that must be passed, according to the water-shed of the chain, they cross immediately into Tibet. The elevation of the Kumáon and Gurhwal passes varies from 16,800 to 18,700 feet above the sea.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the badness of the tracks across these passes; for there is nothing to deserve the name of road, or even of path: and travelling among the masses of loose and tumbling rock, over beds of snow and glaciers, and at an elevation where even a slight exertion is painful, is very difficult to people on foot who are not accustomed to such journeys. Toil and discomfort, however, form the only real difficulties to be encountered, and of toil there need not be very much to a traveller seated on the back of his *cow*, the only way in which it is possible, except on foot, to cross the passes of these mountains with safety. The stories of the terrific perils that have to be passed through in

* *Qu.*—In the northern hemisphere?—ED.

crossing the *Himálaya* are altogether fictitious, to one at least who has lived long among mountains. They have had their origin in the imaginations of travellers unaccustomed to such journeys, or in the bodily suffering which the rarefaction of the air sometimes occasions. There is hardly more danger in crossing the worst of the *Himálayan* passes than in scrambling over the *Mer de Glace*, or in riding to the top of *Snowdon* or the *Righi*. Crossing *Fleet Street* in a crowded afternoon is much more dangerous than either. We speak, of course, of the passes, after the winter snow has completely melted, and when the state of the atmosphere is favorable. Travellers may undoubtedly be exposed to the greatest danger in these, as in many other mountains, from avalanches and snow-storms, if they attempt to cross the passes too early or too late in the year. The discomfort, however, that must be gone through, can hardly be exaggerated; and no European who has ever experienced the horrors of a Tibetan climate, who knows the wretchedness of a barometric pressure of fifteen or sixteen inches, and has convinced himself how little of the sublime and beautiful these elevated regions can show him, will willingly cross the *Himálaya* a second time, unless impelled by objects of scientific research, or some other powerful inducement.

We have already noticed the extraordinary geological interest of this tract of country. The aspect of its scenery, especially in its more northern position, is generally desolate and hideous in the extreme. True sublimity can hardly exist without beauty, and of the beautiful there is almost nothing in this dismal region. There is very much to astonish but little to delight. From the high points, indeed, a little beyond the water-shed ridge, whence we look over the elevated plains of Tibet, stretching far away to the east and west, and bounded on the north, at a distance of forty or fifty miles, by a range of hills running parallel to the great *Himálaya*, the scenery is not without a certain savage grandeur, although the sublimity which we often find in the country to the south of the great peaks is totally wanting. The utter desolation which, when it lay close around us, was only hideous, is here softened down by distance; and the broad grassy plain, cut through by most stupendous ravines, and bounded by the bare brown hills, is strange and wonderful. But to the traveller who can look beyond mere external forms for the feelings which natural objects can inspire, this scene possesses a true sublimity; and it must always be to him one of the most impressive sights that the earth can show. He

knows that the plain over which he looks is the bed of an ancient ocean, filled with the vestiges of the extinct creations of an ancient world, still preserving, almost unchanged, its level surface, although by unknown forces it has been raised up sixteen thousand feet into the midst of the snows of the Himalaya.

The great elevation, and the rigorous climate of the Bhòtiya valleys, necessarily exercise a most important influence on their inhabitants. The villages are only occupied for rather more than half the year, from April to November; the whole population migrating regularly every winter to a more genial climate to the south of the great peaks of the chain. One poor and uncertain crop, consisting of barley and buck-wheat, and in smaller quantity, of wheat and the chùà amaranth, is obtained each year at the Bhòtiya villages. The sowing takes place in May, and the crops are cut in September and October.

But the Bhòtiyas derive from their fields a very small portion of their means of subsistence. "Trade," says Mr. Trail, "forms the primary object of importance to the Bhòtiyas, and is the principal, if not sole consideration which retains them in the unfertile villages of Bhót, now that waste lands of a far superior quality in the northern pergunnas every where present themselves for occupation. The adjoining province of Tibet holds out peculiar attractions to commerce. Subjected by the rigor of its climate to perpetual sterility, it depends on the surrounding countries for almost every commodity both of necessity and of luxury; to remedy these deficiencies, it has, at the same time, been furnished by Nature with a variety of valuable products; its rivers and deserts abound with gold; in its lakes are produced inexhaustible supplies of salt and borax, while to its pastures* it is indebted for wool of an unrivalled quality."†

The Bhòtiyas possess a complete monopoly of the carrying trade with Tibet, and this they jealously guard by every means in their power. The poverty and the want of enterprise of the merchants of Kumáon and Gurhwal, the difficulties of crossing the passes without the assistance of the Bhòtiyas, the total absence of tolerable roads, and perhaps more than all, the force of immemorial custom, have hitherto prevented any serious attempts towards the abolition of the Bhòtiya monopoly. Under the present system, no considerable increase of the trade can be looked for; but, if the Bhòtiya

* Rather to its *climate*.

† "Statistical Report on the Bhòtiya Mehale of Kumáon"—Official Reports, p. 94.

monopoly were abolished, and the jealousy of the Tibetan authorities towards every innovation were to cease, we should still probably see no great increase of trade until European capital were brought to bear. The great obstacle to an extended commerce between the two countries seems at present to be the fact, that the greater part of the country, immediately to the north of the Himálaya, is almost uninhabited, and that the small population which exists, is generally in a state of abject poverty. Any great consumption of either the necessities or the luxuries of life, seems almost impossible; and as trade is only an interchange of commodities, we cannot look for its extension to any demand of the people of Hundes itself. But an increased demand for the productions of that country would ultimately have the effect of extending the trade to countries which it now does not reach.

The agricultural productions of Hundes being utterly insufficient for the support of its inhabitants, the country depends for subsistence almost entirely on its trade with the countries lying to the south of the Himálaya. Grain, being the greatest necessary to the Huniyas, forms the chief article of export from Kumáon and Gurhwál. Next in importance are coarse cotton cloths, broad-cloth, sugar, hard-ware, tobacco, spices, and a variety of miscellaneous commodities. The chief imports are borax, salt, wool, *pasham* or shawl-wool, woollen cloths and shawls, mostly of inferior quality, silks, ponies, cow-tails, &c. The borax trade, which had greatly fallen off, has somewhat recovered during the last few years. The great European demand for this article, a large proportion of which was formerly supplied from Tibet, made this trade a very profitable one; but the discovery of the *lagoni* of Tuscany, and the immense development which European science has given to the manufacture of pure borax from boracic acid in Italy, has caused a great diminution of the demand for the crude and impure article that is produced in Tibet. But the demand has increased so immensely, that it seems that enough of Italian borax cannot be obtained, and if we could manage to refine our borax properly before it left the hills, it might still become a most important article of commerce. We have been informed on the best authority, that the Tibetan borax loses half its value in the European market from the way in which it is ruined in the refining process in India. We extract the following account from Captain Henry Strachey's narrative of his journey to the lakes of Gnari:—"The salt and borax mines of Gnari, (Hundes) or fields rather, *Lha-lhaka*, or *Lhali-lhaka*, lie to the north of Bongbwa Tal, across mountains that round the

"north-east side of the valley of the Shajjan river, parallel to the Gangri range, and in the eastern part of the Zung of Rudukh. The two salts, I understand, are obtained from different spots in the same vicinity, and both are worked in the same way, by washing the earth taken from the surface of the ground in which they are developed by natural efflorescence. These salt-fields are open to all who choose to adventure their labor in them, on payment of a tenth part of the produce to the Government, which has an excise establishment for collecting the dues on the spot. The proceeds form, perhaps, an item in the general contract for the revenues of Gnari between the Garpan and the Lhassan Government.*"

Nearly the whole of the salt brought from Tibet is consumed by the people of our hill provinces. It is bartered for grain to the inhabitants of the country lying immediately below the Bhótiya districts, and they again dispose of it in the more southern parts of the province.

Sheep and goats serve as the means of transport for nearly the whole of the grain, salt, and borax, and generally of all articles that are not very bulky. They are usually purchased by the Bhótiyas from the people of the country immediately to the south of the great peaks, where the fine pastures render the breeding of these animals an easy and a profitable occupation. A sheep can carry from fifteen to twenty pounds, and a goat twenty to five-and twenty pounds; but the ordinary loads are considerably less. All articles, which can be so conveyed, are placed in small bags made of coarse woollen cloth, and covered externally with leather. Two of these, united by a band, are placed across the back of the animal, one hanging down on each side. These bags are called *karbach* in Kumáon, and *phancha* in Gurhwál. Bulky articles are carried chiefly on *jubus*, the cross-breed between the yak of Tibet and the common Indian cow. Being better able to bear the changes of climate to which the trade exposes them, they are preferred to the pure breed of the yak. The jubu is the produce of the male yak with the Indian cow. The other cross-breed between the two species is called *garju*; it is considered very inferior to the jubu.

It is not until towards the end of June that the snow melts sufficiently to enable the Bhótiyas to cross the passes with their sheep and cattle. During this, and the preceding month, the grain and other articles of trade are conveyed from the lower hills to the Bhótiya villages. A large quantity of grain

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1848.

is also delivered there, in these and the succeeding months, by the inhabitants of the pergunnahs lying to the south of the Bhótiya valleys, the whole being carried on sheep and goats, precisely in the same manner that is followed among the Bhótiyas. They barter their grain for salt at the villages, being prevented by the Bhótiya monopoly from making their own bargains in Hundes.

In June the Bhótiyas begin to transport the grain and other commodities to Hundes, and till October the flocks constantly ply backwards and forwards with the productions of the two countries the principal Bhótiyas generally remaining themselves in Hundes to superintend operations. The women and children are, for the most part, left at the villages, to perform the necessary duties of looking after the crops and getting in the harvest.

No interference of any sort with the Tibetan trade is exercised by our Government ; no duties are levied, and the land-tax which the Bhótiyas are called on to pay is trifling. But the Tibetan authorities have, from time immemorial, subjected the trade to numerous regulations and restrictions ; nor is their interference merely confined to the imposition of customs duties. There is reason to believe that the Bhótiya districts were originally subject to Tibet. We see probably a remnant of the old state of things in the fact, that the Tibetan Government still demands from the Bhótiyas a recognition of its supremacy. The revenue which the Bhótiyas are called on to pay by the Tibetan authorities, independently of the duties imposed upon trade, is very insignificant in actual amount ; but there can be no doubt that, it is still looked upon as an acknowledgment on the part of the Bhótiyas of their subjection to the parent state. Before the establishment of a strong Government in Kumáon and Gurhwál, the authority thus exercised by the Tibetan power was by no means only nominal. The Hindu Governments in these districts were generally weak and unstable ; consequently the Bhótiyas were the less inclined to resist the orders and the demands of the Tibetan authorities ; and the taxes paid by them to the foreign Government were formally recognised by their Hindu rulers both in Kumáon and Gurhwál. Since the British conquest of these provinces, no notice of the matter has been taken by our Government, but the Bhótiyas have gradually become more and more independent of Tibet, and more obedient to their European masters, attaching themselves, as might have been expected, to the stronger side. There can be no doubt, too, that the authorities in Hundes are fully aware of the inexpediency of any active

interference in the concerns of British subjects. The Bhótiyas continue to pay their taxes according to old customs, but they do so in a great measure, because the demands are not sufficiently onerous to be worth quarrelling about ; and their subjection to the Tibetan Government is now almost entirely nominal. We do not speak here of the duties levied on trade, which stand on altogether different grounds. It has, however, always been the policy of the Bhótiyas to profess to all Europeans, and indeed to people generally with whom they may have dealings, the greatest dread of the Tibetan authorities, and to declare the constant fear they are under of having their trade stopped, on which their whole means of subsistence depend, should the slightest infringement of the regulations and orders of the Tibetan Government take place. It has generally been taken for granted, that these statements were perfectly true ; and until two or three years ago, it seems hardly to have been suspected that there might be other causes for the anxieties of the Bhótiyas. It was with the greatest difficulty that a European could get even the smallest glimpse of Tibet ; and his fear of ruining the people who showed him the way into the forbidden country, proved a stronger defence against the intrusion of the "outside barbarian" than all the jealousy of the Chinese Government. But the fact is, that Hundes is almost entirely dependent for the necessities of life on our Cis-Himálayan provinces ; the Tibetan authorities will never, without the most absolute necessity, do any thing which might endanger the trade on which their subsistence so greatly depends ; and they are perfectly aware of the power which this fact gives to the Government of the people of our provinces.

The revenue demands of the Tibetan Government differ in each of the Bhótiya valleys, but in each, there are imposed one or more taxes, independent of the duties levied on trade, sometimes under the name of land-tax, and sometimes under other designations. The village, in each Bhótiya district, nearest to the pass, which, partly perhaps from this reason, is usually the most important in the valley, enjoys various privileges and immunities from taxation. In some cases, it is considered to be entitled also to levy certain dues on the Tibetan traders. In return for these privileges, assistance is expected in carrying out the regulations of the Tibetan Government affecting the Huniya merchants who may cross the passes to the Bhótiya villages.

The first step towards the re-opening of the trade, is taken every year, when the passes become practicable, in the begin-

ning of June, by the Tibetan authorities. An envoy is sent to each of the Bhótiya valleys, by the officer whose duty it may be to superintend its commercial transactions. It is the business of this envoy, who is known by different names in the different districts, to enquire into the state of affairs on this side of the snowy range, and to make his report to the Tibetan authorities. Politics seem to be considered matters of much less importance than the public health; and the presence of small-pox, or other contagious diseases in the Bhótiya valleys, alone causes a temporary interruption of intercourse. If the report of the Tibetan envoy is satisfactory, the trade immediately commences.

With the exception of the people of the Juhár valley, who are entitled to choose their own markets, the trade of each of the Bhótiya villages is confined to some particular mart in Hundes, and minute regulations are laid down by the Tibetan authorities, for the management and control of the traders. It is, perhaps, matter for surprise, that, under the strange system of monopoly and restriction which exists, the trade should have reached even its present importance. Neither the Tibetans nor the Bhótiyas, seem to doubt the wisdom of the existing regulations, and any infringement of them is viewed with equal jealousy, though, perhaps, with different motives, on both sides. One of the most curious parts of the whole system, is that by which the dealings of every individual trader are controlled. "The regulation," says Traill, "which restricts the trade of each ghát to a prescribed mart, affects the inhabitants of the latter equally with the Bhótiyas; this system is further extended even to individual dealings, and every trader has his privileged correspondent, with whom he alone has the right to barter. These individual monopolies, if they may be so called, are considered as hereditary and disposable property, and, when the correspondent becomes bankrupt, the trader is under the necessity of purchasing the right of trading with some other individual. From successive partitions of family property, and from partial transfers, this right of *áráth* has been gradually sub-divided, and many Bhótiyas collectively possess a single correspondent. This system differs so far from that of the Hong merchants in China, that it leaves to every *Huniya*, the power of trafficking directly with the foreign trader, though it restricts his dealings to particular individuals: the only persons who appear to be exempt from its operation, are the local officers, civil and military, and the Lamas. On the dealings of foreign merchants with each other, it has no effect."—(*Statistical*

Report on the Bhótiya Mehals of Kumáon—Official Reports, page 96)

This quotation however does not in one point state the facts quite correctly, for it seems to imply that each Bhótiya can only have a single correspondent. New *draths* can be established, but not to the prejudice of the old ones. The Bhótiyas alone possess the privilege of selling or transferring their correspondents, the Huniyas having no such power to dispose of the Bhótiyas. Suits arising out of this strange custom are sometimes brought before our civil courts in Gurhwál and Kumáon. Not long ago, a case of this kind was instituted, in which one Bhótiya sued another for the exclusive right to trade with a certain Tibetan. Neither party ever referred in the slightest degree to the wishes of the Huniya, who was thus to be disposed of, and it was evident that his acquiescence in the decision of the Court was assumed as a matter of course. The Assistant Commissioner happened to meet the very man on a journey to Hundes, and the Tibetan humbly expressed a hope that he would not be transferred to the party who had instituted the suit. Strange, as such cases must appear, it is necessary that our Courts should listen to them, for neither Huniyas nor Bhótiyas doubt the excellence of the system, and the only result of refusing to receive such cases, would be to throw them into the Courts of the Zungpuns of Hundes.

There can be little doubt that the Bhótiyas of Kumáon and Gurhwál are a people of Tibetan origin. Their language is alone almost sufficient to prove the fact; and the unmistakeable peculiarities of feature that belong to the Mongolian race are as strongly marked in the Bhótiyas as in the people of Hundes itself. The traditions current among them help to confirm the same opinion. The Bhótiyas, however, do not, as is often supposed, themselves admit their Tibetan origin. They state generally that they are a Rajput race, who dwelt originally in the hill provinces south of the snowy range, and that they migrated to Tibet, whence, after a residence of several generations, they again crossed the Himálaya, and established themselves in the districts which they now inhabit. That this tradition is not of very modern origin appears certain; and it is not impossible that it may be true; but it seems more reasonable to conclude, that it had its source in the constant desire to be considered members of the orthodox Hindu community, which we know has existed among the Bhótiyas for a long time. The traditions both of the Bhótiyas, and of the inhabitants of the country further south, uniformly declare that the Bhótiya districts were once subject to the adjoining province of Tibet,

No authentic records have been discovered to prove it, but there seems no reason to doubt the fact ; and it is probable that the Bhótiyas may be descended from the original Tibetan inhabitants of this tract.

The dialects spoken by the Bhótiyas vary considerably in the different valleys, but still bear to each other a near resemblance. They are all closely allied to the Tibetan now spoken in Hundes. In those of the Bhótiya valleys, where the people have made the greatest progress in civilization, and where intercourse is more frequent with the natives of the lower hills, the Bhótiya dialect seems gradually to be disappearing, and at no very distant date it will probably become extinct, giving place to the Hindi spoken in other parts of the province.

Although the almost constant intercourse which the Bhótiyas maintain with Hundes, and their yearly residence for a considerable time in that country, cause many of their habits to assimilate to those of the Huniyas, yet the general customs of the Bhótiyas approximate more nearly to those of the natives of other parts of Kumáon and Gurhwál. They pay little attention to the distinctions of caste, and do not scruple to eat and drink with the cow-killing people of Hundes, though they will not eat beef themselves. In religion they seem to vary their practice as they move from one country to the other, and they are perhaps almost as much Buddhist as Hindu. Strict Hinduism is necessarily almost impossible in a cold climate ; and the respect which the Bhótiyas show to the religion of their neighbours, may be derived as much from the tolerant opinions which Hindus generally profess, as from any traditional reverence, for what was probably their ancient faith. The Bhotiyas have most of the virtues and the vices of the people of the lower hills ; but they are superior in energy and industry, and perhaps in general intelligence. The heads of the villages are often remarkably sensible and well-informed ; their mode of life gives them more experience of the world than the people of the hills generally possess ; and they take a much greater interest in matters not immediately affecting their own interests than is common among orientals. Their intelligence is the result of their own observation and experience ; they seldom, perhaps never, possess any education beyond the ability to read and write, and to keep rough accounts of their trading operations. Very few of them possess even this amount of knowledge, and the great majority are utterly illiterate. Their great fault is drunkenness. Large quantities of spirits are manufactured in the Bhótiya villages, and almost every undertaking and every ceremony is preceded or accom-

panied by drinking-bouts, at which drunkenness is the rule, and moderation the exception.

Before concluding what we have to say here, regarding the higher regions of the Himálaya, we must mention briefly, but more particularly than we have hitherto done, one of their most interesting phenomena the glaciers. It is surprising, that until a very few years ago the existence of the glaciers in the Himálaya was doubted by the scientific men of Europe, and ingenious speculations were not wanting to account for their absence. This notion arose entirely from the fact, that among the best of the old Himálayan explorers, Webb, Hodgson, Herbert, and the Gerards, there was not one who knew what a glacier was. They frequently describe the great "snow-beds" from which the Himálayan rivers spring, but they did not know that these "snow-beds" were true glaciers, exactly resembling those of Europe. This error gave birth to another. The glaciers descend in these mountains to 11,500 and 12,000 feet, and the glacier ice being confounded with perpetual snow, the snow-line was placed 4,000 feet too low. We believe that to Major Madden, of the Bengal Artillery, is due the credit of having first given to the world a clear and satisfactory refutation of this common error regarding Himálayan glaciers.* Their examination was followed up by Captain Richard Strachey, some of whose observations have been published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The greater part, however, of his observations regarding the general structure of the glaciers, and his numerous measurements of the rate of progress of the ice, have not yet seen the light. These enquiries have proved conclusively, that not only do true glaciers exist in these mountains, but that every large river, without exception, which rises in this part of the snowy range of the Himálaya, springs from a glacier, identical in all its main features, with those of Switzerland.

No one can travel through these mountains without finding the clearest evidence, that an immense diminution of snow and glaciers has taken place. The ascent to the Mána Pass, up the valley of the Saraswati, gives the most striking illustrations that we have witnessed of this fact. Nearly the whole valley above the temple of Badarináth must once have been filled with glaciers, and we now see almost everywhere the remnants of ancient moraines, in the accumulations of rock and débris which cover the bottom and the sides of the valley. The people of Mána declare that the diminution of ice and snow is still going

* "Notes of an Excursion to the Pindari Glacier, in September 1846"—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1847.

on before their eyes ; that the glaciers which come down from the lateral ravines into the valley of the Saraswati have receded far back from the points which they reached within the memory of man, and that parts of the road to the pass, which were formerly almost impracticable from accumulations of snow, are now always open and easy during the summer months. Mr. Trail has, however, stated the direct contrary of what we have here asserted to be the fact. He says—"The interior of the Himaláya, except at the passes and paths in question, is inaccessible, and appears to be daily becoming more so, from the gradual extension of the zone of perpetual snow. The Bhótiyas bear universal testimony to the fact of such extension, and point out ridges now never free from snow, which within the memory of man, were clothed with forest, and afforded periodical pastures for sheep: they even state that, the avalanches, detached from the lofty peaks, occasionally present picces of wood frozen in their centre."—(*Statistical Report on the Bhótiya Mehals—Official Reports, page 71.*)

We have made many enquiries on this subject from intelligent Bhótiyas, and have always received the same answer, that they believe the quantity of snow and ice to have diminished. Notwithstanding what Mr. Trail has asserted in the passage above quoted, and the weight due to the opinion of one whose knowledge of these districts was so extensive, we have no doubt that we have stated correctly the common belief of the people of the country, and that the truth of the opinion, which we have attributed to them, is confirmed by the visible phenomena of the snowy range, in a way which can leave no doubt in the mind of an intelligent observer.

At the end of the volume of *Official Reports* on Kumáon, some interesting papers have been printed regarding the disease locally called *Mahamurri*, which has frequently been so fatal in parts of Kumáon and Gurhwál, and which has lately been the subject of much enquiry. According to the common belief of the people of the country, this formidable disease first appeared in the year 1823, near Kedárnáth, in Gurhwál ; it is said that the Ráwal, or high-priest of that famous temple, "deviated" in the performance of a religious ceremony, "from the rules prescribed by the Shasters," and that this disease was the consequence of his fault. From some of the characteristic symptoms of the disease, and the fact that this part of India is in, what has been called, the plague latitude, it has frequently been surmised that Mahamurri may be identical with the plague of Syria and Egypt.

In 1836, it was described by Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Bell, as "a fever of a putrid character resembling the plague; it was ushered in with fever, great prostration of strength, and an eruption of buboes, or glandular swellings, over various parts of the body, the latter being one of the chief symptoms of the plague; it proved rapidly fatal, its duration in many cases not exceeding three or four days."—(*Official Reports*, p. 452). The disease has continued to break out from time to time, since its recorded appearance; but from the fact that its ravages have been till lately almost entirely confined to the more remote parts of the province,—the pergunnahs lying immediately below the snowy range,—it did not attract much attention. It was not until the beginning of 1850, that, in consequence of a representation to the Government of the North-West Provinces on the subject, by the civil authorities of the province, Dr. Renny, superintending surgeon, was deputed "to enquire into the history and nature of the disease on the spot." We have now before us the result of Dr. Renny's investigations. Dr. Renny has given his opinion that Mahamurri is not the plague; he states it to be "a malignant fever, of a typhus character, accompanied by external glandular tumours, very fatal, and generally proving rapidly so in three or four days; it appears to be infectious, and is believed not to be contagious." During the present season (1852,) Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Pearson has again been engaged in investigating the nature of the disease. His reports have not yet been published; but we understand that, after careful observation of several cases which he met with, he has arrived at the conclusion, that Mahamurri is undoubtedly a contagious plague. We will not attempt to discuss the question here, which of the two observers is in the right. But we think that the evidence hitherto adduced to show that Mahamurri is *not* plague, is not at all conclusive; and we think it highly probable, that Dr. Pearson's opinion will prove to be well founded. Dr. Renny has given the following reasons for the opinion which he supports: (1st)—that the diagnostic marks and symptoms of the two diseases do not agree; (2nd)—that Mahamurri, though very infectious, is not contagious like the plague, and (3rd)—that "Mahamurri has prevailed in temperatures, beyond which, it is known, that the plague is destroyed or suspended in Europe and Africa." On the first point, there is so much difference of opinion between the medical authorities who have seen the disease, and Dr. Renny's opportunities of observing the nature of Mahamurri were, as he has himself

told us so very limited, that we cannot consider that the distinction between the two diseases has been in any way proved. Secondly, we believe, that most medical authorities are now agreed, that no real line can be drawn between infection and contagion; we cannot attach much value to an argument, which declares the diseases to be distinct, because one of them is contagious, and the other is only proved to be infectious. Some authorities, moreover, have doubted the contagiousness of the plague itself. Thirdly, Dr. Renny thinks that Mahamurri has prevailed in a temperature at which plague is extinguished. He says—"The limit of activity for it is very small. Good, quoting from Sir Gilbert Blane, names the extremes 60° and 80°; "Copland gives lower numbers, fixing the scale from 35° to "75°." Now we believe it to be an undoubted fact, that Mahamurri has hitherto been almost entirely confined to temperate climates. The cases are very rare, indeed, in which a village in a hot valley has been attacked; and we much doubt if it could be shown that Mahamurri has commonly prevailed at temperatures exceeding those quoted above from Copland and Blane. On the other hand, we have certainly never heard of a case of Mahamurri when the temperature of the air was at 35°; and Dr. Renny's surmise, that at spots 10,000 feet above the sea (up to which elevation he states Mahamurri to have appeared,) we find a constant temperature low enough to check the plague, appears to be grounded on an erroneous idea of the climate found at that height. Although it may be true, that extremes of height and cold are unfavourable to the extension of plague, the fact that plague appeared in the summer at Malta, and in the winter at Corfu, shows that the rule is subject to much exception.

Dr. Renny's remarks on the means of prevention of the disease, by the adoption of sanitary measures, are excellent; and we hope they will be borne in mind by the civil authorities of the province.

Although this article has already reached a greater length than we intended, we must say something before we conclude regarding the highly interesting efforts that are now being made to introduce tea cultivation into the Himalaya.

In 1827, Dr. Royle tells us that he suggested to Lord Amherst, then Governor-General of India, the probability of a successful cultivation of tea in these mountains; and in his *Illustrations of Himalayan Botany*, published in 1834, he gave at length his reasons for this opinion. Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Govan, Dr. Wallich, and Dr. Falconer share with Dr.

Royle the honor of having first drawn attention to this subject. Dr. Royle, in his *Report on the Progress of the Culture of the China Tea Plant in the Himálayas, from 1835 to 1847*, published in the 12th volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, has given an excellent account of the progress of the experiment, and on it we shall draw largely for the information we now propose to lay before our readers.

It was, we believe, in 1834, that a committee, with Dr. Wallich at its head, was appointed by Lord W. Bentinck to investigate the question, whether there was a probability of introducing successful tea cultivation into this country. The report of the committee was favorable, and subsequently a deputation, consisting of Dr. Wallich and Messrs. Griffith and McClelland was sent to Assam, where it had been discovered that a species of tea was indigenous. The two latter members of the commission seem to have formed unfavorable opinions of the suitability of the Himálayan soil and climate for tea cultivation; but these were not shared by Dr. Wallich. While these investigations were going on, tea seeds were procured from China. They reached Calcutta in January 1835, and from them plants were raised, which were despatched to Assam, Kumáon and Gurhwál. Tea nurseries were established by Government, and in the two latter districts they were placed under the able superintendence of Dr. Falconer, Superintendent of the Botanical Garden at Saharunpur. In 1841, Dr. Falconer reported in very favorable terms of the prospects of tea cultivation. He stated that "the tea plants grown from China seed have now been several years in the ground, exposed, unprotected to every change of the season; they have grown freely, in many cases vigorously; and they are now producing seed in such abundance, that in the course of a few years, extensive plantations might be clothed with their progeny, without the necessity of introducing seed or plants from any other quarter," though he "would not advise the extension of the culture being left to these means, for the seeds, although they germinate freely, are generally smaller than their originals, and the produce will be affected by the seed. For some time to come, the plantations ought to be stocked by means of annual importations of the best kind of seed from China." . . . "The brilliancy of the discovery of the indigenous plant in Assam very naturally concentrated the attention of the tea committee upon that quarter, and, after the recall of Mr. Gordon from China, but feeble efforts were made towards furnishing the Himálayan nurseries with fresh supplies of China seed.

"They were left in a great measure, to work on with the weakened remains of the first despatch." *

"In regard to the quality of the produce," says Dr. Royle, "everything required to be done. Dr. Falconer wisely abstained from attempting to manufacture tea from the imperfect accounts that had been published, observing, 'it is well known that tea manufacture is a peculiar process, which requires skill and tact in the firing, twisting, and other manipulations to which the leaves are subjected. Were unpractised hands to attempt it by following written directions, although they might ultimately blunder into expertness, still a failure in the first instance would, in all probability, be the result; and discredit would naturally, though unfairly, fall upon the produce.' He therefore concluded with the following recommendation:—'I beg leave, therefore, strongly to recommend to the favorable consideration of Government, that two complete sets of Chinese tea manufacturers be supplied for the nurseries at Kumáon and Gurhwál, especial care being taken in the selection that these workmen be of the best description.

"The Chinese plants, or those produced from the Chinese seed, were at this time also well established at Dinjoy, in Upper Assam." . . . "In consequence of the foregoing application made by Dr. Falconer, the Indian Government determined upon sending him a small manufacturing establishment." . . . "Dr. Wallich was fortunately enabled to procure men in Calcutta, out of a party of Chinese artisans returned from Assam. A set of manufacturing implements were also procured from Assam, at a cost of seventy-seven rupees. These were forwarded to Kumáon in charge of Mr. Miller, the gardener, who had been sent from this country, and was on his way to the Botanic Garden at Saharunpur. The Chinamen (nine in number) arrived at their destination in April 1842."

In December 1842, Dr. Falconer was compelled by bad health to leave India. He arrived in England in June 1843, taking with him the first specimen of Kumáon tea. Dr. Falconer was succeeded by Dr. Jameson, the present superintendent of the Botanical Garden at Saharunpur, and of the Government tea plantations. Under Dr. Jameson's able and energetic management, the plantations have been greatly enlarged, and, we believe, not less than six hundred acres of land are now under tea cultivation in Kumáon, Gurhwál, and the Dehra

* Quoted in Royle's "Report on Progress of the Culture of the China Tea Plant," &c.

Dun. We must refer our readers, who wish for more details regarding the progress of this interesting experiment, to Dr. Jameson's reports. They show that the plantations are in a most flourishing condition, and that the tea plant thrives well at heights varying from 2,200 feet to 6,000 feet above the sea. The reports of the English tea brokers have been highly satisfactory, and prove clearly, that in regard to quality, our Himálayan tea may soon hope to compete with the better sorts from China. This success, we believe, to be chiefly owing to Dr. Jameson's most zealous and energetic superintendence, and he deserves the greatest credit for all that he has accomplished. The future prospects of Himálayan tea cultivation are very hopeful. It was ascertained, some years ago, that the tea plants introduced into India in 1835, were not of the variety most approved in China. To remedy this, Mr. Robert Fortune was deputed by the Court of Directors in 1848, to visit China, and to obtain there the best varieties of tea, implements of manufacture, and good tea-makers. Mr. Fortune was most successful. "As the result of this mission," we use his own words, "nearly twenty thousand plants from the best black "and green tea countries of Central China have been introduced to the Himálayas. Six first-rate manufacturers, two "leadmen, and a large supply of implements from the celebrated Hwuychow districts, were also brought round, and safely "located on the Government plantations in the hills." Mr. Fortune himself brought the plants to Kumáon, and we have now before us his *Report upon the Tea Plantations in the North Western Provinces*, dated the 6th September 1851. Although Mr. Fortune takes exception to some of the practices that have been followed, and especially to the selection of low flat lands for tea cultivation, nothing can be more satisfactory on the whole than his report. He considers that land exists in the Himálaya, to an almost unlimited extent, admirably fitted, in soil and climate, for tea cultivation. That tea may be produced in great quantity, and at a very cheap rate, in these mountains, when the people of the country have learned to undertake its cultivation and manufacture it themselves, is a matter which cannot be doubted, and we can hardly estimate too highly the importance of endeavours to bring about such a state of things. Whether the Himálaya will ever compete with China in the European tea-market, is a question which we will not discuss here. But we think it most probable that it is to India itself that we must look for the great market for our Himálayan tea. As yet it has been quite impossible for a

taste for tea to grow up in India ; the price of this article of luxury puts it far beyond the means of the vast mass of the population. But we believe that man is naturally a tea-drinking animal : and the time may come, as Mr. Fortune surmises, when every Hindu will have his tea-pot. Although the success of the Government plantations has been so great, we cannot say that much progress has hitherto been made in encouraging the people of the hills to cultivate tea on their own account. The local authorities have been most anxious to bring this about ; but official interference in such matters is always dangerous, and frequently most prejudicial. This has been clearly shown in Kumáon ; and we fear that the extension of tea cultivation by the people of the country has been thrown back many years by certain ill-advised measures, adopted some years ago, which had the unfortunate effect of making the people suspicious of the benevolent intentions of our Government, and of rendering tea cultivation altogether unpopular. But we hope that this has now been remedied by time, and the wiser system that has been since adopted ; and we think it highly probable that, a few years hence, we may be able to give a good account of the "zemindari tea plantations" belonging to natives of the hills. In a country like this, the influence of the European officers of Government may undoubtedly be exercised with the greatest advantage. But let them take care that they do not attempt too much. Let them use the influence, which their superior intelligence and education gives to them, rather than that which is derived from their official position in the country. We cannot better conclude what we have to say regarding tea, than with the following extract from Mr. Fortune's report. One or two of its propositions might be criticised, but on the whole, the views which it expresses are, we believe, sound and excellent. "In these days, when tea has become almost a necessary of life to England and her wide-spread colonies, its production upon a large and cheap scale is an object of no ordinary importance. But to the natives of India themselves, the production of this article would be of the greatest value. The poor *Pahari*, or hill farmer, at present has scarcely the common necessities of life, and certainly none of its luxuries. The common sorts of grain which his lands produce will scarcely pay the carriage to the nearest market-town, far less yield a profit of such a kind as will enable him to purchase some few of the necessary and simple luxuries of life. A common blanket has to serve him for his bed at night while his dwelling-house is a

"mere mud-hut, capable of affording but little shelter from the inclemency of the weather.* Were part of these lands producing tea, he would then have a healthy beverage to drink, besides a commodity which would be of great value in the market. Being of a small bulk compared with its value, the expense of carriage would be trifling, and he would return home with the means in his pocket of making himself and his family more comfortable and more happy.

"Were such results doubtful, we have only to look across the frontiers of India into China. Here we find tea one of the necessities of life in the strictest sense of the word. A Chinese never drinks cold water, which he abhors, and considers unhealthy. Tea is his favourite beverage from morning till night; not what we call tea, mixed with milk and sugar, but the essence of the herb itself, drawn out in pure water. One acquainted with the habits of this people can scarcely conceive the idea of the Chinese Empire existing, were it deprived of the tea plant; and I am sure that the extensive use of this beverage adds much to the health and comfort of the great body of the people.

"The people of India are not unlike the Chinese in many of their habits. The poor of both countries eat sparingly of animal food, and rice with other grains and vegetables form the staple articles on which they live; this being the case, it is not at all unlikely the Indian will soon acquire a habit which is so universal in the sister country. But in order to enable him to drink tea, it must be produced at a cheap rate; he cannot afford to pay at the rate of four or six shillings a pound. It must be furnished to him at four *pence* or six *pence* instead, and this can be done easily, but only on his own hills. If this is accomplished,—and I see no reason why it should not be,—a boon will have been conferred upon the people of India of no common kind, and one which an enlightened and liberal Government may well be proud of conferring on its subjects."

We had hoped to have given some account of the mines, forests, and natural resources generally of our Himálayan provinces, but the length to which this article has already extended makes it impossible to fulfil this intention. Perhaps, at some future time we may be able to return to the subject.

For nearly forty years the British Government has been esta-

* We must protest against this statement of Mr. Fortune's. Our *Paharis* are certainly not at all badly housed. They live generally in good stone cottages, not in *mud-huts*.

blished in Kumáon and Gurhwal. Can we give a good account of our stewardship? We fear that this question cannot be answered very decidedly in the affirmative, vastly superior as our Government has been to any that preceded it. It is true that the country has made some progress in civilization and in wealth; and we believe that our Government is really liked by the people, a thing which we cannot always say in India with truth, much as it is the fashion to say it. But our administration has been too much in the *dolce far niente* style. We have left the people as much as possible to themselves, and up to a certain point, we have done well in doing so. We have not ruined the country with a corrupt police; and still, as in the days of their ancestors, the heads of our village communities are the unpaid officers of justice. The people have not learned to consider themselves the enemies of the law; and although there is hardly a policeman to be found in the country, yet in the facility with which crime is detected and order preserved, our hill provinces may fairly challenge comparison with the best managed districts of the plains. But in a country just emerging from the savage state, it is not enough that we should be able to say that the people are happy and contented, that crime is rare, and justice not very badly administered. We fear that it cannot be denied that, in the thirty-eight years during which our Government has been established in these provinces, we have not done much to develop the resources of the country, and to raise the people in the the resources of the country, and to raise the people in the moral and intellectual scale. Our greatest fault has perhaps been this, that we have done comparatively little to improve the means of communication between the different parts of the country. The want of such means is fatal to the improvement of any country, and most especially is this true in a country like Kumáon, covered with vast mountains, and constantly intersected by impassable torrents. Roads and bridges are equally important to every class of the community, to the agriculturist as much as to the merchant, and their material influence is not greater than their moral. Most truly has Macaulay said, when treating of the causes that checked the advance in civilization of our forefathers: "Of all inventions, the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for the civilization of our species. Every improvement of the means of locomotion benefits mankind, morally and intellectually, as well as materially, and not only facilitates the

"interchange of the various productions of nature and art, but "tends to remove national and provincial antipathies, and to "bind together all the branches of the great human family." There cannot be a doubt that this is literally true; and we look upon it as quite certain, that until the means of inter-communication are greatly improved, no real advance will ever be made by the people of these hills either in knowledge or in material prosperity. It is not creditable to us, that after so many years, there hardly exists a road in these provinces fit for the passage of laden cattle, and that the larger rivers are for the most part unbridged, and only passable by various barbarous expedients which ought long ago to have vanished from all the main lines of communication. It is true, that large sums of money have been expended on the construction of iron suspension bridges on the so-called military roads of Kumáon, but unfortunately, it is no less true, that the most costly of these bridges are almost never crossed, and that they are situated on a road which leads nowhere! But both in Kumáon and Gurhwál the local authorities seem to be now aware of the vast importance of this subject; and we hope ere long to hear that good roads exist along the main lines of communication, and that the great affluents of the Ganges and the Kali have ceased to be any obstacle to the traveller. When these things are accomplished, and when carriage and labour thus become economised, we shall hope, too, to see the end of the system of forced labour, which even now, after so much has been done to mitigate its evils, is one of the greatest curses of the country. To make the people keep their roads and bridges in order is very proper; but English gentlemen, visiting the hills, have been in the habit of thinking that *they* are ill-used if the people of the country are not forced to carry their loads on pleasure excursions, and to supply them with provisions. No one who *pays* will find difficulty, as a general rule, in obtaining the servants and the food which he requires, except where the system of forced labour has made the people suspicious of all European travellers.

We proposed to have given some account of the manner in which criminal and civil justice is administered, but this it is now impossible to do; and on this subject, all that we can now do, is to say a warning word to the civil officers of these districts, and it is one still more applicable to those of the plains. Thirty years ago, in 1822, there was one court in Kumáon and Gurhwál for the trial of the civil suits, that of Mr. Traill, the Commissioner. There were no stamps, no pleaders, no techni-

calities, and almost no litigation. Since then we have gradually been introducing into the hills the system that prevails in the plains. Let us see the result. In 1852, there are eight courts for the administration of civil justice. Litigation has increased more than eight-fold, and many parts of Kumaon and Gurhwal have become infamous for litigious disputes. We have not the shadow of a doubt that this most unfortunate change has been brought about entirely by the system now followed in our courts. But it is not too late, we trust, to retrace our steps, and the officers charged with the administration of the law can do so if they like, for they have not been tied down yet so tightly that there is no means of escape ; and with a return to more simple forms of legal procedure, we might still hope to see again Mr. Traill's golden age of speedy and simple justice.

It has been most truly remarked, that we English are too apt to forget that law is a science, not merely an art. Lawyers and judges, both in India and at home, too often think, when they have mastered the mysterious intricacies of legal procedure, that they have arrived at a knowledge of the science of law. They have done nothing of the kind. They have learned merely the practice of a somewhat difficult but trivial art, and they certainly will not secure, with all their ingenious forms and technicalities, the observation of the great principles of the noble science of Law.

NOTE.—Since this article was written, we have received Capt. R. Strachey's paper "On the Physical Geography of the Provinces of Kumaon and Gurhwal," containing an excellent account of that officer's observations. We cannot do more now than recommend it to the notice of those of our readers who wish to know more of the Himalaya.

ANCIENT INDIAN BALLADS.

BY BABOO GRISH CHUNDER DUTT.

1 *The Poems of Chand.* MSS.

2. *Tod's Annals of Rajasthan*, 2 vols. London

FROM the traditionary legends extant in Western Hindustan, it is evident that the mountainous and desert tracts known under the names of Marhatta and Rajputana, and the salubrious regions that are watered by the mighty rivers of the Himalaya, once nursed a heroic and independent people, far excelling in manners, in civilization, and in arms, those rude and haughty tribes who dwelt around. For, throughout the whole range of those legends, there prevails such a high tone of sentiment and feeling, such burning enthusiasm and martial vigour, and such a noble and exalted philosophy, that it is impossible to conceive that any nation, less cultivated than the Athenians in the days of Pisistratus could have had the refinement to think, or the boldness to excute, what is there speculated upon and described.

That they were a people superior in courage and enterprise to every other tribe in the peninsula, is incontrovertibly established by the fact, that the best and bravest soldiers of our Indian army are now drawn from the petty provinces of Rajwarra, from the wild and romantic districts of the Vindayah mountains, and from the Doab. And though the Mussulman invasion has swept away all traces of their pre-eminence in arts and knowledge, yet from the few ruined and dilapidated, but still splendid, monuments of art, which have escaped the fury of the ruthless invaders, it is clearly discernible that Northern and Western India was once the seat of a race, equal at least, if not superior in point of civilization, to the French people in the time of Charles Martel.

That a nation that had built cities, larger and fairer than the fairest towns of Southern Europe. excavated temples out of the solid rock on the truest principles of architecture, and made laws, that are in part administered at this day by an enlightened and Christian Government to millions of human beings, should have been greatly deficient in any branch of polite learning, and particularly in poetry, is a supposition incompatible with common sense: and the beautiful fragments of ancient composition that are now in our hands, do not merely set aside such a supposition, but establish, on unimpeachable evidence, these important facts: *first*, that they were a race peculiarly superior to all around them in this department of polite literature, and *secondly*, that they arrived at that superiority by successive and distinct stages of improvement.

In all ages, and among all nations, when society is in its primitive state, and science is young, the nearest approach to anything like poetry is made by the homely, but strong and masculine couplets, sung by bards and itinerant minstrels. From those downright and matter-of-fact, but frequently not unpoetic or unharmonious lines—poetry gradually develops itself with the language, and like every other science, ripens by time. It is not our intention to state that genuine inspiration, the real “mens divini^{or}” of the poet, is the growth of ages; but it is our opinion, and we believe the opinion of all who have considered the subject, that a great poem cannot be written, unless the language has been considerably elevated, and rendered flexible, by the repeated compositions of those metrical romances now known under the name of ballads; and that a nation that can boast of even one great poem, must at one time have been possessed of these simple but vigorous ballads.

To prove our theory, we need only refer to the literature of Greece, and the Homeric poems; to the literature of Rome, and the Saturnian songs; to the literature of England, and the Liddesdale ballads; to the literature of Spain, and the chronicles of the Cid; to the literature of Arabia, and the chaunts of Azmut; to the literature of Tartary, and the songs of Kurrog-lou; and, in fact, to the literature of every country, and the poems of its first bards.

It is evident, then, that ballads must precede great poems. It is known that there are many great poems among the Hindus; and we have therefore a right to infer, that the Hindus once possessed these interesting ballads in abundance; and though these have wholly disappeared, or remain in too small numbers to be capable of being witnesses to the argument, we have still enough of indirect or secondary evidence, to prove the soundness of our inference.

The Sanskrit scholar will observe, that though the *Mahabharat* and the *Ramayana* may now be considered as two complete and entire epics yet, like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, they are only clever compilations of detached ballads. The connecting links are much more studied, and much more modern than the episodes. They plainly show that there were at least two persons engaged in completing the poems, and in making them what they now are. The different phraseology, the unpolished simplicity, the unconfined boldness of conception, and, in fact, the evident superiority of observation and description, will convince him, that the episodes are the productions of authors who had nothing in common with the better informed, more delicate, but less vigorous versifiers who strung

them together ; and this, coupled with the present practice of the potentates of Northern India of retaining bards, will confirm him in the belief, that ballad poetry was once largely cultivated by the haughty and aristocratic tribes of Northern Hindustan.

That poetry has altogether disappeared. With the exception of the two great epics already mentioned, and the measured chronicle of Chand the last of the Chohan bards, not a trace remains of those fresh and vigorous writings, which once commemorated the valor of the Chiefs of Rajasthan. Time, war, oppression ignorance. devastating invasions, and savage intolerance have carried away the war-ballads we would now fain possess. When the written documents perished in the sack of the royal cities the songs remained awhile in the memories of an oppressed and insulted, but proud and high-spirited people, reminding them of the magnificence of their fallen race, till, like all other traditions, they were swept away first from the memories of the great, and then after lingering for a season, like the flarings of an expiring taper, among the shepherds in the nooks of the Vindayah and Aravelli mountains, they perished for ever.

The loss of the ballads was one of the great evils of the Moslem invasion. It was one of the irreparable injuries inflicted on the Indian community by the foreign invaders. It not only deprived the erect, daring, and honorable Rahtore of his last consolation amid danger and dishonor, and robbed a mighty but fallen people of every incentive calculated to rouse its chilled and benumbed energies, but it deprived the world of songs that must have been valuable to the general reader for their intrinsic beauty and inestimably precious to the historian and moralist, because they would have illustrated the character of a great and interesting people

With the Mussulman invasion, things underwent a great change. Indian poetry assumed a new aspect. The ballads,—for it must be remembered, that the Hindus, like the Greeks, had, up to this time, never ceased to cultivate their ballads,—when the storm had swept over, breathed no more of that fierce patriotism, and ardent love of independence, which had characterized them of old. The glory of the Rahtores had expired with their dominion. Their capital had been taken, their palace had been sacked, and their chief, the descendant of a thousand kings, had perished, as became his race, on the field of battle. The invaders had spared neither age nor sex ; they had trampled on the people, they had mocked the

nobility ; and as the humiliation had been great, the ballads, in the crushing tyranny of the foreigner, had lost their original nerve and power. Indeed, the latter books of the poet Chand, who lived but to see the beginning of the troubles of which we speak, are characterized by such utter sadness and depression of spirits, and present such a startling contrast to the lively vivacity and fiery enthusiasm of the earlier parts, that, but for the occasional and fitful gleams which lighten their darkness, the reader would often doubt if one poet composed the whole.

But to do the Moslems justice, it was not alone their despotism, though that was the chief cause of the nation's degradation, that corrupted the ballads of ancient Hindustan. Every thing that tended to destroy the nationality, the peculiarity that set the Hindus apart among nations, tended also to corrupt the ballads. The very reforms introduced by the conquerors presented insuperable obstacles to the cultivation of this species of literature. The strange philosophy, the still stranger religion, the foreign laws, the courts of justice, in fact everything appertaining to the Mohammedans, were against the bards. By constant familiarity with novel innovations the Hindu lost all pride in the recollection of his own once enthusiastically loved institutions. His heart did not swell so high as it was wont to do, at the mention of his nation's victories : and the poets, therefore, in a great measure ceased to cultivate the once popular songs, which applauded those institutions, and celebrated those victories.

That a people of so much pride and sensibility as the Rajpút, should have wilfully neglected their own national institutions and their national songs, is certainly most strange, if we do not consider the great ascendancy of the Mohammedan conquerors in the central districts. But in justice also to the Hindus, it must be said, that in the wild woodlands of Northern India, and in the savage glens of the Vindayah and Aravelli mountains, where the crescent banner had not subdued the pure races, and where a "child of the sun" still ruled over a poor, but erect and enthusiastic peasantry, the case was far otherwise. In spite of the great blow which the nation had received by the reduction of the midland districts, which formed by far the fairest and most enlightened part of the empire, the shepherd boys, amid those primæval glens and forests, still sang the song of their heroic forefathers, undismayed by the torrent rushing with unimaginable impetuosity on the neighbouring plains. For there they felt they were free, free as the young eagle of

their native mountains, beyond the grasp of oppressors, where they were neither despised nor degraded, nor obliged to stoop to that still greater humiliation of conforming to the manners of their enemies; and though their communities were small, yet amid the inaccessible mountains and pathless woods where they lived, they were in themselves powerful enough to baffle every effort of the armed and mounted chivalry of the victorious Tartars. Moreover, all the advantages that are to be found in a patriarchal form of Government were theirs: and the ballads, which thrive best in a small, independent, and half-savage community, where the passions of individuals affect the actions of the state, continued to flourish amid their hills, even when they had vanished altogether from the plains.

To satisfy the reader of the correctness of our assertions and inferences, we need only refer him to the *Charun Chand*, an eye witness of the Mohammedan invasion, a courtier of the great Chohan, and the historian of the last desperate struggles of the Hindus with the conquerors of the West.

His universal history, a poem in 69 cantos, is written in language scarcely inferior, in point of spirit, to the classical Sanskrit of the Mahabharat. It is to the present day highly popular with the inhabitants of Rajputana, and is treasured up with care in the archives of every family, who have any pretensions to high blood and ancient descent. Besides minor details of geography and morals, it treats of the wars of Prithi, his numerous and princely vassals, his treaties and alliances, and the abode and pedigree of every warrior of his time. Its descriptions, from the moment when the author speaks of the "Yougshala" of Jye Singh, thronged with nobles and chieftains, to the time when he sings of the heroes, who "lay on the banks of the Caagar, asleep on the waves of steel;" from the first irruption of the King of Ghore and Irak across the Mons, to the departure of Samarsi from his native city, to join the coalition against Shahabudin, are simple, picturesque and animated, and breathe of the spirit and fervour of ancient Greece. But as it would be worse than useless to translate *fragments* from a work, which to be thoroughly appreciated must be taken as a whole, we shall refrain from giving any elaborate specimens from its pages, but content ourselves with the two following short extracts, which we hope, will be sufficient to convince our readers of its Homeric character:—

THE PRINCIPALITIES OF INDIA AND THEIR CHIEFS.

In Patan reigns Bhola Bhfm, chieftain right seemly, true as tried steel in the moment of danger.

On the highlands of Abú, Jeit Pramara, immovable and firm in tempest and battle, as the mystical star that sheds her light on the Pole.

Shamar Singh, tamer of nobles, lies at Mewar, a rampart of iron on the path of the foe, that would rush towards Prithi !

At lordly Mundore, strong in the pride of his strength, reigns the active Nahar, the hope of his people, the dauntless, the fierce, and the proud.

In Delhi, chief of proud chieftains, Anunga, king over kings ! at whose summons the princes around throng in numbers and render their homage, and whose cloud vested troops keep the snowy and turbulent North in constant fear of invasion.

A BATTLE BETWEEN THE CHOHANS OF AJMERE AND THE PURIHARS OF MUNDORÉ.

To the gorge of the mountains came the helmet bound warriors,—and Mundore there stationed her bravest and best,—to dispute with the Chohan that winding defile. Four thousand fierce archers from the mountains of Mai—terrible in form like the angel of death—whose shafts winged with feathers, ne'er miss the proud foe. Faithful and true, whose words are ne'er broken,—whose castles unconquered, flown dark on the plain,—the Pride and the Hope of time-honored Mundore.

Like serpents envenomed with crescent-formed arrows,—by bush and by brake, on the mountain's steep sides,—to save from the foeman the land of their fathers,—they wait in deep silence the advance of the foe.

Tidings now reached the proud hearted Prithi,—that Mundore enraged, like the lion at bay, stood ready and prompt his might to oppose. Unmoved by the news, the broad-breasted monarch sent for his *Kana* and bade him lead on the Chohans to battle, and himself to renown.

They charged up the pass like a wintry stream rushing ; but strong in their strength, like the rock of *Símair*, stood the pride of Mundore and faced the fierce tide. Like lightnings, their arrows flew furious and deadly, and obscured with their feathers the light of the sun ! while warriors fell fast resounding in armour, and blows came in showers like the fierce wintry rain,—and the demon of battle stood revelling in blood.

But to proceed. For a century and a half after the Mohammedan conquest, a perpetual warfare was kept up by these independent communities with the victors of the plain, somewhat similar to the warfare which devastated the Spanish peninsula, forty years ago. Unable to face their adversaries in the field, the followers of the children of Samarsi harassed their opponents by desultory attacks, by night marches, by intercepting convoys, by forays through the settled districts, by ambuscades, and all those various means usually resorted to by a weak but nimble party, against one possessed of much greater physical powers, but destitute of swiftness and activity. But there was this great difference between the followers of Julian Sanchez, and those of Samarsi. The one party daily increasing in numbers, in spirit, and in confidence by the aid of a powerful foreign power, finally succeeded in expelling the French invaders of their country ; the other, without foreign aid, without the means of organizing an effective resistance to

the disciplined chivalry of their invaders, without money, without leaders, deprived of their resources by the conquest of the midland districts, dwindled day by day, till they were at last reduced to contemptible parties of wild hill banditti, from whom the well-settled Moslem had nothing more serious to apprehend against the State than the petty mischief usually committed by highwaymen and robbers.

But though this was the ultimate end of the patriots of Upper Hindustan, it could not be brought about without a century and a half of continual turmoil, during which the Moslems had to endure hardships and privations, reduce towns, besiege fortresses, and fight battles, where the contest was always desperately maintained and the issue often doubtful. Defeated in the field, with castles and fortresses falling daily into the hands of the conquerors, the spirit of the people remained unbroken, till the last ray of hope expired. They fought, they endured, they consorted with wild beasts to maintain their much-loved independence and it was not until millions had perished, until every stronghold had been stormed, and districts deluged with blood, that they brought themselves down, at last, to endure the idea of having a misbelieving foreigner on the throne of the Solankis; yet even then, when the sword had exterminated their leaders, when a century of stern despotism had consolidated the Mohammedan power, and settled their dominion, the Rajpút would suddenly start up, on the exposure of the least symptom of weakness, and as if struck with madness, endeavour to break asunder the chains that bound him, till a stronger hand had rivetted them closer than ever on his hampered but ever struggling arms.

It will thus be perceived, that though the indigenous ballads of Hindustan degenerated in the central districts on account of the Mussulman invasion, yet the relics that lingered among the mountains, for two centuries after the conquest, derived an intenser fire, and a sharper edge from the tyranny of the Moslem. Unable to vent itself, as of yore, in the field of battle, the rage of the hill folks spent itself in songs; and the ballads, which are best adapted to express scorn or indignation, and which, of all other compositions, are most easily retained in the memory, became the natural vehicle through which the nation expressed its opinions. In these ballads, endited by bards uninfluenced by foreign tyranny, the Mussulman was held accursed. He was made destitute of honor, of pity, of sympathy,—in fact, of all those qualities which elevate us above the brutes, and bind man to man; and though a

stern acknowledgment was given to his successes in the field, yet those successes were always attributed to his necromancies, rather than to his valor; while the constancy of the Hindu was eulogized, his future glories foretold and prophecies made of champions who should redeem his land from bondage.

But the bands that maintained their independence on the hills were few in numbers, and as might be expected the songs there prevalent were also few. So that, not long after the older ballads of the plain had been forgotten by the lowland peasant, the mountain chaunts ceased to occupy the attention of those whose great-grandfathers had fought and died for liberty. Nursed in peace, and unconscious of the fearful miseries which the Moslem had inflicted, the descendants of the patriots could not sympathise with the savage spirit of hostility that pervaded their ballads. They saw, in the enlightened, educated and valiant soldier of the crescent a model on which to form the nation. They admired the splendour of the conqueror's court, listened to their loftier philosophy, acknowledged their superiority in the field, and casting aside the honest prejudices of their fathers, that would not allow the common impulses of humanity to their invaders, from open enemies, they became warm admirers.

The change was great; yet the historian will perceive it was not unnatural. When the first furious horde of Tartar invaders burst on the devoted fields of India, she became, indeed, truly miserable, and the sufferers fiercely indignant; but when they died, when their conquerors were no more, the personal rancour which had fired one nation against the other, departed too. The descendants of the patriots had not witnessed the wrongs which had exasperated their fathers; neither were the successors of the conquerors the authors of those wrongs; and though the fact that they were the conquered subjects of foreigners was galling in the extreme, yet when the personal grudge between the two nations had been forgotten, the keen hatred with which the conquered regarded the conquerors was, in a great measure, removed.

As the feeling of personal disgust ceased to operate, other barriers also that held the nations apart, began slowly to give way. After a century or two had cooled his blood, the Rajpút began to look around him. He perceived resistance to constitute authority hopeless. He perceived the barrenness of his own hills, and the fertility of the plains. He marked the demeanour of the conqueror, and found him neither so haughty, nor so ungracious, as his enemies had represented him; and

weighing all these well, he calculated that it would be best for him to submit to the Moslem rule, and emigrate to the plains. He emigrated; the invader's yoke proved not heavy, and with a few inaudible murmurings, merely to satisfy his conscientious qualms, he settled there for ever, forgetting all his wrongs and all his sufferings.

The Moslems, likewise, when the first flush of triumph was past, gradually became tame. They discovered, that if they wished to retain their conquests, they must cease to tyrannise. They discovered also that that was a wrong policy, which prompted them to plunder a land, which, if properly managed, promised to remain in their hands for centuries; and, like wise rulers, they used every means in their power to conciliate the natives. Their concessions could not fail to establish familiarity; and when familiarity was established, the Hindu settler ceased to regard the Moslem with any other feeling than that of admiration. He neglected his national institutions, songs, and festivals, to imitate those of his masters, and in the course of a hundred or two hundred years, the relics of Indian traditional literature, which had survived the invasion, perished for ever.

It will thus be perceived that the ballads of India suffered much from Moslem tyranny, but more from Moslem condescension; for it was the latter, rather than the former, that extinguished the ardent nationality of the enthusiastic Rashtra. That this condescension was hollow, and assumed only to serve a purpose, will be readily believed by all who have studied the illiberal and tyrannical principles of the Moslem Government. The Mussulmans had found that, while they tyrannised in the plains, the Hindus had formed communities among the rocks and forest to resist their authority; they had found also that, instead of bringing the Rajput to their feet, disheartened and subdued, the rigorous laws served only to tighten the bands by which he was bound to his national communities; and they had sense enough to discover, that it was against the true interests of the State, to have a large party of disaffected mountaineers, in the very heart of their dominions, whose interests were diametrically opposed to their own.

They had sought to obviate this evil; and as experience had shown them that opposition made it stronger, they had reversed their former course of proceedings, and had tried to dismember their enemies by conciliation. In this they had succeeded. The Hindu, as we have before remarked, observing

the utter impracticability of subverting the Moslem rule, and the unusually courteous aspect of the conqueror, had been allured down to the plains, to make the most of circumstances; and in the new society, and the new scenes to which he had been introduced, he had utterly neglected what his forefathers had once sedulously cultivated, and had, in the course of half a century after his reconciliation, ceased to be a member of the nation of which his ancestor had been a member.

History assures us that nothing tends more to keep up the nationality of a people, than the indigenous war-ballads of its first bards; and experience declares, that ballads thrive best amongst tribes whose nationality is marked, and whose literature is thoroughly native. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose, that the Mohammedans directed their first efforts to suppress the ballads, and that the Hindus lost the art of cultivating those ballads, when they had been sufficiently reconciled to their conquerors to imitate foreign models of composition. Such was the case in Wales, when King Edward the First reduced it to submission; for the bards were the only portion of the Cambrians who had reason to complain of the king's severity; and such was the case in Rome, when she conquered Greece, for it was after she had learnt to imitate the exquisite modulations of Ionian verse, that she lost the genuine Saturnian ballads, of which Cato admitted himself to be an admirer. In the one case the conquered people, and in other the conquerors, lost their hold of this branch of their national literature, by the relations into which conquest brought them. Indeed, unless we suppose the Mussulmans to have been peculiarly anxious to put down these ballads, it is impossible to account for the rapid decline of the Indian songs, in point of merit, and the inconsiderable space of time for which the older ballads kept possession of the nation's mind.

After the reconciliation had taken place, the potentates of Rajasthan kept up, indeed, the ancient custom of retaining bards. But this was done not merely to gratify their vassals with music, but to silence those conscientious qualms which at times assailed them, for embracing, in friendship, the enemies of their country, by the fond assurance that, though they had mingled in fellowship with their invaders and renounced the sublime simplicity of their "surya" forefathers, yet they were still a nation capable of maintaining any ancient custom which was really good, in spite either of the frowns or the smiles of their conquerors.

But this was, as will be perceived, *only* a salve, and the Mos-

lem governors, aware of every principle which swayed the Hindu, were too wise to interfere in any way with this belief. They had dismembered the Hindus as a nation, and they had destroyed the means of their ever combining as one, by various means, of which sapping the foundations of Indian ballad poetry was not one of the least efficacious. For it must be observed that, when their attention was first directed against the Indian ballads, instead of attempting the impracticable task of eradicating them at once, they had, with consummate wisdom, only destroyed their nationality ; the spirit they wanted to destroy, by introducing into the glorious music of the Chand Bújunga, Mohammedan conceits and Mohammedan imagery. They therefore remained still, and viewed with indifference the conduct of the Hindu Chiefs, certain that no mischief could be brought about, as all the older songs had been forgotten, and as the bards, who were kept up for show, and who admired the conquerors equally with their brethren, would not (and could not, in the then enervated state of the language), compose chaunts similar in spirit to those that had been lost.

The ancient ballads of India thus perished, when the Hindus ceased to be a nation. But as the practice of maintaining bards, to recite the glories of their house, still lingered among some of the proud landowners of Upper Rajasthan, and as the Moslems, in their attempts to destroy the national songs of the Hindus, had corrupted instead of eradicating ballad poetry, something still continued to be cultivated among them. It may, therefore, not be uninteresting to our readers to know the tenor and spirit of the songs that remained popular in Rajwarra, and the Mahratta country, when the productions of the older poets had been forgotten, and when the transfusion of foreign idioms, and foreign imageries, had so far enervated the language, as to render it unfit for the expression of those strong feelings of hatred and indignation, which had fired the first enemies of the Ghaznvide, or, in other words, to ascertain the tone of the mediæval ballads of Upper India.

When the reconciliation, between the conquerors and the descendants of the first patriots, had bound the two nations into one, or rather had brought down the one to acknowledge the superiority of the other, the Hindus, who had hitherto forced favors from their conquerors, by their uncompromising demeanour, inspired real pity ; and the Moslems, with the humanity which they could now well afford to display, observing their utter helplessness, felt for their fallen state. They set themselves in earnest to better the condition of their dependants

and, as real charity cannot be disguised, the generous liberality of the conquerors woke sentiments of gratitude in the hearts of those who felt their humanity.

The Indian muse, which had so long been forced to remain silent, now poured forth the strains of love for the generous conquerors, though, unlike the older songs, the ballads which she now sung, were luxurious and subdued.

These ballads, the modern ballads of India, so completely have the Mohammedans succeeded in their designs, differ very little from the vigourless *guzuls* of the Persian tongue. They have the same languor, the same warmth, the same rich imbecility. Women, wine, the pains of absence, the languid complaints of lovers, and other intolerable characteristics of Persian poetry, are their distinguishing peculiarities. But they differ a *great deal* from the nervous and spirited war-chaunts of ancient Hindustan. So striking, indeed, is the difference, and such a startling contrast do the ancient and modern songs present, when brought together for comparison, that the ordinary student of Indian history, and Indian antiquities, will stand surprised, after perusing the chronicle of Chand, at the sudden change of sentiments and feeling displayed in these modern productions.

But he will find, if he will stoop to investigate the matter a little more closely, the change not very difficult to be accounted for. He will find, as has been already stated, that despair of being ever able to be free, and gratitude towards the pitying invaders, had been at work to break down the savage hostility which characterised the ancient ballads. He will find also that another motive, still more mighty, perhaps, than these two, powerful as they are, lent its aid to destroy that hostility; and when he sees that despair, gratitude and pride, were all conjoined to quench the fire of the ancient war-chaunts, he will come to the conclusion, as we think, that the transition from the ancient to the modern songs is not greater than might have been anticipated.

That the pride of the Rathores was as busily engaged in reconciling them to their enemies, as their despair and gratitude, though apparently a paradox, is, nevertheless, true. After that one liberal enactment of the Moslem government, which rendered the Hindus eligible to every office in the State, had come into operation, the latter entirely ceased to be a nation. They assimilated their interests with those of their conquerors. They regarded the glory of the crescent in the same light in which they had once regarded the glory of the banner of the Chohan. Fighting by the Moslem's side, in defence of the

country against one common enemy, the haughtiest recollections of the two nations were gradually intertwined. The victories and defeats of the army inspired, both alike, with joy and sorrow, for both were equally engaged to maintain its honor. The popular heroes, in time, became the common property of both. They lived together, they fought together, they died together, so that even the very festivities to celebrate their victories, the great cause of dissension and bloodshed before, contributed not a little to bind the Rajput prince in friendship, by ministering to his pride, as it was often under Rajput leaders, and always with Rajput assistance, that those victories were obtained.

To make ourselves thoroughly understood by the reader, we shall here present him with translations of a few of these modern songs. They are common-place, and savour much of the peculiarities of Hafiz and Saadi, but we hope that he will not deem them uninteresting, when we state that they have been selected solely from *manuscripts*, or from the recitations of amateur singers and wandering minstrels :—

SERENADE.

- He.* Awake my love, the night grows old, the morning wind blows chill,
Beneath thy casement long I've watched, breathing tender ditties,
Awake, dear idol of my soul, and let me hear thy voice,
Awake, and dream no more, and break not now thy promise.
- She.* Anxious I've watched the live long night, dear lord, to hail thy coming,
Anxious, lest thou in careless mood should'st spurn my love for others,
Oh come! the morn shines on the hills, and long thou'st kept me waiting.

ANACREONTIC.

Think not of the future, the present time is fleeting,
Rise poet from inaction, and take advantage of thy youth,
Rise up young pilgrim, benefit by thy position, and drain thy glass, and let
thy wit sparkle like diamonds.

SONG.

My beloved, my heart is bound to thee with links of steel,
And yet fret not, but glory in my bondage,
My spirit is as it were a captive unto thee, O ! cruel one ;
But still thy poet is as attached to thee, as are those pearls and ear-rings.

SONG.

My heart is smitten with sorrow, oh ! my sister, and the days of my youth are
clouded, for my lord is absent in the field of battle ;
Speak not to me of his comeliness and virtues, for they aggravate my misery ;
Speak not to me of the days when first he met me, in the groves of Brindaban,
For the remembrance of those days makes me sorrowful in the extreme ;
Then was I beautiful, as the petals of young flowers—sorrow had not wasted
me then ;

When I met him on the banks of the Yamuna, a scarf of blue hung round me as a veil, and pearls were wreathed round my hair, and ornaments were on my body ;

Nay, make me not bring back those scenes, for my sorrow is great when I think of them, and it is better for a woman to remain silent and listless in her sorrow, than to rake up old remembrances to torment herself.

Gorgeous and interesting to Eastern readers, and written in a measure peculiarly musical, the modern songs are now sung by the minstrels of Western India, in quiet evenings, to mixed audiences of Hindus and Mohammedans. They suit the pride of both people, and their circulation is therefore extensive. Often, in traversing the wild hill districts of Marhatta and the Concan, will the European traveller, if he quit the vicinity of his encampment, and stroll forward to the hills and villages of the natives, find, as we have ourselves found, the villagers (Hindus and Mohammedans) sitting together in the clear ivory moonlight, listening to some aged minstrel singing these songs ; and often at dawn will he hear the clear voices of shepherd lads on the hills reciting some luxurious Perso-Hindu guzul. But we fear our remarks on Indian ballad poetry are growing too tedious, so here we close. Possibly, on some future occasion, we may revert to this interesting subject, and append, to a more mature dissertation on the principal North-Western bards, notices of the works that are now extant, with free translations of the ballads that were prevalent in Northern India, during the reigns of Samarsi and Prithu Rai.

THE BURMESE WAR.

BY SIR HENRY DURAND.

Papers relating to Hostilities with Burmah. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Her Majesty's Command, June 4, 1852. London. 1852.

THE year fifty-two of a century is clearly not the fortunate one for the kings of Burmah. One hundred years ago, the Peguers, under Bonna Della, to use Syme's most peculiar and original Burman orthography, took Ava, captured Dweep-dee, the last of a long line of Burman kings, and flattered themselves that Pegue was henceforward to be the capital of the empire. Probably Dweepdec felt as little grateful on that occasion to the "renegade Dutch and native Portuguese," through whose assistance this consummation had been brought about, as his present Burman majesty does at this interesting moment to General Godwin and his "renegade" English, as the lord of the white elephant doubtless considers them. The triumph of the Peguers, in the eighteenth century, was, however, but short; for Alompra arose, and turned the tide of victory in favor of his Burman followers. The reins of empire soon fell from the hand of the Peguan monarch, and, if we are to believe the meagre records of that period, the rise of Alompra, and the humiliation of the Peguans were in part ascribable to the covert friendship and assistance of the English factory at Negrais.

A century sees the aspect of Eastern affairs altered wonderfully. A hundred years ago Clive and Lawrence, pitted against the able Dupleix, had a hard struggle to maintain and the petty clandestine aid which the Negrais factory could afford the Burmans,—probably a little powder and some untrustworthy muskets,—scarce forms a greater contrast to the force and its equipments now at short notice hurled against them, than does the narrow footing made good on the shores of India by the valour of Clive and Lawrence, to the modern Anglo-Indian empire in its gigantic magnitude. The Burman humiliation of 1752 was not destined to be of long duration, and the gentlemen of the Negrais factory soon repented themselves of the countenance given to the Burmans. The change of policy was too late for the Peguers; the star of Alompra was in the ascendant, and the Burmans were quickly freed from a hated yoke. So far as the Peguers are concerned, 1852 promises almost as hopefully for them as when Bonna Della took Ava; for, although General Godwin has not as yet accomplished that feat, Rangoon, the city of Alompra's founding, is once again in the hands of the English, and, if the next cold weather sees our flag on

Amerapoora, the Alompra will be found with difficulty, who, with his Burmans, shall be able to strike those colours and plant his own. Indeed, the "sun-descended king," and his "multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs," must by this time feel rather uncomfortable as to the issue of a contest, which the former war with the British taught them to be hopelessly unequal, and of a very different character from the wars with the "Elder Brother" of China, to which Burmans are rather fond of adverting.

If not too much occupied with the internal troubles of his own empire, the "Elder Brother" must, too, we should think, be participating in the uncomfortable emotions to which the "Younger Brother" must now be a prey; and as the Department for Foreign Affairs is seldom wholly asleep among the Celestials, the vermilion pencil has probably before this been penning a despatch, if not to the "Younger Brother dwelling in golden palaces to the westward," at least to the Tsoun-tu of the Yunan frontier, to watch well the gold and silver road, and to keep a sharp look out after the "red-bristled barbarians," who, though not now "madly careering the Celestial waters" in hostile array, threaten to acquire a dangerous proximity, in fact to touch the South-Western frontier of China. The Tsoun-tu, as in duty bound, will be furnishing up and adding to the fierceness of the indescribable dragons and unclassified tigers, on the jacket breasts and backs of the great military officers, and will be exciting the courage of his brave soldiers by visions of peacocks' tails, and red, blue and white mandarin buttons. We are not scholars enough to know whether those queer combinations of strokes at every imaginable angle, called Chinese characters, would reveal to an experienced eye the tremors of a nervous penman; but if the Tsoun-tu of the Yunan frontier chanced to observe a want of firmness in the strokes of the vermilion pencil, when it warned him to be on the alert against the English, the fact would be pardonable. That power which, step by step, wherever in the East it has set its foot, has not only subdued its neighbours, but gradually annexed their territories; that power, whose mission on earth seems to be to belt the sphere with its colonies and possessions, must seem to the "Elder Brother" fast encircling his Celestial Empire, and drawing around it a web of ominous strength and structure. Lord Gough's operations in the Yangtse-kiang, and the humiliating peace which redeemed the Empire of China from immediate dissolution, have left the English posted conveniently for aggression along the sea border, from Canton to Chusan; Labuan, the Straits Set-

lements, and the Tenasserim and Arracan coasts, are the links of the chain ; and now if Amerapoorra shall be occupied, and the golden and silver road between Yunan and that capital open to the English, the doom of the celestials will appear certain. Lord Ellenborough when he prescribed, that on no pretence whatever permanent footing on the continent of China was to be established, saved that empire for a while from the rapid dismemberment with which our successes threatened it ; but the foresight which dictated such instructions seems never to have contemplated what the wielder of the vermilion pencil must now regard as a not unlikely consummation, that in the course of the expansion of our enormous Indian empire, its boundaries may shortly be conterminous with those of China on the south-west ; and that in spite of all precautions to the contrary, the outposts of our battalions, and the gay-liveried, fantastically-flagged, and ill-armed masses of China, may soon again come into awkward juxtaposition. The "Elder Brother" may well feel a horror creep down to the very extremity of his right regal pig-tail, when he receives the news that we are again soldiering in Burmah, visions of Chin-kyan-foo and Nankin will disturb the sacred pillow, whilst the ghosts of the long line of chests of dollars, which left the Royal Treasury as a *douceur* to the outside barbarians, will haunt His Majesty's dreams.

It may be reasonably doubted, too, whether the sensations of other "Younger Brothers," besides the unhappy one of Ava, will continue to be of the most agreeable description. There must be a flutter among all the trans-gangetic monarchs who will feel that if the eagle builds its nest in the midst of them, whilst brood after brood of its young are finding shelter along the cliffs of the circumjacent seas, they may look to having their royal feathers seriously ruffled ere long. Such anticipations as these, with the near example of the Rajah of Sarawak's ability in establishing himself in a chieftship, will hardly favor Sir J. Brooke's negotiations with the Prince Chou Fao, unless, indeed, fear outweigh jealousy, and the dread caused by the fate of Burmah stimulate the court to facilitate access to Bangkok and Siam. Chou Fao is said to be an intelligent man, and to have men around him who understand English ; and if by chance any of these should bring to his notice that the English press, when drawing attention to Neale's work on Siam, already speak of that empire "should the conduct of the Burmese be such "as to compel us to take possession of their country" as the "only independent state between our boundary of the Indus "on the west, and Hong-Kong on the east," Chou Fao, although he may smile at the geographical knowledge which

ignores Cochin-China, will think that coming events cast their shadows before, when the gentlemen of the press conclude that "sooner or later we must have to deal with the Siamese as "close neighbours, to be regarded as friends or foes." The Cochin-Chinese, those wary folk, will be doubly jealous and apprehensive, and the Shans of all denominations, who are wedged in amid Burmans, Chinese, Siamese and Peguers, will be well on the alert to side with the strongest, and to place themselves under the protection of those whom, at the moment, whether from proximity or power, it may be most expedient to court and flatter.

Whether it is destined in the counsels of Providence, that our empire shall be largely extended to the eastward, it is not for us to determine; but knowing what has been the course of events hitherto, how regularly our being brought into collision with Asiatic powers has issued in the absorption of their territories into our empire, it becomes our rulers in the first instance, and all British men in the next, to be well advised of the ground on which they stand, when they assume a hostile attitude towards their neighbours. The venerable hero, now at the head of the British army, once declared that a great nation ought never to engage in a little war; and judging from the past history of our Indian empire, it would seem that we *cannot* do so; for however small a war may seem in its commencement, however apparently insignificant the causes that bring it on, it expands in magnitude as it proceeds, and stretches out in its issues to results that at the beginning could not have been foreseen. Being now then fairly embarked upon a war with the Burmese empire, it is a question in which every Briton is concerned, to inquire what are the grounds on which hostilities are declared on our part; whether we be the aggressors or those on whom the aggression has been made; and if it be clearly made out that we have suffered injuries and wrongs, whether redress might not have been attained by any other means less deprecable than an appeal to arms. Into this enquiry, we need scarcely say that no consideration of the possible or probable effects of the annexation of a greater or smaller portion of the Burman territories on the state of the people ought for a moment to be permitted to enter. It may be quite true, that the King of Burmah is mad, that he is a great tyrant, and that it would be a great blessing to the people to be delivered from his yoke, and transferred to the gentle sway of our own beloved sovereign. It may be quite true, that blessings, physical, intellectual, moral and religious, would result from our conquest of Burmah; but into the inquiry as to the justice of

our cause, none of these considerations must be allowed to enter. The question is only this,—had we good reason for declaring war against Burma? Or rather, was it absolutely necessary for us so to do?

For the prosecution of this enquiry, we gladly acknowledge at the outset, that the Blue Book before us affords ample opportunity. The statements of Lord Dalhousie are distinct and straightforward, and we read them with a strong conviction that they are the deliverances of a man who feels that he has nothing to conceal. Another point in connection with this Blue Book, which we may mention as worthy of all commendation, is the promptitude of its issue. According to the rate at which these things have sometimes been managed, Burma might have been conquered and annexed, General Godwin might have taken his seat in the house of Lords as Baron Martaban, and Lord Dalhousie been converted into the Duke of Amerapooora, before the British public had the means of forming any judgment as to the real causes of the war. Whereas, in the present case, the whole proceedings, down to the despatch which left Calcutta on the 6th April, are laid before Parliament on the 4th June. This is as it should be.

Since 1826, we have been at peace with the Burmese, our relations with them being regulated by a treaty concluded at Yandaboo on the 24th February of that year, and a commercial treaty signed at Ratanapara on the 26th November, and ratified by the Governor-General on the 1st September 1827. By the seventh article of the former of these treaties, it is stipulated that, "in order to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two Governments, it is agreed that accredited ministers, retaining an escort of fifty men from each, shall reside at the durbar of the other, who shall be permitted to purchase or build a suitable place of residence of permanent materials." We are not aware whether this article of the treaty was ever implemented by the resident of a Burmese Minister at the Governor-General's durbar. A British Minister did reside at the Burmese court: but the practice was discontinued a dozen years ago, in deference to the feelings of the King of Burma. Of this discontinuance, we find the following account in a volume entitled *Treaties and Engagements between the Honorable East India Company and the Native Powers in Asia*, published by a former Under Secretary to the Government of India:—

"Agreeably to the 7th article of the Treaty of Yandaboo, Major H. Burney was, on the 31st December 1849, appointed British Resident at the Court of Ava.

" In March 1837, a revolution broke out at Ava, and in April, the Prince Tharawadi deposed the king, his brother usurped the throne, and shortly afterwards put to death the heir-apparent, most of the royal family, and all from whom he apprehended opposition. He denied that the treaty of Yandaboo was binding on him, contending that it was personal with the ex-king. His conduct towards the Resident was unfriendly in the extreme ; in consequence of which, Colonel Burney removed the Residency to Rangoon. Towards the close of the year, Colonel Burney retired from the office of Resident, in which he was succeeded by Colonel Benson.

" The new Resident was treated with marked indignity by Tharawadi, who evinced great repugnance to the residence of a British officer at his court and revived the arrogant pretensions to objectionable ceremonial. In consequence of the inimical and insulting treatment experienced by the Residency, it was removed to Rangoon, and eventually withdrawn altogether in January 1840. Since this time all communications with the Burmese authorities have been conducted through the Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces."

For twelve years, then, all negotiations with the Court of Burma have been conducted through the intervention of the Tenasserim Commissioner ; and accordingly, it was through Colonel Bogle, that complaints were, in June of last year, transmitted to the Government of India, of gross injuries inflicted on two commanders of British vessels by the Governor of Rangoon. As the fact of these injuries is not disputed, and as it will be allowed by all that they were of so gross a nature, that the British Government was bound to demand such satisfaction as could be given to its injured subjects, we shall not dwell upon the particulars of the injuries themselves. Upon receipt of the representations of Captains Lewis and Sheppard, backed by testimonials from the merchants residing at Rangoon, the President in Council, after communicating with the Governor-General, who was then absent from Calcutta, intimated to Colonel Bogle, that Commodore Lambert had been instructed to proceed to Rangoon, with full instructions to demand reparation for the injuries and oppressions to which Captains Lewis and Sheppard had been exposed. Now, this is the first point which is open to question. Why was the usual course of procedure departed from ? Why was not Colonel Bogle ordered to conduct the negotiations in the usual way ? Lord Dalhousie's answer to this question is the following :—" The absence of any accredited Agent of the British Government at the court or in the territories of Ava, increases the difficulty of dealing

"with such cases as these. Experience of the course pursued "by the Burmese authorities towards former Envoys, seems, "at the same time, to dissuade the Government of India "from having recourse to the employment of another mission, if the object of the Government can be accomplished "in any other way." We quite agree that the sending of an Envoy in terms of the treaty, merely with a guard of fifty men, would have been tantamount to the sacrifice of the whole fifty-one, and would have led infallibly to the involving of us in an internecine war with Burmah, which it seems to have been the sincere desire of the Governor-General and the Government to avoid if possible. But we do think that it would have been well if the ordinary channel of communication had first been tried, and Colonel Bogle had been instructed, without any demonstrations of hostile intentions in the first instance, to make a firm and decided demand upon the King of Burmah for the dismissal and punishment of the offending officer, and ample pecuniary compensation to the aggrieved British subjects. It is not at all likely that such a demand would have been complied with ; but it would, we think, have been better that it had been made, and made in this way. But Lord Dalhousie thought that the more decided method of sending at once an armed Envoy, a "Cromwellian Ambassador," would have the effect of intimidating the Burmese authorities, and so avoiding the necessity of actual recourse to war. And, this truth and justice compel us to say, that if Lord Dalhousie's expectation had been realized,—and the expectation was not an unreasonable one,—and the Burmese authorities had submitted at once to his demands no fault would have been found, either by others or by us, with the way in which he had advanced these demands. It would, therefore, be unfair to blame him merely because the event has not accorded with his reasonable expectation ; but we cannot help regretting that the usual means had not been tried and exhausted before recourse was had to so extreme a measure as the despatch of an armed flotilla to Rangoon.

To Rangoon, however, did Commodore Lambert proceed, in command of Her Majesty's ship *Fox*, and the Honorable Company's steamers *Tenasserim* and *Proserpine* Captain Latter accompanied the expedition as interpreter. The Commodore was instructed, in the first instance, only to demand pecuniary compensation from the Governor of Rangoon for the injuries inflicted on Messrs. Lewis and Sheppard ; but he was ordered, in the event of such compensation being refused, to forward a letter with which he was charged from the President in Council to the King of Ava, in

which His Honor stated his conviction that the King would at once condemn the conduct of the Rangoon Governor, remove him from his office, and order the due compensation to be rendered. On the Commodore's arrival off Rangoon, however, he received such representations from the British subjects resident at Rangoon, that he took upon himself to deviate from his instructions, and to decline entering into correspondence with the Governor; he therefore despatched the letter of the President in Council to the King of Ava, and sent Captain Latter to Calcutta to explain his reasons for departing from the orders under which he proceeded on the service entrusted to him. And here the next question occurs—Was this deviation from his orders justifiable on the part of Commodore Lambert? Of this our readers will be able to judge after they have perused Captain Latter's statement of the reasons that induced him to act as he did:—

CAPTAIN LATTER TO MR. HALLIDAY.

Calcutta, December 6th, 1851.

With reference to your request that I should draw up a statement, for the information of the President in Council, of the matters which I have been charged by Commodore Lambert to communicate to the Government of India, I will commence by giving a simple account of what occurred from the time the Expedition anchored off Rangoon, until I left.

As Her Majesty's ship *Fox* was proceeding up the river with the steamers *Tenasserim* and *Proserpine*, and on the day before we arrived off Rangoon, and at a spot some considerable distance from the town, a boat came off to the frigate, containing a Mr. Crisp, an English resident at Rangoon, with a message from the Governor, asking for what purpose the Expedition had made its appearance in the river? Commodore Lambert replied, that he came for the purpose of making a communication to the Governor of Rangoon, on certain matters which he would not then allude to. He also requested Mr. Crisp to ask the Governor to appoint a day and hour to receive the said communication.

The next day we arrived off Rangoon, when, after some time, Mr. Crisp wrote off to say that the Governor had appointed next day but one, Thursday, at 11 o'clock, to receive the communications, and fixed the Custom house, which was close to the wharf, as the place of meeting; his own house being some two and a half miles inland. The whole of the remainder of Tuesday passed, and a portion of Wednesday morning, without any of the British subjects or Europeans coming off to the frigate, and information was conveyed to the Commodore, that the Governor had threatened to cut off the heads and to break the legs of all the foreigners, British or others, who went down to the wharf to welcome the frigate. I consequently obtained the Commander's permission to land, entirely alone, and unarmed, so as to give no cause or excuse for misinterpreting my mission, to call upon some of the English residents and others, and to procure information of what was going on, as from their total non-appearance, and no communications having been made from the shore to the frigate, there was no knowing but any mishap might have occurred. I landed accordingly, and sent the frigate's boat back. No obstruction was made to my landing, further than a slight attempt to make me enter the Custom

house, which I knew they would have interpreted into my having entered the frigate in the Custom-house books, just as if it was a common merchant ship. This I easily avoided. I consequently proceeded to visit several of the English residents, and they said that no boats would go off from the shore, they having been prohibited, and they likewise mentioned the threat given out publicly by the Governor.

On my way up, however, from the wharf, I met Mr. Crisp coming down the road, who stated that he was going off with a message from the Governor to Commodore Lambert, requesting the Commodore to unmoor his frigate, and to move a few yards lower down; in fact, among the mercantile shipping, the frigate having been moored a little above them, and in the middle of the stream. As I was on shore at the time, the Commodore sent for Mr. Edwards, my clerk (who, as you are aware, was for many years the confidential clerk with the former Residencies,) who was intimately acquainted with all the usages and etiquette of the Burmese Court, and asked him, whether there was anything in the spot his frigate occupied, that its occupation should militate against the religious feelings or etiquette of the Court, or people of Burma. Mr. Edwards replied, that nothing of the kind was the case, and that it was only their usual way in trying to commence a quantity of petty annoyances, such as were employed in cases of the former Residents and Agents. The Commodore consequently declined moving his frigate.

Several of the British inhabitants came off with me, and then stated their case to the Commodore.

During that day, information, which appeared quite satisfactory to the Commodore, was brought off, that the Governor of Rangoon had sent for the Nakodah, or native captain, of a native Madras ship, a British subject, and had fined him 150 rupees, for having lowered the flag of his vessel, as the frigate passed up, in compliment to the Commodore's broad pendant. This appeared a second instance of what may be styled something like impertinence.

On that day (Wednesday) the British subjects, who had come off, having made their complaints known, *visu voce*, to the Commodore, were told to put them in writing, which they did in apparently a somewhat hurried manner.

Early next morning two or three of the English residents came off with information, that during the night, information had been sent to them by one of the Governor's Council, to warn the party who were about to land to be on their guard, as the Governor had mooted the subject of seizing the officers who landed as hostages, and if the whole Expedition did not leave immediately, to threaten to cut off their heads; and what looked strange was, that the Governor of Rangoon had, that night, changed the place of meeting from the Custom-house, near the wharf, within a few yards of the frigate, to his own house, some two and a half miles inland, and he never sent any notice of this change. Of course, as the threat of seizing the Deputation which was to land, came in a very vague manner, not the slightest notice was taken of it. But, in the meanwhile, the Commodore, having weighed everything that had occurred, thought it advisable to suspend the discussion of his original demand, *vis.*, an apology and compensation for the ill-treatment of Messrs. Lewis and Sheppard, captains of British merchant ships, and to have a written letter delivered to the Governor by Captain Tarleton, commander of the frigate, and myself, stating that he, the Commodore, had intended to have communicated with the Governor of Rangoon on certain specific complaints made against him

of maltreatment of British subjects, but that since his, the Commodore's, arrival in the Rangoon waters, many fresh instances of his, the Governor's, misconduct towards British subjects had been brought to his notice, and that he, the Commodore, thought it his duty to take other measures than those he had at first intended to pursue.

This letter was translated by me into Burmese. We landed, went to the Governor's house, escorted by some of the English residents and traders. I read aloud to the Governor, first in English, and then in Burmese, the letter, and Captain Tarleton delivered it. The Governor made his appearance in a somewhat informal dress; being dressed in nothing but common white clothes, and smoking a cheroot; whilst all the Under Governors were in their court dresses. This was the more to be remarked, because the Governor has several gold crowns, which he wears on State occasions. The European officers were, of course, in full uniform. The Governor wished us to stop and sit down, but Captain Tarleton thought it more prudent to say that we had only been charged to read and deliver the letter to him, and that we had received no instructions about holding any other communication. We then bowed, withdrew, and returned to the frigate. We received no opposition either going or coming.

The Commodore thought it advisable to send up to the Court of Ava the letter, of which he was the bearer, from the Government of India to the King of Ava, together with an explanatory one from himself to the Prime Minister. These letters, *vis.*, to the King and the Prime Minister, were made over to the Deputation sent by the Governor of Rangoon on the next day (Friday) on board the frigate, with his answer to the Commodore's previous communication. The Governor of Rangoon's answer contained merely a simple denial of ever doing any injury to British subjects. The person, to whom the said letters were entrusted, was represented by the Deputation to be the Governor's confidential representative, and that any communication made to him was equivalent to being made to the Governor himself.

I will now proceed to state the reasons that Commodore Lambert expressed for deviating from his first intentions of demanding an apology from the Governor, and pecuniary reparation to Messrs. Lewis and Sheppard. They were, that the fresh complaints he had received of the Governor of Rangoon's misconduct to British subjects, some of which appeared to him well founded and deserving of notice, proved, in his opinion, that the Governor of Rangoon was unfit to be entrusted with the lives and property of British subjects; and he, the Commodore, appeared to think, that when the Governor-General came to know of these fresh instances, he, the Governor-General, might not consider the taking satisfaction for merely Messrs. Lewis and Sheppard's cases sufficient, but might wish to take further steps.

The Commodore likewise considered the two or three dubious and improper instances of the conduct of the Rangoon Governor towards his frigate and flag, showed an inclination to give annoyance and irritation, and that there was much more chance of any discussion coming to a happy and peaceful termination, and no collision taking place, if held with a new Governor, than with the present incumbent. Thus he made his removal a preliminary to entering into any discussion.

We think these reasons are sufficient to justify the course that the Commodore adopted, and we believe our readers will think so too. This course was approved of by the Governor-General, who thus stated his views, both in regard to that

course, and as to the measures to be adopted in the event of either of several contingencies:—

Fort William, December 27th, 1852.

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Having regard to the additional long list which was delivered to you, of unwarrantable and oppressive acts committed upon British subjects by order of the Governor of Rangoon, as well as to the personal bearing of that functionary towards the Commodore of the squadron, and of his obvious intention of resorting to the usual policy of the Burmese Court, by interposing endless delays, and disregard of official communications addressed to him; His Lordship is of opinion that you exercised a sound discretion in cutting short all discussion with the Local Governor, and in transmitting at once to the King of Ava the letter addressed to His Majesty by the Government of India.

Thirty-five days have been allowed for the receipt of a reply from the King, and it is desirable, that you should, in the meanwhile, be furnished with instructions for your guidance in every contingency that can be foreseen.

Either the King will send a reply, complying with the demand of the Government, by a removal of the Governor, and a payment of compensation to the parties whose cases have been taken up by us; or the King will give no answer, either from the known arrogance of that Court, or from his being kept in ignorance by his servants, of the letter addressed to him; or lastly, his Majesty will refuse to concede to the terms of the Government of India.

If the King should recognize the justice of our representations, and should comply with them, all difficulty will be happily removed for the present; it will only remain to guard, if possible, against the recurrence of similar causes of complaint for the future.

The statements contained in the memorial presented by the British subjects of Rangoon, must be received with caution, not having been made the subject of complaint at the time; these additional cases cannot now be made the ground-work of an increased demand for compensation. But it may reasonably be concluded from them, that the cases of Captain Lewis and Captain Sheppard are not isolated instances of oppression on the part of the Governor, but that there has long been a systematic course of oppression pursued by him, and habitual violation of rights and treaties.

The removal of the present Governor, therefore, will hardly be a sufficient guarantee against the renewal of such conduct by his successors. His Lordship conceives, that a British Agent must be placed at Rangoon, in pursuance of the treaty, with the guard of fifty men allowed by the VIIth Article. His influence should further be sustained, for some time to come, by stationing a war-steamer, well-armed, in the river of Rangoon, which will probably ensure his being treated with respect, and will, at all events, provide for the personal safety of himself and British subjects in the town, in the event of the Governor proceeding to extremities.

If, on the other hand, the King of Ava should refuse to concede the just demands we have made, or should fail, within the ample time allowed, to give any answer to the letter of the Government of India, whether through arrogance, indifference, or the intrigues of his servants in keeping the letter from him, this Government cannot tamely submit to the injury and the insult it has received in the persons of its subjects.

At the same time, while it is the imperative duty of this Government to maintain the rights of its people, secured by solemn treaties to them, it is a duty not less imperative, that the Government should endeavour to obtain

redress by the least violent means, and that it should not have recourse to the terrible extremity of war, except in the last resort, and after every other method has been tried without success.

If the King's reply should be unfavourable, the only course we can pursue, which would not, on the one hand, involve a dangerous submission to injury, or, on the other hand, precipitate us prematurely into a war, which moderate counsels may still enable us with honor to avert, will be to establish a blockade of the two rivers at Rangoon and Moulmein, by which the great mass of the traffic of the Burmese is understood to pass.

To bombard Rangoon would be easy, but it would, in his Lordship's judgment, be unjustifiable and cruel in the extreme, since the punishment would fall chiefly on the harmless population, who already suffer from the oppression of their rulers, even more than our own subjects.

To occupy Rangoon or Martaban with an armed force would be easy also, but it would probably render inevitable the war which we desire in the first instance, by less stringent measures to avert.

An armed ship of war should remain off Rangoon, or near enough to receive British subjects, should they be threatened. If, however, the aspect of affairs, on the receipt of the King's reply, should be menacing, his Lordship thinks that British subjects should, for security's sake, be brought away at once, when the blockade is established.

Within the prescribed five weeks a reply was received from the King, stating, that in accordance with the demand of the President in Council, the Governor of Rangoon had been recalled, and promising that his successor should be charged to make strict enquiries as to the injuries alleged to have been inflicted on British subjects, and to decide their claims "according to custom." Thus far then, matters appeared to be proceeding favourably; and it seemed as if the presence of the flotilla had produced the effect contemplated by Lord Dalhousie in its despatch. But these appearances were speedily dissipated. The new Governor arrived at Rangoon on the 4th January; and at once offered an evidently studied insult to the British plenipotentiary, as we ought now to designate the Commodore, by refraining from intimating his arrival to him. Whether this was by order from the "Golden Foot," or whether it was that MAHAMENGHLA MENG KHANNYGYAN (!) chose to do a little of the "Bahadur" on his own account, is one of those historical secrets which will never be solved. At all events, Commodore Lambert sent Mr. Edwards, the active and trustworthy assistant interpreter attached to the expedition, to ascertain when it would be convenient for the new Governor to receive a communication from the Commodore, stating that the Commodore would personally wait upon the Governor as soon as the matters at issue were adjusted. The reply was as satisfactory as could be desired, Mahamenghla, &c., &c., would be only too happy to receive any communication from Commodore Lambert, whenever it might suit his convenience to send it. In fact, such

friendship seemed just about to spring up between Mahamenghla and the Commodore, as promised to put that of Pylades and Orestes to the blush for ever. The following day (6th January) was fixed for the delivery of the letter; and on that day Commander Fishbourne, R.N., accompanied by two of his officers, and by Captain Latter and Mr. Edwards, proceeded to the Government House. They were refused admittance, on the plea that the Governor was asleep. On their insisting that he should be roused, his Secretary, after much parley, professed to go into his apartment, and returned with a message that he would see Mr. Edwards, but no one else. Again they averred that the Governor was asleep, and again they stated that he was willing to see Mr. Edwards. After a great deal of discussion, in the course of which Mr. Edwards appears to have had a dagger pointed at his breast, and the officers were refused any shelter from the rays of the sun except that afforded by a shed erected for the accommodation of the lowest class of suitors at the Governor's court, the discussion came to an end by the withdrawal of the officers. On reporting to the Commodore the reception that they had met with, he was naturally indignant. He resolved to have nothing more to do with this man. He declared the Rangoon river, the Basscin, and the Salween above Moulmein, to be in a state of blockade; he wrote to the King, to the effect that he would hold no further communication with the Governor of Rangoon, without special instructions to that effect from the Governor-General; and he seized a ship belonging to the King, which was lying "conveniently" in the Rangoon river, "by way of reprisal."

Now, while we think all sensible men must approve of the other parts of his procedure, this last act, the seizure of the ship, does seem to us matter of regret. The Governor-General thinks it necessary to vindicate the commencement of active hostilities, and does so on such grounds as these:—

If it be objected (says he) that the main cause of the present rupture appears to be but a question of form; that a great Government may well afford to treat such petty slights with indifference, and that it would be wise for the Government of India to pass by unnoticed, as well the offence itself as the present refusal of apology for it, rather than to be drawn by it into the evils of a war with Burma, I desire to record my fixed conviction, that the Government of India will commit an error, perilous to its own security, and at variance with real humanity, if, acting on this view, it shall yield to the pretensions of the Burmese, and shall now patch up a hollow and unsubstantial peace.

Among all the nations of the East, none is more arrogant in its pretensions of superiority, and none more pertinacious in its assertion of them, than the people of Burma. With them forms are essential substance, and the method of communication, and the style of address are not words but acts.

The conduct of the Governor of Rangoon towards the British officers on the 6th of January, would have been felt as ignominious by the lowest officer at his durbar, if he had himself been subjected to it. The ignominy inflicted on these officers, if it be not resented, will be, and must be, regarded as the humiliation of the power they serve. The insult has been persisted in to the last. The form of address in the letters of the Burmese officers has been that employed towards their inferiors; and in the conveyance of their official communications, a studied disrespect, the most elaborate insolence, have been exhibited.

Were all this to be passed over, and friendly relations to be renewed, the ground thus gained by the Burmese would be fully taken advantage of. the oppressions and exactions to which British subjects at Rangoon have been exposed would be re-doubled; the impracticable discourtesies which have been the steady policy of the Government of Ava since the conclusion of the treaty of 1826, and which have driven away one British Envoy after another from Ava, and subsequently from Rangoon (till for many years past there has been no representative of this Government in Burma at all), would be habitually practised towards the Agent who may be placed at Rangoon; and within a very brief period of time, the Government of India would be reduced to the same alternative which it has now before it, of either abandoning its subjects, and acknowledging its inability to protect them, or of engaging in a war; on which it would enter with the disadvantage of having, by its previous concessions, given spirit to the exertions (Qu. exactions?) of the enemy, and strengthened their already overweening confidence in their means of successful resistance.

Now, we are neither Cobdens nor Malmesburys, to deny altogether the validity of this defence. It would have been most injurious had Commodore Lambert overlooked this insult offered to his officers, and his official communication sent through them, and had he gone on treating with the Governor of Rangoon as if nothing had happened. We fully agree with Lord Dalhousie then, that Commodore Lambert could not pass over this act of studied contumely without notice. But to have noticed it *in some way*, and to have avenged it *in the special way*, in which Commodore Lambert did avenge it, are two things altogether different; and while his Lordship's pleading fully covers the one, it does not, in our estimation, extend to the other of these essentially different things. As the King had so promptly disavowed the conduct of the previous Governor of Rangoon, we think he was entitled to an opportunity of stating whether he approved of the doings of this one; and it does seem to us that no evil would have resulted, if the Commodore had done all that he did, with the important exception of the seizure of the "Yellow Ship," and had made a peremptory demand of the King that he should command the Governor to proceed on board the *Fox*, accompanied by the principal native inhabitants of Rangoon, and a Deputation of the British subjects resident therein. and in their presence, and in that of the officers of the squadron, to make to Captain Fishbourne, and the officers who had accompanied him, such an apology as

Commodore Lambert should dictate to him. Whether the "Golden Foot" would have acceded to this demand or not, we cannot determine. Very probably he would not; but his refusal would have put us into a more *comfortable* position in a national point of view than that which we actually occupy. And after all, it is far from impossible, that the King would have complied with such a demand. We see no reason to believe, that the removal of the original offender from his Government was not done in good faith; and it is not difficult to suppose that his successor, when dressed in his new authority, and at a distance from the Golden Foot, may have acted a part the very opposite to that which he was instructed to act.

The seizure of the King's ship was then the first act of war on our part. On the 16th, the Commodore moved his flotilla down the river, in order to carry out the blockades that he had announced, the *Hermes* having the seized ship in tow. The *Fox* was fired into from the stockades on the bank, and from a large fleet of gun-boats in the river, and then it was that British gunpower was lighted, and a volley of shot and shell made short work of the enemy's gun-boats. After making arrangements for carrying out the blockade of the several rivers, the Commodore proceeded in the *Hermes* to Calcutta, to arrange the method of further operations. In the end of January, the Governor-General reached Calcutta. The *ultimatum* of the British Government was communicated to the Governor of Rangoon and the authorities of Ava, as follows:—

1. "That the Government (Qu. Governor?) should transmit "a written apology for the insult to which the British officers "had been subjected at Rangoon on the 6th of January last.
2. "That he should pay immediately the sum of 9,900 "rupees, demanded as compensation to Captain Sheppard and "Captain Lewis.
3. "That he should consent to receive, in due and fitting "manner, the Agent who should be appointed under the treaty "of Yandaboo."

These terms being rejected, it was finally announced to Commodore Lambert on the 13th February, that the Government of India had "determined to proceed at once to exact by "force of arms, the reparation which it had failed to obtain by "other means." Such troops as could be spared were ordered to proceed to Rangoon, and Lieutenant-General Godwin was appointed to the command of the expedition.

The question now, after securing Moulmein and Arracan from insult, which was promptly done, was, which of two courses to adopt. With the aid of Her Majesty's ships, and of the Bom-

bay and Bengal steam flotillas, it was in the power of the Indian Government at once by the taking of Rangoon, and the occupation of the sea border of Pegue, to strike a blow, which might have the effect of intimidating the Court of Ava, and of inducing it to submit to our demands ; or, by waiting until the end of the monsoon, that is, for eight or nine months, operations on a large scale might be organized and undertaken, with a whole dry season available for their successful completion. The first plan held out the prospect, if the court of Ava were intimidated, of an immediate settlement of the quarrel : and as it was well known that the Governor-General contemplated returning to England, there were weighty public and private motives to induce him to adopt that course which held out the hope and chance of a speedy pacification. On the other hand, it was clear, that with every exertion, the force requisite to strike an effectual blow could not rendezvous at the mouths of the Irrawaddy before the beginning of April, and that, therefore, forty days were all that could be counted upon for military operations ; that the enemy, conscious how limited the time was before the setting-in of the monsoon, usually about the 10th May, might, though the chief places in Pegue were taken, not be sufficiently humiliated to force him to succumb ; that then though Rangoon, Martaban, Bassein and even Prome might be captured, our troops must remain inactive amid the swamps of Pegue for seven months, and would have to be there maintained at great cost, and no small risk of destruction by disease ; and that ultimately, in November in order to resume operations and bring the war to a close, additional forces must be brought into play, and the second plan be thus superadded to the first, without any real advantage having been derived from the earlier operations ; the cost of the war in men and money being thus much enhanced.

The question was of importance, and required a more thorough knowledge of the policy and power of the Burmese than was possessed by our Government. The experience of the former war was, however, against the probability of our views being attained by immediate operations at the mouths of the Irrawaddy, for though success was pretty certain with respect to the capture of Rangoon, and of any other pretty places on the coast or delta of the Irrawaddy we chose to appear against, yet there was no analogy between the blockade or the taking of such places, and similar energetic measures against the river mouths and harbours of a civilized mercantile people. A Burman King thinks no more of removing a town, than a British army in India thinks of striking its tents ; and he requires to feel

the pressure of events near to himself in order to be influenced. The capture of a far distant town is too remote a stroke to operate on the nerves of the monarch at the capital. Such a blow is more likely to exasperate than to intimidate; for danger being remote, an insult of the kind irritates the pride of an arrogant barbarian. Where there is a just appreciation of relative power, such a stroke might bring the weaker party to reason at once; but the conduct of the Burmese authorities had not been indicative of any capacity on their parts correctly to estimate our resources as compared with their own. Nor is this surprising, when it is remembered, that since the close of the last war, they have had no opportunity of watching the change which a steam navy produces, as respects facility of operations in Burma. The great advance made in this branch of the public service has vastly increased our powers of aggression against such countries as Pegu; but there had been nothing to bring this fact practically home to the senses of the Burmese or their King. They had remained exactly as they were in 1824-26, both mentally and physically; and their irregular and ill-armed levies are not a whit improved either in armament or organization. Their stockades are the same—their war-boats exactly what we first found them a century ago. Stationary themselves in every thing, and devoid of the opportunity of watching others, in consequence of their own isolation, it is not surprising that they should entertain the notion that we are exactly the same warriors we were before. They could not be expected to calculate on the facilities we have acquired in the course of a quarter of a century. Steam has given wings to whole regiments—aye, to overwhelming batteries of the heaviest artillery, as well as to regiments—and of this the Burman would have no idea from anything he had witnessed.

An argument in favor of early operations, and a sudden stroke may have been deduced from the terror which the exhibition of our increased facilities of aggression might be expected to produce; but such a lesson is not general, and it takes time to unroot a permanent stationary idea from the mind of a whole people.

Considerations of economy, of the health and efficiency of the troops, and of complete results, were opposed to littoral operations in the month of April; it was a choice between certainty on the one hand, and chance on the other. The press, both in India and in England, has expressed itself very stringently against those who advocated certainty in preference to chance; but it may be doubted whether any single individual,

knowing the Burmese, their country, its climate and our own available resources in men, sided with the press. All correct elements of calculation, usually resorted to in estimating the relative values of projected military expeditions, were undoubtedly put aside, when a chance of immediate success, with its accompanying drawbacks, in case of failure of object, was permitted to outweigh a somewhat deferred certainty, comparatively free from the serious inconveniences attending the other course. But, after all, this is a matter of opinion; and we ought to admit, that it is much easier to condemn a plan when it has been adopted and has failed, than to choose between two plans which are candidates for adoption.

War, once decided upon, there was no lack of energy on the part of those entrusted with the preparation of the expedition. Our establishments, naval and military, gave good proof of their service qualities, and showed that, at a moment's notice, if war be the object, they are ready.

Meanwhile, however, judging from the report of an officer despatched to the Aeng Pass, the direct route on Ava across the Arracan mountains, it does not appear that any signs of war-like preparation in the districts around the capital of Burma were observable. The traders were passing between the two countries, now in a state of war, exactly as if nothing had happened to disturb their peaceful relations, and those coming from Amerapoorra said nothing of rumours of war.

At Rangoon, however, besides the blockade, which injured ourselves far more than the enemy, the state of affairs was very different from that in the neighbourhood of the capital. More shots had passed, and the Governor-General's letter had to be conveyed under a flag of truce. It was received with some show of respect, though the reply on the 2nd February was communicated in very humble guise—a common person in an ordinary canoe conveying the Governor's answer, that, as the Governor-General had not approved of the Commodore's measures at Rangoon, the Woongee could hold no further communications with him, though he was prepared to negotiate with another Commissioner. A royal letter to Colonel Bogle, the Commissioner at Moulmein, was to the same effect, and requested that some other than Commodore Lambert might be authorized to treat. The Governor-General, who had arrived in Calcutta on the 29th January, aware by these proceedings that it had become futile to entertain hopes of an amicable arrangement, pressed forward with vigour the naval and military expedition on which he relied for bringing to a speedy termination this most undesirable state of affairs. At the same time, as a last chance of

averting war, a letter was addressed to the King of Burmah, and delivered through Colonel Bogle to the Woongee of Martaban. A bombastic harangue to the Burmese, who received the letter, was listened to with perfect indifference, and made far less impression than would have done the simple statement, that if an answer accepting the terms offered by the Governor-General were not received by the 1st April, hostilities would commence.

On the 7th March the Bombay squadron of war-steamers was at anchor in the Madras roads. By the 29th March the last of the vessels and steamers conveying the Bengal division of the force had put to sea ; but although the final orders for embarkation reached Madras on the 25th, the Madras contingent were not on board until the 31st, and consequently did not reach the rendezvous, the mouths of the Rangoon river, until the 7th April.

The Bengal squadron and troops had all reached the rendezvous on the 2nd April, and General Godwin, finding that no tidings of the squadron from Madras were to be obtained, decided, in communication with Admiral Austin, who had reached the day previous in Her Majesty's ship *Rattler*, to proceed at once to capture Martaban, a weak place on the Burman bank of the river, opposite to Moulmein the British station on the Salween. The General, immediately on arrival in the Rangoon river, had despatched Captain Latter on board the *Proserpine* with a flag of truce, to ascertain whether a reply from the King had been received, the 1st April having been the day fixed as the period, after which, were no answer received to the Governor-General's letter, hostilities would commence. The flag of truce was not respected but fired upon, and Captain Brooking, the commander of the *Proserpine*, had to return the fire of the stockades, and to withdraw his little vessel, which he skilfully effected, blowing up a magazine of the enemy, and otherwise doing severe execution, in return for the insult to the flag of truce. No doubt, therefore, could be entertained of the resolve of the enemy to try his strength with the British forces, when the movement on Martaban was decided upon.

Sending on, upon the 2nd, the *Proserpine* to Moulmein, to give notice of projected movements, Her Majesty's steamers *Hermes*, *Rattler* and *Salamander*, left the Rangoon river at day-break of the 3rd April, and reached Moulmein at noon of the next day. General Godwin immediately issued orders, that the troops destined for assaulting Martaban were to be in readiness for embarkation by 4 P.M., and by that evening a wing of H. M.'s 80th, a wing of H. M.'s 18th, a wing of the 26th Madras

N. I., with detachments of Bengal artillery and Madras sappers, in all about 1,400 men, were on board.

Martaban is in itself a most insignificant place, and provided the steamers could be brought into position, so as to admit of the effective play of their artillery, it was not possible for the Burmese to defend the place. Approach to it, however, is difficult, and though Captain Brooking of the *Proserpine* knew the river well, and led the way, yet the *Hermes* grounded.

The *Rattler*, however, after putting General Godwin on board the *Proserpine*, managed well, and taking up a position at a little upwards of a couple of hundred yards from the town defences, opened a destructive fire. Meanwhile the *Proserpine* was engaged in taking the troops from the larger steamers and in landing them, keeping up at the same time a constant fire with her guns. The enemy, loosely estimated at 5,000 men, offered no resistance, and the place was taken, with only a few wounded on the side of the British. Having garrisoned the place with the 26th M. N. I., and some Madras artillery, the General took with him the wings of the 18th and 80th Regiments, the company of Bengal artillery, and some Madras sappers, and again reached the rendezvous of the Rangoon river on the 8th.

Whilst the movement on Martaban was taking place, Commodore Lambert, having with him Lieut.-Colonel Coote, and three companies of the 18th Regiment, was finding work for the *Fox*, *Serpent*, *Tenasserim* and *Phlegethon* in destroying stockades up the Rangoon river, and thus disembarassed the approach from the Bassein creek, nearly to the King's wharf at Rangoon, of these river defences. On the 5th, several stockades were thus taken and burnt, without any casualties. These bonfires were so effectual, that General Godwin afterwards could scarcely find a trace of where the stockades had stood.

The General, on the 8th of April, had the satisfaction of seeing the Bombay squadron and the Madras division of troops at the rendezvous. He thus found available for operations, the following force, naval and military, which we copy from the lucid abstract of the Rear Admiral's Secretary, Mr. G. P. Martin:—

HER MAJESTY'S SHIPS.				BOMBAY STEAM SQUADRON.			
Rattler	130	Men	11 Guns.	Feroze.....	230	Men	7 Guns.
Fox	298	"	40 "	Mozuffer	230	"	7 "
Hermes.....	120	"	6 "	Zenobia	200	"	6 "
Salamander	135	"	6 "	Sesostris	135	"	4 "
Serpent	125	"	16 "	Medusa	60	"	5 "
A Gun-boat	10	"	1 "	Berenice.....	97	"	1 "
<hr/> 818 Men 80 Guns. <hr/>				<hr/> 952 Men 30 Guns. <hr/>			

BENGAL STEAM SQUADRON.

"Tenasserim"	80 Men	6 Guns.
"Pluto".....	86 "	7 "
"Phlegethon"	86 "	6 "
"Pioserpine"	86 "	6 "
"Enterprise"	70 "	2 "
"Fire Queen"	70 "	2 "
"Mahanuddee"	22 "	4 "

500 Men 33 Guns.

TROOPS.

H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish.	850 Men.
H. M.'s 51st Regiment	...900 "
H. M.'s 80th Regiment	.. 460 "
Five Companies of Artillery517 "

Bengal 40th N. I.	} ...2,800 Men.
Madras 35th N. I.	
Ditto 9th N. I.	
Gun Lascars	70 "
Two Companies, Sappers and Miners.....	170 "
	<hr/> 5,767 Men.

ORDNANCE.

8-Inch Howitzers....	2 in No.
24 Pr. ditto	6 "
9 Pr. Guns.....	8 "

16 Guns.

Making a total of Ships of war.....	19
Men	8,037
Guns.....	159

Fourteen transports (7,888 tons) and the King of Ava's ship were the adjuncts to the above force, and carried coal, commissariat, ordnance and engineer stores. One of them, the *Tubal Cain*, of 787 tons, was employed as an hospital ship.

The 9th being passed in making dispositions, on the 10th the fleet advancing up the river, came to anchor below the Hastings' shoal. On the 11th, as the tide served, the vessels crossed the shoal, and were soon engaged in silencing the stockades, and subsequently in storming and burning those on the immediate bank of the river. This important day's work cleared the approaches to Rangoon, and secured the orderly and undisturbed landing of the troops at daybreak of the 12th.

By seven o'clock General Godwin had on shore, and ready to advance, H. M.'s 51st, H. M.'s 18th, the 48th Bengal N. I., and some of his field-pieces—and with this portion of the force he contemplated that morning storming Rangoon. When the column advanced, it did not proceed far before guns opened upon it, and skirmishers showed themselves in the jungle. Here it was discovered that a strong stockade, called in the last war the White House Picquet, lay just in the way of the advance. Four field guns immediately opened upon the work; whilst a storming party of four companies of H. M.'s 51st advanced, under cover of the jungle, to the assault. The experience of the last war had been lost sight of. The critical moment in attacking a stockade is when you break forth from the jungle, and come upon the open space cleared around it; once there, the quicker you close upon the work, plant

your scaling ladders, and assault, the better ; the head of the column, if this be smartly done, suffers little, and the stockade is carried, with a few casualties among the rearmost sections. Hesitation, however, or a halt at the edge of the jungle which you have cleared, entails a certainty of loss, and often a failure. Judging from the despatches, there seems to have been a momentary check, for Major Fraser of the Engineers mounted alone the enemy's defences, and his gallantry 'brought around him the storming party.'

It is evident that this unexpected taste of the enemy made the General bethink himself of the remainder of his force, and of the possibility of the battering guns being of use in the attack of the main position at the Dragon Pagoda. More destructive than the enemy, the sun had struck down Warren, St. Maur, Foord, Griffith and Oakes, some of his leading and most valuable officers ; and all were suffering from fatigue and exhaustion ; rest, rations and reinforcements were necessary before the more serious assault on the Pagoda could be attempted. Bivouacking, therefore, on the ground, the remainder of the 12th, and all the 13th, were passed in landing the battering guns and the other portion of the force, and in making preparations for the advance early on the 14th. Whilst the troops were thus bivouacked for a couple of days, the flotilla was not idle ; the Dragon Pagoda proving to be within reach of the shells of the shipping a magazine was blown up in the main position of the enemy on the 12th ; and the fire continued at intervals throughout the day and night of the 13th with precision and with very formidable effect. Almost the first shell sent into the place on the 12th was said to have burst in the Governor's house, and to have wounded him in the leg ; and not only was a magazine destroyed by the bombardment, but during the nights of the 12th and 13th, the whole of the new town was burnt by the fire from the shipping. There was no cover from this destructive bombardment, and of the 25,000 men whom the enemy was said to have had in his works on the 11th, large numbers fled during the three days that the fleet was pouring its shot and shell into every work and stockade that its far-reaching fire could search. None but the bravest of the enemy remained until the 14th, and these, too, necessarily much dispirited by the desertion of so many of their combatants, the loss and destruction of so many stockades, the conflagration of the town, and the immeasurable superiority of the British artillery afloat.

General Godwin, having profited by the lesson he had received

at the White House Stockade, and having also given time for the naval bombardment to take full effect, had with him at daybreak of the 14th, H. M.'s 80th and 18th, and the 40th Bengal N. I. and six field guns. H. M.'s 51st and the 35th Madras N. I. in reserve, and the 19th Madras N. I., kept open the communications with the shipping. The heavy guns were to be moved by men, and this, the hardest service of the day, the artillery-men, and a detachment from the fleet of 120 men, under Lieutenant Dorville, were to perform.

The new town of Rangoon has been thrown back from the original position on the river bank, to a distance of about a mile and a quarter; it is as described by the General, nearly a square of about three-quarters of a mile, having at its northern side the Pagoda as a sort of citadel or stronghold. The direct road from the river to the Pagoda "comes up to the south gate running through the new town," and it is probable enough that the enemy expected to be attacked by that road, and made preparations accordingly. Except on the north and east sides, where the Pagoda Hill came into the lines of defences, the town was surrounded by a strong stockade consisting of stout timbers, sometimes in triple row, backed by a horizontal layer, and the whole braced together so as to form a strong revetment to an earthen rampart varying from fourteen to sixteen feet high, some twenty feet in thickness, and surrounded by a good ditch.

General Godwin's plan of attack was, avoiding the defences of the town, to circle round to the north-east side, when, if he carried the Pagoda, Rangoon was his without more trouble.

Giving the town as "wide a berth" as he could, he drew up his troops at about 800 yards from the eastern side of the Great Pagoda, under cover of some hillocks, and there patiently awaited the arrival of his battering guns. As soon as these reached him and were put into position, their fire opened on the eastern entrance of the Pagoda, and with such effect, that the already intimidated enemy were driven from their defences. Captain Latter observing this, suggested that the assault should be instantly given, and volunteered to show the way. Godwin resolved to carry this into execution, and forming a storming party of a wing of the 80th, two companies of the 18th, and two companies of the 40th B. N. I., ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Coote to storm the Pagoda. The column had to march over the 800 yards, exposed to such fire as the enemy might have the courage to pour upon it; but their confidence was gone, and except the last volley, which killed Doran, and wounded Coote, as the stormers with a wild hurrah rushed up the steps and mastered

the position, the defence was feeble and ill-conducted. The enemy's ninety-two guns of various calibres, and eighty-two wall-pieces, were evidently no match for the 159 well served and abundantly-furnished pieces of the naval and military expedition. Our loss, 17 killed and 132 wounded, during the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th, proves that the Burmese are still what Munro designated them in 1824, when he says "the military character of the enemy is far below that of any of the Indian native powers."

This is not written with a view to derogate from the merit due to our forces engaged. On the contrary, the very handsome terms in which the Governor-General in Council expressed his unqualified approbation of the brilliant services performed, was graceful and just; for gallantry, fortitude, and endurance were exhibited by both officers and men. We would only moderate the ebullitions of admiration for the courage and conduct of the enemy, which grace the military despatches, and which the returns attached to those despatches do not corroborate.

We are not disposed to be over critical, for, on the whole, General Godwin has done his work well. A few questions, however, suggests themselves to the peruser of his despatches on the capture of Rangoon. How came the White House Stockade to prove a surprise? Was it prudent to have started, contemplating the storm of the Great Pagoda, with only half his force, and no heavy guns, as he did on the 12th? The fact is that the momentary check, and the first brush with the enemy at the White House Stockade, by making the General more circumspect, and leading him to give ample time on the 12th and 13th for the naval bombardment to produce its full effect, whilst he was causing his heavy guns and troops to be disembarked, probably prevented a doubtful issue at the Great Pagoda on the 12th. However inferior your enemy, he is never despicable in a defensive position, for the strengthening of which ample leisure has been at his command.

Between the 14th April and the 17th May, the General appears to have been occupied in putting his troops under cover, and preparing for the monsoon; at the same time finding amusement for the troops in an active search for booty, in the course of which they evinced an iconoclastic zeal that would have gladdened the heart of a Leo the Isaurian. Beyond the detachment of two companies of H. M.'s 51st to reinforce Moulmein, and a fruitless chase after the Rangoon Governor on the 6th, 7th and 8th, nothing of any importance was done until the detachment destined for Bassein embarked on the 17th May. It consisted of 400 of H. M.'s 51st, 300 of the 9th Madras N. I.,

67th Madras Sappers, and the Naval Brigade and Marines of H. M.'s frigate *Fox*. The steamers *Sesostris*, *Monaffur*, *Tenasserim* and *Pluto* formed the squadron, and, reaching Negrais on the evening of the 18th, at daylight on the 19th the expedition proceeded up the Bassein river. At four o'clock in the afternoon the enemy's works came into view, and half an hour sufficed to bring the flotilla to anchor opposite a pagoda in the centre of the enemy's defences. This had been effected without a hostile shot having been fired; and the 51st being quickly disembarked, was also permitted to land without opposition. An attempt at parley was, however, interrupted by a discharge from the line of works; upon which the Pagoda was forthwith carried, and also a mud fort of some extent, but incomplete. At the latter, Major Errington and several officers and men were wounded; but the casualties were on our side few, whilst the loss of the enemy appears to have been considerable, the fire from the shipping being as usual most destructive.

Bassein being thus taken with small loss, and a garrison of 160 men of H. M.'s 51st and 300 of the 9th Madras N. I., with two howitzers left there, the remainder of the troops re-embarked, and on the 23rd May again reached Rangoon.

The arrival of the 67th Bengal N. I., on the 10th May, had somewhat strengthened General Godwin's hands, and enabled him to take Bassein, and garrison it without seriously weakening himself at Rangoon. Bassein is a point of importance in the military occupation of Pegue, both with respect to the command of the navigation of the noble river on which it is situated, which forms one of the main arteries of the delta of the Irrawaddy, and also with regard to the proximity of the southern extremity of the British provinces on the Arracan coast. With Martaban, Rangoon and Bassein in his possession the General has established a good base in Pegue; and, as he captured at Bassein fifty-four guns, besides thirty-two wall-pieces, he has materially reduced the Burmese artillery resources, having, in the course of these operations, stripped them altogether of one hundred and fifty-one pieces of ordnance of various calibres, and one hundred and twenty-two gingais, or wall-pieces.

Into Bassein he had to throw additional artillerymen, and the remainder of the Madras 9th N. I.; he was therefore scarcely able to spare any considerable strength of men from Rangoon for distant enterprizes, though the fulness of the river, were not the inclemency of the monsoon a serious drawback, was much in favor of an advance on Prome. Such an advance is the only event in the history of the war that has yet trans-

pired ; but as the details have not been distinctly given, and the result seems to have been confined to the taking of an outpost, it is not necessary to enter into any detail respecting it. The Governor-General has also visited the seat of war, but for what special purpose, or with what present or prospective result, has not transpired. The troops seem to have been kept in good health and spirits. Captain Latter has been placed in charge of Rangoon as magistrate, and the people, who fled away on our taking possession of the place, have returned in large numbers.

Hitherto all military operations have been conducted under the support of an overwhelming fire from the shipping : the Burman artillery, mostly of small calibre, ill-provided, ill-served, and scattered over a series of extensive works, was evidently no match for the concentrated fire of heavy shot and shell, which our well-appointed floating batteries could pour into any work that had the misfortune of lying within reach of the river. Not only is there no secure cover for the defenders of the stockades, from our formidable projectiles, but with singular ignorance the Burmans have not had the ordinary foresight to supply their temporary or permanent works with tolerably safe magazines. Wherever, therefore, the shot and shell of the shipping can search a work, it is evident that a few rounds teach the enemy that it is untenable, and therefore it is hastily abandoned. So long, therefore, as our steam flotilla can co-operate, and the enemy chooses to place himself in positions favourable to the combined action of our land and floating forces, the game must needs be easy. It remains to be seen whether they will alter their system of defensive positions, and with what spirit and what judgment the war, as it ceases to have the delta of the Irrawaddy for its theatre, will be conducted.

The court of Ava probably calculates on being able, during the monsoon, to organize the means for a defensive campaign, to open before the British forces shall be reinforced. There has as yet been no indication that, humiliated by the losses they have undergone, the Burman court inclines to concession ; and, therefore, it is pretty clear that that extended and costly war, which the Governor-General sought to avert, has yet to be undertaken and that the King of Ava, not driven to despair by our successes will be busily engaged in preparing for the struggle which awaits his kingdom and himself. His arrogance and confidence may be based on a very undue estimate of his own power and resources, as measured with those of his enemy ; but neither his arrogance nor his confidence seems shaken, and knowing this, there is now no option but to prosecute the war at the

right season vigorously to a speedy issue. There can be little doubt, that with the means which can be concentrated for such an operation, and with our present knowledge of the countries on the Eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, Amerapoorra should be in our hands by the end of January 1853, or at latest in February.

Then, however, will come the question, how to dispose of the conquest. The Indian press are, and have been, unanimous in the cry for annexation. From the first the whole weight of the local press has been unhesitatingly cast into the scales on the side of war, with a view to extension of empire and the appropriation of territory. Judging by his movements, by his repeated endeavours to obtain by negotiation attention to his demands, and by his clear statements contained in the Blue Book, which it is impossible to read without a conviction of the honesty of their writer,—the only man who seems to have been really desirous of a peaceable arrangement of differences has been Lord Dalhousie. Too far from the scene to check affairs in their commencement, to watch and effectually curb the early progress of events, the initiative was taken, differences took form and mould, affairs were in fact in train, before they could come before him; but as soon as they were brought under his eye, he seems to have comprehended at once the "solemnity" (it is his own expression) of the crisis that had arisen; and while he did all that could be done to avert the horrors of war, he exhibited the greatest energy in arranging for its effective prosecution when it was seen to be inevitable. How far the decision of the question of annexation or non-annexation may be left to him, we do not know; but our earnest hope is that either he, or whoever may have the "solemn" task of making the arrangements consequent on the war, may act in the same spirit which he manifested, while yet there was a hope that it might not be necessary to imbue our hands in Burman blood.

We do not enter upon the question whether we have any *right* to annex Burma; it is enough for us that no *wrong* would be done by our not annexing it, and so the question is left to be argued on the ground of expediency. Now it is well that the British public should understand clearly what the annexation of Burma presages—nay entails. It may be stated in few words: the rapid establishment of an empire extending from Arracan to Chusan, including, of course, Siam, Cochin-China, and the Shan States. The acquisition and completion of our colossal Anglo-Indian Empire has taken just

a century ; the appropriation of the other, the general limits of which we have now stated, will not require so much as half that time, for we already encircle it with outposts, and, thanks to steam and our Indian Empire, the means and opportunities of aggression are much facilitated. Allowing for such moderation and circumspection as will satisfy the conscience of the English public, half a century is about the maximum that may be allowed for the agglomeration of an Indo-Chinese empire. During this half century, about a dozen wars will be forced upon us, every one of which we will have to go through with, however sincere be our profession of a non-aggressive policy. Meanwhile, there is one small item to be borne in mind. Let any of our readers take a Maculloch's *Geographical Encyclopædia*, or any other decent work of reference, which pretends to statistical information ; and having made a rough approximation to the population of the Anglo-Indo-Chinese Empire, which is to gain its "natural limits," say from A. D. 1880 to A. D. 1900, let us have an estimate of the European troops requisite, horse and foot, first for the winning, and then the preservation of these vast regions ; and also let us have a guess at the increase to our navy essential under such circumstances. Assuming the population of India at 140 millions, and that during the last ten years the European troops, Royal and Company's, have averaged 35,000 men, it needs no great amount of sagacity to ascertain the probable increase to the British army, when at least 300 millions more (some would say 400 millions,) have to be overcome and to be placed under its control. No one acquainted with the emigration returns of the British Empire will doubt the power of the nation to supply the raw material of soldiery for an additional 70,000 men or even for another 100,000 ; nevertheless, many grave considerations are involved in this necessity (which will be inevitable) of having a European army in Asia of from 100,000 to 130,000 men to maintain, at all times, in complete efficiency. Unlike India, most of these countries would fail in at all meeting the expenses of conquest ; and therefore, although the analogy may hold good as to the moderate proportion of European troops that might be sufficient to control the vanquished millions, it by no means follows that the ratio as to revenue would be maintained. Not until we held the tea-producing country, as well as its opium feeder, could there be a hope of balancing receipts and expenditure ; and before that condition could be attained, we must have passed through from thirty to fifty years of chronic war expenditure. Now, where are the financial means to be found

for such a protracted expenditure ? There is no elasticity in Indian taxation, and you cannot with safety swell its territorial debt to a much higher figure. England, therefore, would have to advance the funds for the conquests, the prospects of which the Calcutta press hails with such unfeigned and unanimous delight. Imagine the feelings with which a Chancellor of the Exchequer would rise in the House of Commons, and explain that, though with great inconvenience to the available defensive means of England, considerable reinforcements had been despatched to the Cape, and a heavy expenditure incurred in that colony, yet, as these exertions had failed to bring the Kaffir War to a successful termination, further sacrifices of men and money must be endured, in order, by a vigorous prosecution of hostilities, further to compel the savages of Southern Africa to desist from ravaging and destroying Her Majesty's colony at the Cape. That at the same time it was imperative for the House of Commons to exercise a wise foresight, and to enable the Government to provide for the exigencies of the public service in another quarter of the globe. That the House was aware that Her Majesty's colossal but unconsolidated Indian empire employed one-fourth of her standing army, and that,—with reference to the extent of those possessions, the many millions under our sway, the unsettled disposition of some of the late acquisitions, petty hostilities with hill tribes on the North-West frontier, the disordered condition of some of the Native States in the heart of our empire,—that fourth of Her Majesty's standing army was not a man in excess of the wants of the public service in India. That the latter country could not, therefore, safely spare permanently a large portion of Her Majesty's regiments for the conduct of a war in Burma and for the ultimate annexation of that country, and that provision must be made not only for supplying the European troops withdrawn for India, but also for reinforcing the army in Burma, as further and more extensive operations must be undertaken, the capture of Martaban, Rangoon and Bassein having failed to compel the court of Ava to make reparation and accept our terms. That the House must be perfectly aware that the conquest and the permanent occupation of Burma would give us an entirely new frontier, would bring us into contact with China, the Shan States, and the kingdoms of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and that as our neighbourhood could not fail to excite the utmost apprehension and jealousy, the force in Burma must be kept on a footing calculated to impose respect on the border nations, and to ensure the security of the new conquest. That, properly speaking, the war had not arisen from

any differences between the Government of India and the court of Ava ; there had not, as in the last war, been any invasion of our Anglo-Indian territories, or any refusal to give satisfaction for encroachment. The present hostilities had arisen out of the claim advanced by the commander of an English merchant vessel ; the demand for the indemnification of his losses had been made by a British ship of war, and it was not the Company's flag, but Her Majesty's, which had been insulted and fired upon. The war, therefore, was not undertaken with reference to the interests of Her Majesty's Anglo-Indian Empire, but essentially with respect to the mercantile interests of British subjects and the protection of trade, and consequently, the cost of the war, of the permanent occupation of Burma, and of securing the new conquest against impending contingencies, could not fairly be made a charge on the territorial debt of India, but must be borne by the British nation. That the House must therefore liberally meet present exigencies, and also provide for future inevitable contingencies !

It has lately been seen in the case of the Militia Bill, with what opposition a very inadequate measure for the defence of Great Britain has been received, and with what difficulty a measure indispensable for national safety was passed. The reception which would be given to such a demand as that we have sketched, a demand for permanent increase to the British army, with a view to Asiatic conquests, may be easily anticipated ; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be a bold man who should hazard his position and influence on such a proposal. The visions of a chronic state of Asiatic war, with the certainty of present heavy expenditure, and of a very faint and remote probability of ultimately balancing receipts and outlay after the public debt had been swelled to a large amount, could not, however skilfully coloured, prove gratifying to a British Parliament. That body could not be blinded to the eventualities of the new career of Asiatic conquest on which the Government was embarking, and the drain upon the public purse which it must open.

But then, it is said, that if we do not annex Burma, the Americans will. We think the consideration of expense of men and money, that we have supposed likely to weigh so powerfully with the British Parliament, will weigh still more powerfully with the American Congress. But should it be otherwise, and the Americans should establish a footing in Burma, prepared to take advantage of the first outrage that should be committed on their citizens as a ground for a war of annexa-

tion, we cannot see what great inconvenience would arise to us from the proximity of such a power.

Again, it is said, that the annexation would be only postponed, and would require to be carried into effect ere long, unless the necessity were averted by the energy of the Americans. Now to this it is a sufficient answer that we have been at peace with the Burmese for twenty-six years; although we were culpably negligent in abandoning the rights which were conferred on us by the treaty of Yandaboo. And there is no reason to believe that, with a good arrangement, and with the experience we now have in dealing with native powers a permanent peace might not be secured.

Once more, it is said, that the transference of the Burmese under our sway would be such a blessing to them, and would produce such blessed effects, by introducing civilization and the gospel amongst them. Now this may be all true; but yet we are not to do evil that good may come; and we believe that the annexation of Burmah would be an act of injustice on our part—as well as an act of great impolicy. We yield to none in our anxiety for the extension of civilization, and the spread of the gospel; but not even for such an end, would we employ means inconsistent with that noble precept which embodies at once the concentrated essence of civilization and of the morality of the gospel, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

Averse as the present Governor-General was to this war, one most untimely and unpropitious, from every point of view, and which he evidently knew to be such, there can be no doubt that now there is no option left to the Indian Government, but to prosecute the war to a speedy conclusion with the utmost vigour, as soon as the season arrives. When this shall have been accomplished, and the court of Ava sufficiently humiliated, we trust that the British Government will pause, before, in obedience to the cry of the Calcutta press, the annexation of the Burman dominions is decided upon. All our reasonable objects may be otherwise attained, and though the prospect of another series of rapid and brilliant conquests, ending in the formation of a colossal Anglo-Indo-Chinese Empire, may be flattering to the pride and restless ambition of many, the true interest of European England call for caution, ere she embark upon so gigantic a career of further extension of empire and of debt. She is but too vulnerable already almost in every quarter of the globe; and her present possessions, disproportionate to her army, tax her means to an extent

beyond which her Parliaments are evidently violently averse to proceed—to an extent that disinclines her Parliaments from efficiently providing for the security of her own shores from invasion. Both with reference to the advocated annexation of Burmah and its conquest, we close in the words of one of those admirable articles for which the *Times* is famous, applying them, however, in a wider sense than did the writer, to the whole Indo-Chinese Peninsula. “Although we do not apprehend any effectual resistance to the force of the British arms, it is only reasonable to acknowledge that more may be awaiting us than we contemplate at present.”

CALCUTTA IN THE OLDEN TIME—ITS LOCALITIES.

BY REV. J. LONG.

Map of Calcutta 1792-3. By A. Upjohn.

THE rapid changes that are taking place in Calcutta owing to the increasing European population, and to the facilities of intercourse afforded by steam,—the spread of English education and of English habits among natives,—together with the more extensive changes that are likely to occur, when railways may make Chauringi as the *city* of London is now, a residence for *karduis* and mere offices for merchants,—suggest to us, that for the information of future residents, as well as for the pleasure derived from contrast,—it may be useful to jot down here, in a cursory way, the glimpses of the past that we have obtained, through old and rare books, as well as from conversation with the few that still remember the “days of auld lang syne.” There yet survive two residents in Calcutta, who remember Sir W. Jones and Warren Hastings, who have heard the tiger roar adjacent to the spot where now a noble cathedral and episcopal residence rear their heads, who remember the period when Chauringi was out of town, when shots were fired off in the evening to frighten away the *dakaitis*, and when servants attending their masters at dinner parties in Chauringi left all their good clothes behind them, lest they should be plundered in crossing the maidan—the Hounslow Heath of those days; and when the purlieus of China Bazaar formed the aristocratic residences of the “big-wigs” of Calcutta—but these things have been.

Let not the City of Palaces, like another Babylon be too proud, basking in the sunshine of prosperity: she may be hereafter as Delhi and Kanauj are now. Macaulay vividly depicts to us the supposed meditations of a New Zealander gazing in some after ages, from a broken arch of London-bridge, on the ruins of the once mighty English metropolis. A similar fate may await Calcutta.

Calcutta is the sixth capital in succession which Bengal has had within the last six centuries. The shifting of the course of the river, which some apprehend will be the case in Calcutta, contributed to reduce *Gaur* to ruins, though it had flourished for 2,000 years, though its population exceeded a million, and its buildings surpassed in size and grandeur any which Calcutta can now boast of. *Rajmahal*, “the city of one hundred kings,” favourably located at the apex of the Gangetic Delta—*Dhakká*, famed from Roman times—*Nuddea*, the Oxford of Bengal for five centuries—*Murshidabad*, the abode of Moslem pride and seat of Moslem revelry, (for a vivid painting of which, consult the pages of the *Seir Mutakherim*.—These were in their days the transient

metropolitan cities of the Lower Provinces; but they have ceased to be the seats of Government and centres of wealth.

There have been other leading towns. *Malcondi*, on the west bank of the Hugli, is mentioned by one writer as the capital of Bengal in 1632, and Rennel refers to the city of Bengala at the eastern mouth of the Ganges. Calcutta, "the commercial capital of Bengal," is *now* in the ascendant, though its political influence on India, happily for the welfare of the peasantry, is on the wane, and late events in the Panjab have given more of their due influence to the North-West and to Mofussilite interests. A hundred and fifty years ago, Calcutta was like St. Petersburg, when Peter the Great laid his master-hand on it—the New Orleans of the East—a place of mists, alligators and wild boars, though now it has a population of 500,000, of which 100,000 come in and pass out daily. Were Job Charnock to rise from his lofty tomb in St. John's Churchyard, and survey the spot where once he smoked his *huka*, and had "the black fellows" flogged during dinner to serve as his music, he would probably not be more surprised than would a denizen of Chauringi, who has never seen the rice grow, and is as much surprised at the sight of an Indian pig as at a shark, should he a century hence wake from the tomb and find Bombay the commercial port of India, Calcutta a town of the size of Patna, a residence only for those who are not able to enjoy the comfort of villas in the neighbourhood of Hugli, Pandua, &c., &c.

Opinions differ as to the etymology of the name Calcutta,—called Galgotha by an old Dutch traveller, (and not amiss in the days when one-fourth of its European inhabitants were cut off by the diseases arising in the rainy season). We find that in Europe various cities received their names from the circumstance of monasteries and castles having been first erected on a spot which formed the nucleus of a town, as English words ending in *chester* (castra) show: in the middle ages this occurred very frequently. Now as tradition, existing rites, Puranic authority, &c., indicate that the Ganges formerly flowed over the site of Tolly's Nala, and as Káli Ghât, one of the holiest shrines in Bengal, has from ancient times been a place celebrated as one of the *pittha sthans*, why may not the name Calcutta be a corruption of Káli Ghât? Holwell writes, in 1766:—"Káli Ghât, an *ancient* pagoda, dedicated to Káli, stands close to a small brook, which is, by the Brahmins, deemed to be the original course of the Ganges." When Job Charnock landed on the 24th of August 1690, fifty years after the first settlement of the English at Hugli, and smoked his pipe

probably under the shade of the famous old tree that stood at Baitakhana, Chauringi plain was a dense forest, the abode of bears and tigers: a few weavers' sheds stood where Chandpal Ghât is now: there was, consequently, no object of interest nearer than Kâli Ghât. Is it not likely, then, that the old patriarch called the locality after the most conspicuous object—the same as the field of Waterloo is named from the *largest* village near it, and not from St. Jean, which is still nearer? We throw this out merely as a conjecture—*quantum valeat*.* However, the author of *Sketches of Bengal* sides with us: he states, "Calicotta takes its name from a temple dedicated to Caly." Another derivation has been given from the Mahratta ditch, or *Khâl Khattâ*, which served as its boundary; before 1742, when this ditch was dug, we have not seen the named given.

The Dutch, French and Danes chose the right bank of the river fully exposed to the river breezes, but the English selected the left: three reasons have been assigned, the deep water ran at the left side—numbers of weavers lived there—members of the patriarchal family of the Sets, who dealt with the Company,—and the Mahrattas never crossed the river. Job Charnock left Ulubaria on account of its unhealthiness, but he did not gain much by the change.

We shall, in the present article, limit our researches to one branch of the subject—the localities of Calcutta. Our remarks will be simply gleanings. Many causes render it very difficult to pierce into the darkness of the past. Natives themselves give little aid: they show no lively interest in antiquarian or historical research, as the *Records of the Asiatic* and other Societies evince; but the maxim of Cicero holds good now as when penned—"Nescire quid antequam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum."

We call our article 'Calcutta in the *olden* time; some may say how can you call a city of a century and a half, old? We have only to say—reader, such is the state of the British in India, so crowded has been the succession of important and stirring events, and so shifting have been the actors on the scene, that what would appear in England quite modern, bears here, as in the United States of America, the air of the antique, and we look back on our predecessors in Calcutta of last century with a similar interest to that with which a Bostonian reads the

* Though allowed by the Mogul the choice of any site below Hughli, he selected, perhaps, the most unhealthy spot on the whole river: the Salt-water Lake to the east left masses of putrid fish in the dry season, while a dense jangal ran up to where Government House stands now.

Wanderings of the Pilgrim Fathers, or a Scotchman, *The Tales of Border Life*, and *The Adventures of Prince Charles*. Our descriptions are only *Fragments drifted from the Wreck of Time*.

A few books have survived the destruction which so certainly awaits old works in India, from apathy, frequent removals, or the climate : as of some of these only one or two copies exist, and as they are not accessible to the generality of our readers, we shall occasionally make some extracts to illustrate various points in connection with Calcutta as it was in the last century. Though the books be *old*, the information may be *new* to many of our readers, and even to others may be useful in recalling their thoughts, in a busy and bustling age, to the dim visions of the past, the twilight of Calcutta history.

One of the earliest works that presents itself to our notice is *The Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus*. The author was Philip Stanhope, an officer in the 1st regiment of dragoon guards ; his pamphlet, containing 174 pages, was published in London in 1785 ; he came to India in 1774, the victim of disappointed love, the lady to whom he was attached not being allowed by her father to go to India. He touched at Madras, dined with the Governor, and mentions, p. 38—"We retired soon after dinner, according to the custom of the country, to take our afternoon's nap, which the heat of the climate renders absolutely necessary for the refreshment of our bodies, which must necessarily be weakened by a continual perspiration."

In October of that year he arrived at Calcutta. It was the time when the *huka*, with its long pipe and rose-water, was in vogue :—

'Even the writers, whose salary and perquisites scarce amount to two hundred pounds a year, contrive to be attended, wherever they go, by their *huka-burdaar*, or servant, whose duty it is to replenish the *huka* with the necessary ingredients, and to keep up the fire with his breath. But extravagant as the English are in their *huka*, their equipage, and their tables, yet all this is absolute parsimony, when compared to the expenses of a *seraglio* : a luxury which only those can enjoy, whose rank in the service entitles them to a princely income, and whose haram, like the State horses of a monarch, is considered as a necessary appendage to Eastern grandeur.

He had been promised a situation by Warren Hastings, but failed, from the opposition given to all Hastings' recommendations by the new members of council :—

The numerous dependants which have arrived in the train of the Judges, and of the new Commander-in-Chief of the forces, will, of course, be appointed to all the posts of any emolument : and I must do those gentlemen the justice to observe, that, both in number and rapacity, they exactly resemble an army of locusts sent to devour the fruits of the earth.

He left Calcutta after a few month's stay for Madras, where

he spent three years in the service of Nawab of Arcot. In 1778 he visited Bombay, where "the settlement not being divided by factions, there is more society than at Madras, and "the sources of wealth being fewer, there is less of luxury" and "parade than at Calcutta." The same year he arrived in London.

In 1780 Mrs Fay, the authoress of *Original Letters from India*, presented herself on the stage. She was one of the first who tried the overland route; she was made prisoner at Calicut by Hyder Ali, and was imprisoned there; she arrived in Calcutta, and mentions her visiting Mr. Hastings at Belvedere House, "a great distance from Calcutta." Her husband was a barrister, but joining herself to the party of Francis against Hastings, and uniting with others in resisting a proposed house-tax, he was obliged, through want of briefs, to leave Calcutta in debt, his wife being deprived by the creditors of everything except her clothes. She separated from her husband, and found refuge in the house of Sir R. Chambers, noted for his "immense library." After twelve months' residence, she left Calcutta for England in May 1782, and arrived in England in February 1783, experiencing the discomfort of hard-drinking gentlemen on board with a "large gun" in the port-hole of her cabin. She returned, however, to Calcutta in 1784, and engaged in the millinery line—she failed, return to England, but made another voyage to Calcutta.

We have lately met with a work called *Hartley House, Calcutta*, printed in London, 1789, which, under the guise of fiction, paints the manners and customs of Calcutta as they existed in Warren Hastings' days, when Calcutta was "the grave of thousands, but a mine of inexhaustible wealth." The general *varassemblance* of them is confirmed by an octogenarian still living. We shall quote occasionally from this book.

A book called the *East Indian Chronologist*, published in 1801 by a Mr. Hawksworth, throws much light on various occurrences: it is a compilation of facts relating to British connection with India, gathered from sources which are now destroyed by white ants and damp: the facts are arranged in chronological order, and present, in 100 pages quarto, an assemblage of many rare subjects.

A work was published in Calcutta called *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal*, which gives the fullest notice we have seen of the early establishment of the English in India, a particular account of the Black Hole, the re-taking of Calcutta, the history of St. John's Church, the Old Church, Kierlander's mission, the Portuguese of Calcutta, the Armenians of Calcutta.

Old Zaphania Holwell, who rose from being an apothecary, to the governorship of Calcutta, published in 1784 the third edition of a curious and interesting work, *India Tracts*, which besides giving various details respecting our progress to power after the battle of Plassey, presents us with a minute account of the sufferings in the Black Hole. He was zemindar of Calcutta for some time, and in this work gives a graphic picture of the cheating and over-reaching of the native servants of Government of that day. Holwell was born in Dublin 1711, and like other survivors of the Black Hole, he lived to a green old age: he died in 1798.

Upjohn, an ingenious artist, published a *map of Calcutta* in 1793: he died in 1800—this map is very valuable, as affording a contrast with Calcutta at the present time, and thus indicating the immense additions since made in buildings and streets.

Mrs. Kindersley's letters throw light on different points in Calcutta life about 1770. Grose wrote his *Travels to the East Indies* about 1750-4. *Grandpre*, a French officer, visited Calcutta towards the close of last century, and has written an interesting account of his travels.

The Surveyor-General's Office possesses the original survey made by *General Martin* in 1760: no road to Budge-Budge is marked off. Akra is not mentioned, nor Diamond Harbour; there was no road to Diamond Harbour,—the Rupnarayan is called the old Ganges,—the Salt Lake was marked off as frequented by wild buffaloes.

Stavorinus, a Dutch admiral, visited India in 1768. An account is given of his travels in the East, in a work of three volumes. We have some lively sketches of the times in Calcutta. He and the Dutch Governor of Hugli went to a formal dinner to Government-house at half-past 12 P.M. Visits of ceremony were then paid at 9 A.M. Seventy covers were laid, and the service was entirely of plate; after dinner the *huka* was served to each person, and after smoking half an hour, they retired to their respective dwellings. At six in the evening they rode to Governor Cartier's country-seat at Belvedere, where they supped. The next morning, at *nine* o'clock, the English Governor paid a ceremonial visit to the Dutch Governor—that seems to have been a fashionable hour for calls, probably to avoid the mid-day heats; on the installation at that period of a new Dutch Governor of Chinsura, there was a public breakfast given at *seven*, and the ceremony took place at 9: it was in the month of March.

The principle of the association of ideas, has a strong hold over the mind: man wishes to connect the present with the past:—

it is pleasing for a stranger, when traversing the streets of a city, to be able to observe the places identified with various events in the days of yore. We have *The Traditions of Edinburgh*, *The Recollections of London*, why should we not have a pamphlet to put into the hands of strangers, to be called "*An Antiquarian Ramble through Calcutta?*" Some of our pleasantest hours have been spent in this pursuit in Calcutta, in endeavouring to "conjure up the ghosts of departed days." We shall now jot down some of our gleanings collected from books and conversation; some of these facts, though apparently trivial, have cost us considerable search—but all bear, more or less, on the point of Calcutta as it *was* in respect of its *localities*.

We shall begin with Kidderpore, then proceed to Chauringi, thence to Tank Square and its neighbourhood, then to Chitpur, and conclude with the Circular Road; noticing, as we go along, those places which call up associations of the past, the dim vision of the years that are no more; which remind us of the thoughts and actions of the buried generations of English who figured on the stage of events in Calcutta during last century.

Kidderpur is approached from the plain by Hastings' bridge. Not far from Hastings' bridge was another of brick, called Surman's, after a Mr. Surman, a member of Council—he was a member of the Embassy to Delhi in 1717—his residence was, probably, to the south of it, in a place called Surman's Gardens, which will be ever memorable as the spot where the Governor and his party stopped when they cowardly and treacherously deserted the Fort in 1757: this led to the catastrophe of the Black Hole. Immediately to the south of these gardens was the boundary of Govindpur, the limit of the Company's colony of Calcutta, marked by a pyramid. Close by were situated *Watson's Docks*, so called from a Colonel Watson, the chief engineer, who built the *first* ships in Calcutta in 1781: an enterprising man, he obtained a grant from Government of the land for the purpose of making docks, on which he spent ten lakhs. Near those docks the Colonel erected a wind-mill; but as it commanded a view of a native's zenana, the native went to law and obtained a decree that the wind-mill should be pulled down! This was a suit of wind-mill *versus* nuisances. Previous to this, two vessels were launched in 1769 and 1770, but Calcutta had heretofore been dependant on Surat, Bombay and Pegu for its ships. However, famine gave an impulse to ship-building! Good out of evil—the ravages caused by Hydar in the Carnatic in 1780, roused the Government to a sense of the importance of the shipping interest: they could not supply ships in sufficient numbers to convey food to the famished population of the South. Bombay had docks in 1735, but *Kidderpur*,

not for sixty years later, which Waddel made in 1795. Trade advanced : between 1781 and 1800, thirty-five vessels, measuring 17,020 tons, were built : from 1781 to 1821, the total was 237, which cost more than two millions sterling : this trade of ship-building is not, however, so brisk now. It was not, however, confined to Calcutta, as at Fort Gloucester, between 1811 and 1828, twenty-seven vessels, measuring 9,322 tons, were built, and as early as 1801, a vessel of 1,445 tons, the *Countess of Sutherland*, was built at Titighur, near Barrackpur : the river has so shallowed since, that, probably, the experiment could not be tried now.

To the north of Hastings bridge lies *Kuli (Coolie) bazar*, once occupied, like many other places, by a handsome Musalman burial-ground, but which was pulled down to erect the present buildings. On a platform erected to the south-west of it, Nandakumar, once Dewan to the Nawab of Murshidabad, was executed, August 5th, 1775—the first Brahman hanged by the English in India : his death excited as great a revulsion of feeling among natives as did the execution of Louis XVI among the French royalists. The foremost among the Mahapatak, crimes of the highest degree, or mortal sins of the Hindus, is killing a Brahman—the other four are stealing gold from a priest, adultery with the wife of a guru, drinking spirits, and associating with persons who have committed any of those offences. Immediately after the execution, the Hindus rushed to the river to wash away the offence committed in seeing it, by bathing in Ganges water. During three days they ate nothing ; and, subsequently, the excitement was very great ; menaces were held out to the judges that if they proceeded to court, their lives would be sacrificed as victims to popular fury ; but regardless of menaces, they marched in procession to the Supreme Court, attended by all the paraphernalia of justice, and the threats of the Hindus were as affective as those of the Calcutta Babus on the passing of the *Lex Loci Act*. There is a native still living in Calcutta, whose father told him, that on that day the Hindus went to the other side of the river to eat, considering Calcutta to have been polluted by the execution of a Brahman.*

The *Diamond Harbour road* terminates at Kidderpur : from Kidderpur to Bursea it was lined with trees : this road extends thirty-nine miles to Diamond Harbour, while the river route is fifty-six miles : it must have been an immense convenience in former days for speedy traffic, when cargo boats, from March to September, occupied from five to seven days in taking goods

* In the *Memorial of Sir E. Impey* by his son, a different statement is given ; but parties on the spot can give a more correct opinion.

from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour, or when a ship has been three weeks beating up to Calcutta from Diamond Harbour: the splendid old tanks near Diamond Harbour show the traffic that existed. Stavorinus, in 1768, gives the name of the village of Dover to Diamond Harbour, "where the English have built some warehouses, and a factory much frequented by ships: close to it is a channel called the Shrimp Channel." There is no mention of the Diamond Harbour road in Upjohn's map of 1794, though there existed the Budge-Budge high road to Calcutta in 1757. Two miles south of Kidderpur is *Manikchand's Bhagan*. Holwell writes of it—"The family of the Rajah of Burdwan farmed lands to the amount of four lakhs, contiguous to the bounds of Calcutta, and had a palace at Byala: the fort of Budge-Budge, on the Ganges, was 'also their property.'" This *Bhagan* was once the residence of Manikchand, a Hindu, who was appointed Governor of Calcutta, when the English were expelled from it. During his incumbency he was noted for his rapacity, for though 50,000 of the Hindus returned to their dwellings in Calcutta after Suraj Daula left yet no man of property would trust himself under Manikchand. Bengali like, he did not present an example of much courage; he ran away from Budge-Budge, when the English attacked it, a ball striking his turban having put him to flight, and he never stopped till he reached Murshidabad. Ali Verdi Khan, who appointed him to this office, found him so treacherous and cowardly, that he trusted the Patans chiefly on active service. The Musalman promoted the Bengalis to high office, but on the principle that they became excellent sponges which he could squeeze when he liked. On Ali Verdy's memorable retreat from Burdwan, 18,000 Bengali troops ran away.

Kidderpur was called after Colonel Kyd, an enterprising European, the Chief Engineer on the Company's Military establishment; his two East Indian sons were the famous ship-builders, and in 1818, launched from the dock there the *Hastings*, a seventy-four gun-ship, which lately anchored at Sagar. He, with Bowley, Skinner and others, has shewn what genius could effect in spite of the depressing influence of European caste, and the feeling which in Calcutta formerly regarded East Indians as a kind of *pariahs*.*

* *East Indians*, alias *Kuraminus*, alias country-borns, were a class that excited great alarm in the last century, some writers conjecturing that they would, like the Americans, combine with the natives and drive the English from Calcutta. Hence various projects were entertained from neutralising their influence. There was only one Boarding School in Calcutta, chiefly for East Indians, in 1780, and the females of their class were fonder of the huka than of letters: they loved the theatre, dancing magnificently, and "affording, by their sparkling eyes, a marked contrast with the paleness and languor of the European ladies."

To the east of Kidderpur lie the *Calcutta militia lines*; the soldiers are all natives, certainly not on the original plan of the militia; for in the earlier days, every European was expected to be a militia man, the same as every passenger in an Indian man was trained to take part in the defence of the ship. In 1759 the Europeans of Calcutta were all enrolled in the militia to garrison Calcutta, which enabled the Company to send the soldiers into the field against the Dutch, who came up the Hugli with a strong force; again, in 1763, all the regulars were sent away from Calcutta, the militia garrisoning it: however, a body of free merchants and free mariners, not content with standing on the defensive, took the field and marched to Patna. In 1801 there was a European as well as a Portuguese and Armenian militia.

The road from Kidderpur to Bursea, in last century, presented a picturesque appearance, being planted with shady trees on both sides—a fine old practice.

The *Kidderpur Military Orphan School* was established in 1783 by Major Kilpatrick, and was located at first at Haura, but about 1790, the present premises were taken. The front room of this building, the ball-room, calls to mind the state of society in former days, when European ladies were afraid to face the climate of India—even Lord Teignmouth's lady refused to go out to India with her husband: in consequence, Kidderpur was a harbour of refuge, where men in want of wives made their selection in an evening, at balls given expressly for that purpose, travelling often a distance of 500 miles down the country to attain that object. *But tempora mutantur.*

Garden Reach is one of the oldest places of residence "out of town," and is mentioned in a map drawn up by General Martine in 1760, as containing fifteen residences: but these were only fine bungalows. Previous to the battle of Plassey, the English were cooped up in the neighbourhood of the old fort, enjoying the evening air in the Respondentia walk, lying beyond Chandpal Ghât, or in the fish-pond near Laldigi—beyond, there was too wholesome a dread of thieves and tigers, to induce them to wander into the grounds of the neighbouring zemindars, who were the Robin Hoods of those days. But when peace and security dawned, it is to the taste of the Ditcher, they preferred garden-houses, ornamented occasionally with statuary, which were their favourite abodes during the hot weather. Mrs. Fay writes in November—"My time has passed very stupidly (in Calcutta) for some months, but the town is now beginning to fill—people are returning for the cold season"—doubtless, from their country villas. We find that Warren Hastings had a place of this description at Sukh Sagar; and

another Governor, Cartier, one in 1763 at Baraset. The retirement of the garden and the boating parties on the river, "the oars beating time to the notes of the clarionet," formed more the objects of relaxation then than now. "Kittysol-boys, in the act " of suspending their kittesans, which were finely ornamented, " over their heads—which boys were dressed in white muslin " jackets, tied round the waist with green sashes, and gartered " at the knees in like manner with the puckered sleeves in " England, with white turbans bound by the same colored " ribband—the rowers, resting on their oars in a similar uni- " form—made a most picturesque appearance."

Sir W. Jones lived in a bungalow in Garden Reach, nearly opposite to the Bishop's College—we have not been able to ascertain the site: here shunning Calcutta and its general society, he indulged in his oriental studies; and in the morning, as the first streak of dawn appeared on the horizon, he walked up to his lodgings in the Court House, where he occupied the middle and upper rooms. He must have travelled *vid* Kidderpur, as there was then no direct road from Garden Reach to Calcutta.

At the bottom of Garden Reach is *Akra*, marked off in Martine's map of 1760, with salt moulds; after that it was used as a powder depôt, and subsequently as a race-course. A little south of Kidderpur bridge, near the old Garden beech, is *Bhu Khailds*, founded by the late Joy Narayan Ghosal: two of the largest *lingas* in India are to be seen in two Sivite temples here, which were erected in the last century.

Alipur seems to be a Musalman name and of the same signification as Alinagur (the city of Ali), which Suraja Daula, after the Moslem fashion of altering native names, gave to Calcutta, on its conquest in 1757.

Nearly opposite Alipur bridge stood *two trees*, called "the trees of destruction," notorious for the duels fought under their shade: here Hastings and Francis exchanged shots, in the days when European women were few. Had Hastings fallen in that duel, the stability of British power in India might have been shaken, with such a Phæton as Francis guiding the chariot of the State. Jealousy often gave rise to these "affairs of honour."

Facing Alipur bridge is *Belvedere*, once the favorite residence of Warren Hastings, but latterly he erected another house further south—he is said to have hunted tigers in its neighbourhood, and we think it probable, considering the state of other places at that time: as late as 1769, Stavorinus writes of the country in the vicinity of Chagda:—"Having many woods, " in which there are tigers, we soon met with their traces in

"plenty." Lord Valentia states, that the Company gave in premiums for killing tigers and leopards, in Kasimbazar island, up to 1801, Rs. 1,50,000. Mrs. Fay describes Belvedere in 1780 :

The house is a perfect *bijou* ; most superbly fitted up with all that unbounded affluence can display ; but still deficient in that simple elegance which the wealthy so seldom attain, from the circumstance of not being obliged to search for effect without much cost, which those but moderately rich find to be indispensable. The grounds are said to be very tastefully laid out.

Stavorinus mentions visiting Belvedere in 1768, when the then Governor of Bengal resided there ; it may have probably served as Barrackpore does now, as the country residence of the Governors for the time being.

The *General Hospital* reared its head, as early as 1768, over the then solitary Chauringi "far from the city;" previous to 1768. It was the garden-house of an individual, and was purchased by Government.*

To the north of Alipur flows *Tolly's Nala*, called after Colonel Tolly, who also gave his name to *Tollyganj* ; he excavated a portion of it in 1775—the old name given to it was the Govindpur-creek, being the southern boundary of Govindpur, which was formerly the chief residence of the natives, the *Sets*, who, along with the Baysaks, constituted the oldest Hindu families of Calcutta ; they lived in the neighbourhood of the old pagoda and on the site of Fort William, the whole district being called Govindpur—a name derived from a deity called Govinda. Colonel Tolly made the *nala* at his own expense, in the bed of what was called *Surman's Nala*. Government granted him the tolls on it, exclusively, for twelve years, and it soon yielded a net profit of Rs. 4,300 monthly. The Colonel died soon after its completion. This canal, in the course of thirty years, up to 1820, had silted up six feet—its native name

* Hamilton, in 1769, mentions a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, which "many go into and undergo the penance of physic, but few come out to give an account of its operation." In these days doctors were not well qualified or well paid. *Ex uno omnes discit* ; an anecdote is mentioned of one of the Governors of Bombay, who, wishing to gain the favour of His Honorable Masters in England, by retrenchment, found the Surgeon's pay to be forty-two rupees monthly, on which he said there must be some mistake, that the figures were transposed, and so saying, with one stroke of his pen he wrote twenty-four instead of forty-two ! However, in Calcutta, there was a difference. Thus in 1780—"Physic, as well as law, is a gold mine to its professors, to work it at will. The medical gentlemen at Calcutta make their visits in palanquins, and receive a gold-mohur from each patient, for every common attendance—extras are enormous.

A disease called "*a pucca fever*" was prevalent in Calcutta last century, probably owing to the mass of jungle which extended in every direction, and the fetid jhilla. Mrs. Kinderley writes of it as "the illness of which most persons die in Calcutta ; it frequently carries off persons in a few hours—the doctors esteem it the highest degree of putridity."

is *Burhi Gungá*.* On its banks is the Káli Ghât temple, built about sixty years ago by one of the Sabarna Chudaris of Barsi Byealá.

We next proceed to *Chauringi*. Mrs. Kindersley, in 1768, describes the European houses "as built so irregular, that it 'looks as if the houses had been thrown up in the air, and fallen 'down again by accident as they now stand.'" The people of Calcutta in fact preferred, like the Madras people, garden-houses, where they could enjoy some privacy. The town was considered unhealthy and hot, and Chauringi was chosen for a garden retreat, as people now select Kasipur and Titihur, and as they will, ere long, on the opening of the rail-road, choose the neighbourhood of Bandel. How times change! The Sunderbunds were healthy and populous places, eighty years before Charnock founded Calcutta, were then the site of flourishing cities, but are now the abodes of the rhinoceros and the tiger.

Chauringi (Chowringhi, is a place of quite modern erection. Be not surprised, reader, it originated from "the rage for *country* houses," with their shade and flowers, which prevailed equally at Bombay and Madras, at the beginning of this century—but how *country* houses? Why, Chauringi was then out of town, and even palki bearers charged double fare for going to it; while at night, servants returned from it in parties, having left their good clothes behind through fear of *dakaitis*, who infested the outskirts of Chauringi! There is a lady still living, who recollects when there were only two houses in Chauringi—one Sir E. Impey's, the very house now occupied as the Nunnery, a third story only being added. On the site of the Nunnery Church was a tank, called the *Goltalao*; the surrounding quarter was Sir E. Impey's park, which stretched to Chauringi-road on the west and to Park-street on the north, an avenue of trees leading through what is now Middleton-street into Park-street from his house; it was surrounded by a fine wall, a large tank was in front, and plenty of room for a deer park. A guard of sipahis was allowed to patrol about the house and grounds at night, occasionally firing off their

* Our readers may deem it incredible, but we have a firm conviction, that the Ganges itself, which now flows by Bishop's College, once took its course on the site of Tolly's Nala. With the natives, to the south of Calcutta, Tollyganj is a sacred place for cremation, and so is Baripur, where there is now not a drop of water, because they believe the stream of the Ganges rolled there once: the traveller never sees any funeral pyres smoking near the Hughli, south of Calcutta, as the natives have a notion that this is a *Khidá Gungá*, or a modern channel—the ancient channel, and not merely the water, is accounted sacred by them. Geological observations confirm this. In the borings made at Kidderpur, in 1822, it was found, there were *no vegetable remains or trees*, hence there must have been a river or large body of water there.

muskets to keep off the *dakaitis*. The other house was the present St. Paul's School. Chauringi houses increased towards the close of the last century. Upjohn, in 1794, places twenty-four houses in Chauringi, between Dharamatala and Brijitalao, the Circular-road and the plain. Lord Cornwallis, in his day, remarked that one-third of the Company's territories was a jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts, and in Chauringi the few houses were scattered over a great extent of ground. Let those who are warm friends to the centralising system of Calcutta, and who look on the Chauringi palaces as ever enduring, reflect a little on the past—to conjecture what the future *may* be. Surat, three centuries ago, had a population of half a million, now its grass-grown streets and tomb-covered squares show the desolating hand of time. Sagar island now the abode of the tiger and the snake, contained two years previous to the foundation of Calcutta, a population of 200,000, which, in one night, in 1688, was swept away by an inundation.

Park-street, so called, because it led to Sir E. Impey's park, is mentioned in Upjohn's map of Calcutta, 1794, by the name of Burial-ground road. Being *out of town* last century, it was the route for burials from town (*i.e.*, the part north of Tank Square) to the Circular-road burial ground; hence it was dreaded as a residence. "All funeral processions are concealed as much 'as possible from the sight of the ladies, that the vivacity of their 'tempers may not be wounded.'"—death and dancing did not harmonise together. We find in the *India Gazette* of 1788 a notice from T. Maudesely, undertaker, advertising for work, 'having regularly followed that profession in England.' He states, that on account of the great distance of the burial-ground, he has built a hearse, and is fitting up a mourning-coach;—previous to that, what a gloomy scene in Park-street; a funeral procession continuing one hour or more. The coffins, covered with rich black velvet palls, were carried on men's shoulders, and the European pall-bearers arranged a little before they came to the ground.

Chauringi-road is spoken of by Holwell in 1752, as "the road leading to Collegot (Kali Ghât) and Dee Calcutta,"—a market was held in it at that time.

In a house in *Wood street*, occupied lately by the Eye Infirmary, Colonel Stewart lived, surnamed Hindu Stewart, from his conformity to idolatrous customs, &c.—he was one of that class, now almost passed away, who looked with equal regard on the worship of Christ and Krishna.

At the corner of Park-street is the *Asiatic Society's house*,

built on a piece of ground granted by Government; it had been previously occupied as a *manège*, and was favourably located for that purpose. The Society was founded, January 15th, 1784—the same year which gave Calcutta the first church erected by the public since the battle of Plassey: religion and literature thus went together.

The *Course* so called, as being a coss, or two miles in length is described in 1768, as being "out of town, in a sort of angle made to take the air in," though an old song states that those who frequented it, "swallowed ten mouthfuls of dust for one of fresh air." Hamilton makes no mention of it in 1709: the recreation then was "in chaises or by palankins, in the fields or to gardens." Boating and fishing seem to have been favourite amusements. Certainly those who took their evening sail in a pinnace, enjoyed more exercise than the modern lollers in a carriage on the *Course*.

Of the *Race Course*, mention is made in 1780, though the present one was commenced in 1819. There was formerly an old *Race Course* at Akra, but "Lord Wellesley, during his administration, set his face decidedly against horse-racing and every "other species of gambling:" his influence threw a damper on it for many years, though last century a high value was attached to English jockeys, and the races were favourite subjects of expectation with the ladies. With the amusement of the turf came the spirit of betting.

Dharmatala was formerly called the *avenue*, as it led from town to the Salt-water Lake and the adjacent country. Last century it was a "well-raised causeway, raised by deepening the ditch on either side," with wretched huts on the south side; while on the north a creek ran through a street, still called Creek-Row, through the Wellington Square Tank, down to Chandpal Ghât. Large boats could come up it—if it had been kept clear and had been widened, it might have been very useful for the drainage, as Colonel Forbes, in his memoranda to the Municipal Commissioners in 1835, recommended the digging of a similar creek in that direction. The road was, according to an old useful Hindu practice, shaded with trees on both sides, as we find was the practice in other parts at that period. *Dharmatala* is so called from a great mosque, since pulled down, which was on the site of Cook's stables; the ground belonged, with all the neighbouring land, to Jáfir, the jamadar of Warren Hastings, a zealous Musalman. The *Karbala*, a famous Musalman assemblage of tens of thousands of people, which now meets in the Circular-road, used then to congregate there, and by its local sanctity, gave the name to the street of the *Dharmatala* or *Holy-street*.

The *basar*, about half way between Wellington Square and Government House, occupied the site of the residence of Colonel De Glass, Superintendent of the Gun Manufactory, which has since been removed to Kasipur. David Brown, the eminent minister of the Mission Church, subsequently occupied the building, which had a large compound. He kept a Boarding School, and had among his pupils Sir R. Grant, late Governor of Bombay and Lord Glenelg.

Wellington Square Tank was excavated in 1822 : it was one of the good works of the Lottery Committee; its site was formerly occupied by wretched huts inhabited by lascars, who made the place a mass of filth and dirt. The banks have several times fallen in, owing to the old creek called Channel Creek having formerly run through it.

The *Native Hospital* owes its origin to the suggestion of the Rev. John Owen, a Chaplain; the plan was proposed in 1793, when the Marquis Cornwallis granted it Rs. 600 per month; the private subscriptions amounted to Rs. 54,000. Lord Cornwallis gave Rs. 3,000, each Member of Council Rs. 4,500, the Nawab Vizier gave Rs. 3,000. It was established at first in the Chitpur-road, and opened September the 1st, 1794; but in 1798 the managers purchased ground in "the open and airy road of Dharmatala." At that time there were only three or four houses in the street.* During the last century disease must have made fearful ravages among the natives. Small-pox was a dreadful scourge; "inoculation is much practised by the natives, but they convert the contagious matter into powder, which they give internally, mixed with some liquid." Adjoining the Dharmatala is the *Free School*, on the site of a house which was occupied by Mr. Justice Le Maitre, one of the judges in Impey's time. The Free School was engrafted on the Old Charity School founded in 1742, and settled "at the garden-house near the Jaun Bazar, 1795." The purchase and repair of the premises cost Rs. 56,800.

* Calcutta, in former days, had justly an ill name for its insalubrity, "the grave-yard of Europeans"—but the Doctors also were in fault, as Dr. Goodeve, in his able paper "On the Progress of European Medicine in the East" shows, when all agreed that "as the strength must be supported in dysentery, wine and solid animal food were the most appropriate diet." Patients were ordered in these cases, "pillows, curries, grilled fowls and peppered chicken broth *ad libitum*, with a glass or two of medicine, or a little brandy and water, and a dessert of ripe fruits." Native doctors had their hot and cold remedies for hot and cold diseases, their mantras and philtres, while Lind states that the Portuguese doctors prescribed as the grand cure, "the changing all the European blood in the patient's bodies into native's." This they endeavoured to accomplish by repeated venesections, till they conceived that the whole mass of this circulating fluid had been abstracted. And then, by a diet consisting exclusively of the productions of the country, they hoped to substitute a liquid entirely Indian, which would render their patients proof against the maladies under which they had previously laboured."

On the proposal for forming the Free School, the public at once subscribed Rs. 26,082 and Earl Cornwallis gave Rs. 2,000. It is the oldest educational institution in Calcutta; it is said that its funds arose chiefly from the interest of the restitution money granted by the Musalmans for pulling down the Old Church near the Writers' Buildings in 1756.

Cossitala, leading from Dharmatala into Old Calcutta, was named after the *Kasái*, or butchers, dealers in goats and cows' flesh, who formerly occupied it as their quarter. It must, therefore, have been formerly a hateful street for Hindus to pass on their way from Chitpur to Kali Ghât, as seventy years ago Hindus would not sell an ox when they knew it was designed for slaughter. Like Government House, it was then "in the suburbs of Calcutta;" this may account for the late C. Grant, father of Lord Glenelg, having taken up his residence in Grant's Lane, which received its name from this circumstance. He afterwards built a handsome house, opposite Lord Clive's where he resided several years before he left India. In 1757 Cossitala was a mass of jungle, and even as late as 1780, it was almost impassable from mud in the rains. In Upjohn's map, only two or three houses are marked in it, so that Mr. Grant might enjoy his *rus in urbe* in the neighbourhood of his favorite *Lal Gurga*. In 1788 a Mr. Mackinnon advertises for a school to be opened to contain 140 pupils.

Lal Basar is mentioned by Holwell in 1738, as a famous bazar. Mrs. Kindersley, in 1768, states it to be the best street in Calcutta, "full of little shabby looking" shops called *Boutiques* "kept by black people;" it then stretched from the Custom House to Baitakhana. Bolst mentions a case of a Governor-General, about 1770, who, finding that Europeans there retailed "paria arrack to the great debauchery of the soldiers," sent a guard of sipahis and gave them lodgings for several days in the dungeon of the new fort. Sir W. Jones, in 1788, refers to the nuisance there of low taverns, kept by Italians, Spanish and Portuguese. In the house west of the Police Office, were formerly placed *haman*, or warm-baths. It is singular that in the metropolis of an oriental country, no encouragement has been given to these speculations, while every overland traveller can testify to the beneficial effects of the Cairo hot-baths, and even the mechanics of London now avail themselves of tepid baths. Facing this, on the opposite side of the street, stood an old play-house. The *Police Office* formed the residence of John Palmer, one of the "merchant princes" of Calcutta. His father was Secretary to Warren Hastings; when a youth, he was prisoner of war in France, where he

was treated most kindly by La Fitte, the famous banker, who instructed him in commercial subjects. He came in 1789 to Calcutta, where he established himself in business, which he conducted on a most extensive scale: he had for his first partner Henry St. George Tucker, who was afterwards in the Civil Service, and subsequently Chairman of the Court of Directors. Palmer was called the prince of British merchants and was equally renowned for his princely generosity. He died in 1836. On the opposite side of the street, stood the *Old Jail* of Calcutta, which also served as the Tyburn of Calcutta, all the executions taking place in the cross road near it; the pillory was erected also on that spot. There is a man still living in Calcutta who underwent the punishment of the pillory there. The Calcutta papers of 1800 give us an account of one Brajamohun Dut, a watch-maker, having been hanged there for *stealing a watch privately from a dwelling-house*. The same period has witnessed five Europeans hanged there together. At the siege of Calcutta, in 1757, it served like another Hougoumont, as a point of defence.

Calcutta, in early days in 1780, had French and English confectioners. Opposite the Old Jail in Lal Bazar, was the famous *Harmonicon Tavern*, now the Sailors' Home; it was the handsomest house then in Calcutta, and proved a great comfort to the poor people in the Jail, to whom supplies of food were frequently sent from thence. It was founded in the days when strangers considered that "every house was a paradise and every host an angel;" where young men stayed as long as they liked; but this system began to give way to that of hotels about 1823. Mrs. Fay writes of it in 1780:—

I felt far more gratified some time ago, when Mrs. Jackson procured me a ticket for the Harmonicon, which was supported by a select number of gentlemen, who, each in alphabetical rotation, gave a concert, ball and supper, during the old season; I believe once a fortnight.

We had a great deal of delightful music, and Lady C—, who is a capital performer on the harpsichord, played, amongst other pieces, a Sonata of Nicolai's in a most brilliant style.

Mr. Hastings attended this party. The Harmonicon Society, previous to 1780, had a house in Lal Bazar, so that punch-houses were, probably, its successors. Hawksworth mentions,—“I was also shown, *en passant*, a tavern called the London Hotel, where entertainments are furnished at the *moderate* price of a gold-mohur a head, exclusive of the dessert and wines. “At the coffee-houses your single dish of coffee costs you a rupee (half-a-crown); which half-crown, however, franks you to the perusal of the English newspapers, which are regularly arranged on a file, as in London; together with the

"*Calcutta Advertiser*, the *Calcutta Chronicle*, &c., &c.,—and "for the honour of Calcutta, be it recorded, that the two last-named publications *are*, what the English prints formerly *were*, "moral, amusing and intelligent." The chief strangers that came to Calcutta were the Captains of the Indiamen, great personages in their day, the lords of those splendid ships, the Old Indiamen, and whose position was often a stepping-stone to a seat in the Direction. In fact one of the Charters provided that six members of the Court of Directors should always have been commanders of their ships, but the Company rented accommodation for those magnates by hiring houses during their stay at Rs. 500 per month.

A little to the north of this, in the Chitpore road, is the *Tiretta Bazar*, so called from a Frenchman named Tiretta, who established it about 1788; he was superintendent of streets and buildings. It yielded a monthly rent of Rs. 3,800. It was valued then at two lakhs and Tiretta having become bankrupt, his creditors offered it at that sum as a prize in a lottery.

Opposite Tiretta Bazar stood the house of C. Weston (after whom Weston's lane was named); when he lived there in 1740, the house was in the midst of a large garden, which could have borne witness to many benevolent deeds. C. Weston here gave away Rs. 1,600 monthly to the poor with his own hand, and at his death he left one lakh of rupees as a legacy.

The road from Lal Bazar to the Old Church, called Mission Row, was formerly named the Rope Walk, and was the scene of hard fighting at the time of the siege of Calcutta in 1757. The *Old* or *Mission Church* was so called, because it is the oldest church in Calcutta, having been built in 1768, eleven years after the demolition of the first church by the Musalmans. Kiernander, the first Protestant missionary to Bengal, erected it, at a cost to himself of half a lakh. He not only did this, but gave the proceeds of the sale of his deceased wife's jewels to the building; in 1774, a large school-room was added to the east of the present church. During his life-time Kiernander gave away of his own property in charity at least £12,000 sterling. This school and the church were built in a way then unusual in Calcutta, without any Sunday work! Kiernander died in 1799, in his eighty-seventh year, forty-eight of which he spent in India; with him died all very active efforts for the benefit of the Portuguese. The subsequent exertions were merely desultory.

David Brown, the first chaplain of this church, was the man for the middle classes. His congregation was chiefly composed of "Europeans, East Indians and Portuguese,"—the

only recompense he would consent to receive from the Christian Knowledge Society, was "some valuable packages of books." The church is still known among the natives by the name of the Lal Girja, from the red-painted bricks of which it was made ; but Lal Bazar was a name in existence long before this church—perhaps it may have been called *lal* from its vicinity to the Lal Bazar? The premises now occupied by the senior chaplain were once the abode of Obeck, a well-remembered name. The residence of the junior chaplain is adjacent to the site of the first mission school begun in Calcutta, by Kiernander, in 1759. It contained 135 boys, Armenian, Bengali, English and Portuguese. English and Portuguese were taught in it. Kiernander entertained sanguine hopes of the conversion of the Brahmans in the school ; but his prospects were doomed, as many subsequently have experienced in similar cases, to vanish into air. The minister of the Mission Church paid more attention to the spiritual and intellectual condition of that much neglected class, the Portuguese, than any other persons in Calcutta, and some of the best members of the church were Portuguese : even as late as 1789, the Rev. T. Clarke, who came out as a Missionary, but who afterwards renounced his profession and became a chaplain "under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief," began to study Portuguese, as "a fundamental principle of the "Mission was to have the native population everywhere "addressed in their own language." This church is inseparably connected with the name of Charles Grant, who paid Rs. 10,000 to have it redeemed from the Sheriff's grip. He contributed liberally to the missionary objects of it, and afterwards, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, selected the chaplains to be there.* In the last century, the Old Church was in a state of feud with the New (St John's) Church, the chaplains of the former were evangelicals, of the latter, high church ; the middle class and the East Indians attended the former, the fashionables and "big-wigs," the latter—so far did the spirit of *odium theologicum* reach, that the chaplain of the New Church requested the Government to close the Old Church !

Tank Square, last century, "in the middle of the city," covers upwards of twenty-five acres of ground. Stavorinus states : "It was dug by order of Government, to provide the "inhabitants of Calcutta with water, which is very sweet and "pleasant. The number of springs which it contains makes the "water in it nearly always on the same level. It is called "round, no one may wash in it." *When this tank was dug,*

* For full details respecting Kiernander, see an article in this *Review*, No. XIII.—
"The first Protestant Missionary to Bengal."

we have never been able to ascertain. Hamilton wrote in 1702, that the Governor had a handsome house in the Fort; "the Company has also a pretty good garden, that furnishes the Governors with herbage and fruits at table, and some fish-ponds to serve his kitchen with good carps, callops and mullet." Perhaps the tank was dug to serve as the fish-ponds, and the garden may have formed the Park, *Lal Bâg*, or in modern times, Tank Square. The tank was formerly more extensive, but was cleansed and embanked completely in Warren Hastings' time. Its first name was "the Green before the Fort." No doubt, it was the place of recreation and shooting wild game for the Company's factors, and in the middle of last century it was the scene of many a moonlight gambol of young people, and elderly ones, who, rigged out in stockings of different colours, yellow coat, green waistcoat, &c., &c., amused themselves on the banks of the "fish-pond in the park," inhaling the evening breezes, and thinking of the friends of whom they had heard nine months before!

Old Court House Street, parallel with Mission Row, is so called from the Old Court House, or Town Hall, which stood at the northern extremity of the street, on the site of St. Andrew's Church. The charity boys were lodged and fed here previous to the battle of Plassey—this was the first charity school,—feeding and educating twenty children for Rs. 2,400 annually. It was erected about 1727, by Mr. Bouchier, of a merchant, who was afterwards appointed Governor of Bombay. In 1734 he gave it to Government, on condition of their paying Rs. 4,000 annually to support a charity school, this money goes to the Free School, and is still paid by Government. In 1765, it was considerably enlarged by private subscription, in consideration of this Government agreed to give Rs. 800 monthly to the school. Omichand, a native merchant, gave Rs. 20,000 towards this subscription. Lectures were occasionally given in it; we find that Dr. Bell in 1788 read a course of twelve lectures on experimental philosophy there. Stavorinus writes of it in 1770:—"Over the Court House are two handsome assembly rooms. In one of these are hung up the portraits of the King of France, and of the late queen, as large as life, which were brought by the English from Chandernagore, when they took that place." These assembly rooms were used, as the Town Hall is now, for holding balls, meetings, &c. We have an account of a grand ball given here in 1769, in honor of the Dutch Governor, by the English Governor Cartier. The party assembled at seven and remained till the next morning, "the ladies were decorated with an immense quantity of jewels."

Sir W. Jones occupied rooms in the present Court House, where he had to attend to Police cases twice a week, to issue warrants, to pick up the drunken sailors, as all the judges in those days took it by turns to do. In the Court only four attorneys were allowed to practise; an appeal was permitted to the Governor and Council. Another Court, founded in 1753, called the Court of Requests, existed, composed of twenty-four Commissioners, selected originally by the Government from among the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, but who subsequently elected their own members. They sat every Thursday to determine matters of forty shillings value—three forming a *quorum*. Daniel gives a drawing of this Court House—with elephants walking in Tank Square,—for in the last century elephants were freely permitted to perambulate the town. As early as 1727 a corporation, consisting of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, and a Mayor's Court was established, of which the famous Zaphania Holwell was once President; but it was considered to be too much under the influence of Government, cases having occurred where trials were suspended at the dictum of the Governor, who, by his patronage, greatly influenced the Members. Owing to this and the want of an enlarged jurisdiction to control the gigantic abuses which had grown up among the servants of Government, the Supreme Court was constituted in its stead in October 1774. The Mayor's Court had jurisdiction in civil causes between Europeans. The judges were the Aldermen, mercantile men, who had a liberal allowance of twenty-two rupees monthly for their services! Holwell sat in this Court, and states, he heard natives confess to the most atrocious crimes, pleading they should be acquitted, since it was the *Kali Yug*, and therefore it was in the nature of things to commit sin. *Asiaticus* states, that the abolition of the Mayor's Court in 1774, was not a very popular measure :—

The attorneys, who have followed the judges in search of prey, as the carrion crows do an Indian army on its march, are extremely successful in supporting the spirit of litigation among the natives, who like children, delighted with a new plaything, are highly pleased with the opportunity of harassing one another by vexatious suits; and those pests of society, called bailiffs, a set of miscreants hitherto little known in India, are now to be seen in every street, watching for the unhappy victims devoted to legal persecution. Even the menial servants are now tutored to breathe that insolent spirit of English licentiousness, which teaches the slave to insult his master, and then bring his action of damages at Westminster if deservedly chastised for his impudence. Arbitrary fines are daily imposed on gentlemen who presume to correct their slaves; and the house of the Chief Justice of Bengal resembles the office of a trading magistrate in Westminster, who decides the squabbles of oyster women, and picks up a livelihood by the sale of shilling warrants.

As an illustration of the state of justice in the Mayor's Court, we give an anecdote with which the name of *Tagore* is mixed up. The party referred to was a relative of the late Dwarkanath Tagore :—

A gentleman of the Council of Calcutta became indebted to one Wm. Wilson, a sail maker, for work done in the way of his profession, amounting to Co's Rs. 75-9 7, for payment of which the sail-maker sent in his bill, with a receipt annexed. The Councillor who happened at the same time to be zemindar, alleged the charges in the bill were exorbitant and unreasonable, and would neither discharge nor give up the bill, threatening the sail-maker, that he would get him turned out of the Company's service, or sent to Bencoolen if he persisted in his demand. The sail-maker, not intimidated, filed his bill in the Mayor's Court against the Councillor, who, rather than expose the affair to a public discussion, more prudently agreed to pay the bill and the expenses of suit, by which it was consequently swelled. The complainant's solicitor or attorney-at-law (as they are called in Bengal) sent his banyan, Radhoo Tagoor, a black merchant of Calcutta, to receive the amount of the bill. This was repeated several times without success; till at last the said Radhoo Tagoor desired the Councillor's banyan to inform his master, that the amount of the bill was wanted, and if it was not paid, some bad consequences might ensue from the cause going on in the regular course of law, and the charges being consequently enhanced; which being told to the Councillor and zemindar, he grew angry and ordered the merchant, Radhoo Tagoor, to be immediately seized by his peons, and carried to the cutchery, where he was without any examination, inquiry, or form whatever, tied up, severely flogged, and beat on the head with his own slippers, by order of the said zemindar, who wrote a letter to the attorney at-law upon the occasion, of which the following is an exact copy :—

SIR,—I have ordered your demand to be complied with. It is so extravagant, that I intend laying it before the Court. Your banyan was so insolent as to tell me that, unless I discharge it directly, you would increase your demand, for which insolence in him I have sent him to the cutchery where he will meet his deserts.

Your most humble servant,

Calcutta, the 22nd February 1865.

Near the Old Court House, in the north-west corner of Lyons' Range stood the *theatre*, which in the siege of 1757, was turned into a battery by the Moors, and annoyed the fort very much. The theatre was generally served by amateur performers, and was frequented by the authorities; a ball room was attached; respecting the dancing there, *Asiaticus* gives us a lively description :—

For my own part, I already begin to think the dazzling brightness of a copper-coloured face infinitely preferable to the pallid and sickly hue, which banishes the roses from the cheeks of the European fair, and reminds me of the death-struck countenance of Lazarus risen from the grave. The English ladies are immoderately fond of dancing, an exercise ill-calculated for the burning climate of Bengal; and in my opinion, however admissible in cooler latitudes, not a little indelicate in a country, where the inhabitants are covered with no more clothes than what decency absolutely requires. Imagine to yourself the lovely object of your affections ready to expire with heat, every limb trembling, and every feature distorted with fatigue, and

her partner with a muslin handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful office of wiping down her face, while the big drops stand unpearled upon her forehead.

Fort William College or Writers' Buildings was appropriated for the residence of writers, or young civilians. Originally civilians, during their first years in India, were employed in copying. Sir C. Metcalfe "wrote section" himself, a work now done by *keranis* at the rate of 1,400 words for a rupee—they at first lived in the fort, but, subsequently, in the present buildings, which were rented by Government from the Barwell family. Mr. G. Barwell himself retired to England on a fortune of eighty lakhs, he was member of Council in 1780: these eighty lakhs melted away in a manner no one could account for. Old Barwell was Governor of Calcutta in 1750, and for a century the family has commanded the first appointments in the Civil Service. The location of it in Calcutta was most unfavourable for the young men,—could the past unfold its tale, what a picture would be presented of young men fresh from school, lavishing large sums on horse-racing, dinner parties, contracting large loans with *banians*, who clung to them for life like leeches, and quartered their relations on them throughout their Indian career. Mention is made of the Writers' Buildings in 1780, as being "a monument of commercial prosperity,"—could the walls tell of the past, how many scenes would be unfolded—lamp shades used as champagne glasses, &c., &c. In the houses now occupied by the *Exchange* and the *Hurkaru* office, *Fort William College* was first located on its establishment in 1800, by the Marquis of Wellesley. Dr. Buchanan, the Vice-Provost, and Dr. Carey occupied rooms in what is now the *Exchange*, but it was then a part of the Old College of Fort William, and was connected with the other portion of the building, now the *Hurkaru* office, by a gallery that ran across the street. This building reminds us of a few points about the former status of civilians. Orders came from the Court in 1675, that civilians should serve five years as apprentices, receiving, however, ten pounds per annum for the last two years, and then to rise to the respective grades of writer, factor, merchant, and senior merchant; they were also directed to learn the military exercise, so that, if found better qualified for the military than the civil line, they might receive a commission and have military pay. Their honourable masters had strange ideas of a civilian's duties, for, in 1686, on ten ships of war being sent to Bengal, to fortify Chittagong and establish a mint there, there were six companies of soldiers sent in the ships, without captains, as the Members of Council were designed to act as such! Charnock, a civilian, was appointed

Admiral and Commander-in-Chief. But as early as 1600, the India Company requested in their petition for a Charter, "that no *gentlemen* might be employed in their charge!"

To the west of Writers' Buildings, thirty yards east of the fort, stood the *first church* of Calcutta, called St. John's, at the suggestion of the Free Masons, who were liberal contributors to it.* It was built in 1716, days when "gold was plenty and labour cheap," by the piety of seafaring men. The Christian Knowledge Society took an active part in its establishment, and the Gospel Propagation Society sent a handsome silver cup in commemoration of its opening. As they were sometimes without a chaplain owing to death, the service was performed by merchants, who were allowed Rs. 600 annually for reading the prayers and a sermon on Sunday,—the oldest chaplain we have notice of, is Samuel Brereton, in 1709. The steeple of this church, "the chief public ornament of the settlement," fell, or sunk down in the earthquake of 1737, and the church itself, which commanded the fort, was demolished by the Moors in 1756. Calcutta then remained without a church, until the Missionary Kiernander erected one at his own expense in 1768, service in the interval being performed in a temporary room fitted up on a ground floor in the old fort, though little respect was paid to Sunday, except by hoisting the flag at Fort William. Even in church no great decorum was observed.

Where *all* ladies are approached, by sanction of ancient custom, by *all* gentlemen indiscriminately, known or unknown, with offers of their hand to conduct them to their seat; accordingly, those gentlemen who wish to change their condition (which are chiefly old fellows, for the young ones either choose country-born ladies for wealth, or having left their hearts behind them, enrich themselves, in order to be united to their favourite dulcineas in their native land) on hearing of a ship's arrival, make a point of repairing to this holy dome, and eagerly tender their services to the fair strangers; who, if this stolen view happens to captivate, often without undergoing the ceremony of a formal introduction, receive matrimonial overtures and becoming brides in the utmost possible splendour, have their rank instantaneously established, and are visited and paid every honour to which the consequence of their husbands entitles them.

In *Hartley House* mention is made of the foundation of a new church laid about 1780, in the new fort. Could any of our readers throw light on this subject?

In the north-west corner of Tank Square, stood the *Black Hole*, its site was commemorated by an obelisk, fifty feet high, inscribed with the names of thirty victims who perished in the

* We have accounts of a Free Mason's Lodge in Calcutta in 1744; in 1789, they gave at the Old Court House a ball and supper to the members of the Company's service in Calcutta; and they seem to have had a local habitation and a name there from the days of Charnock—their institution tended to mitigate the exclusiveness of European caste in former times.

Black Hole, on the 20th of June 1757. It was erected at the expense of Mr. Howell and the survivors, "the bodies of the victims were thrown into the ditch of the fort."* This monument, though erected at the expense of individuals, was pulled down by the order of the Marquis of Hastings, on the ground that it served to remind the natives of our former humiliation.† As the remark has often been made, that Indian patronage has been a family one, and that the same names occur year after year, we append here the names of those as inscribed on the monument, which was erected to them, who perished one century ago in the Black Hole; but few persons are in the Company's service now, of the same name, which seems to indicate that patronage has taken another channel:—

Edwd. Eyre and Wm. Baillie, Esqs.; The Rev. Jervas Bellamy; Messrs. Jenks, Reevely, Law, Coats, Nalicourt, Jebb, Torriano, E. Page, S. Page, Grub, Street, Harod, P. Johnstone, Ballard, N. Drake, Carse, Knapton, Gosling, Dod and Dalrymple; Captain Clayton, Buchanan and Witherington; Lieuts. Bishop, Hays, Blagg, Simpson and J. Bellamy; Ensigns Paccard, Scott, Hastings, C. Wedderburn and Dumbleton, Sea Captains Hunt, Osburn, and Purnel; Messrs. Carey, Leech, Stevenson, Guy, Porter, Parker, Caulker and Bendol, and Atkinson, who, with sundry other inhabitants, military and militia, to the number of 123 persons, were, by the tyrannic violence of Surajud Daula, Suba of Bengal, suffocated in the Black Hole prison of Fort William, in the night of the 20th day of June 1756, and promiscuously thrown, the succeeding morning, into the ditch of the Ravalin of this place. This monument is erected by their surviving fellow-sufferer, J. Z. Howell.

The *Old Fort* was called *Fort William*, because built A. D. 1692, in the reign of William the Third, the year in which the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsurah, built theirs. Two years previously the Governor and Members of Council at Bombay were made to walk through the streets of that city with irons round their necks. The Burdwan insurrection of 1696 originated it. The walls were very strong, being made of brick, with a mortar composed of brick-dust, lime, molasses and hemp, a cement as strong as stone. In 1819, when the fort was pulled down to make way for the Custom House, the pick-axe or crow-bar was of no avail, gunpowder was obliged to be resorted to, so strong were the buildings. In early days it was garrisoned by 200 soldiers, chiefly employed in escorting merchandise, or in attending

* 150 were crowded into a room 18 feet by 14; 22 of these came out alive—for a full account of the Black Hole, see Howell's Tracts, or Broom's History of the Bengal Army, a work of sterling value.

† Suraj-a-Daula has, we think, been too severely blamed for the catastrophe of the Black Hole; the incarceration was the work of his underlings; his orders were simply to keep the prisoners secure, and when they complained, no man ventured to break the sleep of an Eastern despot. After all, Calcutta suffered far less injury from its capture by the Moors, than Madras did in 1746, when taken by Lally, and the French, who totally demolished all the public buildings.

on Rajahs, who, like the chieftains in the castled crags of the Rhine, levied tolls on all boats ferrying up or down the river! The Old Fort extended from the middle of Clive-street to the northern edge of the tank. About 1770 it was used as a church and a jail, and as the *dépôt* for the Company's medicines. There is a sketch of it in an old number of the *Universal Magazine*. Doubtless the fort itself is correctly delineated, although the artist must have drawn upon his imagination for the hills in the back-ground.

The Old Fort served like the feudal castles, to form the nucleus of the town (as in England all these towns, whose names end in *caster*, were originally Roman camps,) the natives meeting with protection, and enjoying privileges in trade, soon settled down in Suttenuddy and Govindpur.

St. John's Church, alias the old Cathedral, was opened on Easter Sunday, 1787. Previous to Bishop Middleton's arrival it was called the New Church, to distinguish it from the Old Church, which is the oldest Anglo-episcopal church in Calcutta. With this building may be dated the commencement of the era of church-building. Calcutta was rising to its title of a City of Palaces; the Supreme Council had called for plans of a church, and Warren Hastings felt, that the metropolis ought to have a suitable place for religious worship. As in 1774 Calcutta had "a noble play-house—but no church," service was held in a room next to the Black Hole. A Church Building Committee was organised in 1783; its first Committee Meeting was attended by its zealous patron, Warren Hastings and his Council; they found 35,950 Rs. had been subscribed, 25,592 Rs. additional were given by a resource then popular in Calcutta—by lottery. A Hindu, Nabakissen, presented, in addition to assigning over the burying ground, a piece of ground valued at 30,000 rupees; the Company gave 3 per cent. from their revenues; the rest was raised by voluntary contributions. We have never had in India such an inauguration of a church. On the day when the foundation stone was laid, the acting Governor gave a public breakfast, and then, along with the chief Government servants, went in procession to the scene of the ceremonial.* Charles Grant despoiled Gaur of some of

* This church called out the voluntary principle very rapidly—Mr. Davis undertook the ornamenting the church; a barrister, Mr. Hall, drew up the contracts gratuitously. Wilkins, the orientalist, superintended the moulding of the stones prepared at Benares,—the East India Company gave Rs. 12,000 for providing communion plate, velvet, bells; and besides Rs. 14,394 subsequently from the Government of Bengal, Earl Cornwallis gave 3,000 Sa. rupees. Zoffani painted the altar piece for it gratis. All the Apostles were taken from life, and represented persons then living in Calcutta. Old Talloh, the auctioneer, who came out in 1784, sat for Judas without knowing it.

its finest marble and freestone, the new church took three years in building, and Earl Cornwallis opened it on the 24th of June 1787, thus wiping away the reproach. The Musalmans, during the short period they held Calcutta, in 1757, showed a different zeal, for they erected a mosque within the Old Fort, having pulled down other buildings to make room for it. Previous to 1787, divine service was performed in a small room of the Old Fort, "a great disgrace to the settlement; the site was occupied by the old burial ground which had existed there for a century previously; when the bones were rooted out of the graves to make site for this church, it created a strong indignation among the Musalmans, who would not do it to their bitterest enemy." The bones were, we believe, removed to the new burial ground; the "house of prayer was not the house of sepulture," and the tombs of the following persons were preserved—Hamilton, Charnock and Watson. The oldest burial recorded is that of Captain Barton, 1693. Charnock's widow was interred in the tomb built by himself, before which he used to sacrifice a cock on the anniversary of her death.

This burial ground was once "in the environs of Calcutta, as the new burial ground is now without the boundaries of the town." In 1802 the old tottering tombs were removed. Most of the old tablets were cut from stone procured at St Thome, near Madras.

The vestry meeting of St. John's was long looked upon as a scene, where the laity gave their opinion and votes on church matters. The Governor-General, Earl Cornwallis, attended the first vestry meeting, in 1786. This vestry has charitable funds at its disposal, arising from legacies left by General Martine Baretto and Weston, yielding in interest Rs. 15,000 annually.

We seldom see in the compound the train of carriages, palki-gharis and palankins, without thinking on the revolution that has taken place in manners. When the foundation stone was laid in 1784 the Governor and the principal inhabitants of Calcutta *walked* from the old Court House to take part in the solemnity; at the consecration they contributed Rs. 3,943 to a charitable object, that of a Free School; and previous to this period the Governor and heads of Government used to walk in solemn procession every Sunday to the first church, erected at the west end of the Writers' Buildings, which was demolished in 1756. While we are adopting the absurd custom of dressing in black in hot weather, we have almost renounced the good old English habit of walking. Certainly, the *exercise* of lolling in a carriage, benefits the doctor and

the coachmaker, but whom else? And yet people complain of the climate! We know the case of ladies in Chaurangi who, through indolence, *are carried* upstairs; no doubt they loudly exclaim, what a dreadful place is India, where they must sit still so long!

West of St. John's, in the premises now occupied by the Stamp and Stationery Committee, was formerly the *Old Mint*, where the Company coined its rupees from 1791 to 1832. In the latter year the New Mint was established; previous to 1791, the coinage was executed by contract; the copper coin, chiefly by Mr. Prinsep, the father of the late James Prinsep, who conducted an establishment for that purpose at Fulta. The coining their own names (though with the Mogul's head and a Persian inscription) was an object of early ambition with the English and other European powers; hence even the Dutch had a mint of their own at Murshidabad in 1757. On the site of this Old Mint stood, in 1790, the flourishing ship-building establishment of Gillets. As late as 1770, no copper coin was to be seen in Bengal, no pice were in use, change under a rupee had to be given in cowries. This is strange. As early as 1680, a Mr. Smith was sent out from England as an assay master, on a salary of sixty pounds *per annum*, but it was the time when the commandant of Bombay had six shillings daily as his pay; in 1762 the first money was coined in Calcutta.

The site of the *Old Government House*, in 1780, was covered with squalid native huts "out of town;" but in Upjohn's map, the Government House and Council House occupy the spot covered by the present Government House. The building of this latter was commenced in February 5th, 1799, and the first brick was laid by Timothy Hickey. Its projector, the Marquis of Wellesley, may be called the Augustus of Calcutta,—a man fond of oriental pomp,—the ground cost 80,000, the building itself thirteen lakhs, the furniture half a lakh. Previous to that period the Governor lived in a small house now forming part of the Treasury. His views were, that "India should be governed from a palace, not from a counting-house, with the ideas of a prince, not with those of a retail-dealer in muslins and indigo." While the French Governor lived in the stately palace of Ghysbrecht, with its spacious lawn, in which 120 carriages have been at times drawn up, and the Dutch Governor resided in the beautiful terraced gardens of Fort Gustavus, in Calcutta there was no place to receive visitors in. The Dutch Governor of Chinsura, on his visit to the Governor, in 1769, was accommodated in a house belonging to a native. Opinions differ as to the precise locality of the old Government House, some say it

was where the Treasury is now, and others, at the south-east corner of Government Place. Warren Hastings' town-house was a very small one, on the site of the present Government House, but Mrs. Hastings lived in one in Hastings street, now occupied by Messrs. Burn & Co.* In the house at the corner of Waterloo-street, now occupied by Messrs. Winsor & Co., General Clavering lived, while General Monson resided in an adjacent house, now belonging to Messrs. Freer, Smith & Co., near Mango-lane.

The *Treasury* included the building first erected by Sir E. Coote, as a residence, in *Council House-street*. We have heard that the Council was formerly held in the house which still stands between Mackenzie's and Holling's offices, the scene of many stormy discussions between Hastings and Francis.

In *Old Post Office-street* was the Post Office, in a house opposite to Sir J. Colville's residence.

The *Town Hall* occupies the site of a house in which justice Hyde lived, and for which he paid Rs. 1,200 rent per mensem. In 1792 the Old Court House being in a ruinous condition, was pulled down by order of Government, and as it was used as a Town Hall, a meeting was held in 1792, at which Sir W. Jones presided, in order to raise subscriptions to erect another Town Hall. Sir W. Jones subscribed Rs. 500 to the object.

The *Supreme Court* † sittings were first held in the Old Court

* The following account is given by Grose, vol. 11, p. 249, of the sufferings in 1757 of the then Governor of Bengal and his suite. What a contrast it presents to the present regal style of magnificence with which the Governor-General is received :—

They embarked in a wollock, or large boat, on the 24th, and were thirteen days in their passage to Muxadabad, which is about two hundred miles up the river from Calcutta. The provision was only rice and water ; and they had bamboos to lie on : but as their fever was come to a crisis, their bodies were covered with boils, which became running sores, exposed to excessive heats and violent rains, without any covering, or scarce any clothes, and the irons on their legs consumed the flesh almost to the bone.

Mr. Holwell, as a prisoner of State, was estimated and valued to Bundo Sing Hazary, who commanded the guard, at four lakhs of rupees, or £50,000 sterling.

They arrived at the French factory on the 7th of July, in the morning, and were waited on by Mr. Law, the French chief, who generously supplied them with clothes, linen, provisions, liquors and money. About four in the afternoon, they landed at Muxadabad, and were confined in an open stable, not far from the Subah's palace. This march drew tears of despair and anguish of heart from them, thus to be led like felons, a spectacle to the inhabitants of this populous city. They had a guard of Moors placed on one side, and a guard of Gentus on the other. The immense crowd of spectators, who come from all quarters of the city to satisfy their curiosity, so blocked them up, from morning until night, that they narrowly escaped a second suffocation, the weather being excessively sultry.

† The Supreme Court calls up many associations. Here the sentence of Nankumar was pronounced, here Impey bravely maintained the independence of the power of justice against the E. I. C. then supreme over every other power.

Enormous fortunes were made by its lawyers in early days when the attorneys were limited to twelve in number, to share the spoils gathered from fostering the

House and as the Old Court House was pulled down in 1792, the present building must have been erected about that time: for particulars respecting the early history of the Supreme Court, consult *the Life of Sir E. Impey by his son*. Mrs. Fay gives an anecdote which throws light on the state of things in her day:—

On Mr. Fay's expressing some apprehensions, lest his having come out without leave of the E. I. Company, might throw obstacles in the way of his admission to the Bar here, Sir E. Impey indignantly exclaimed, "No, Sir, had you dropped from the clouds with such documents, we would admit you. The Supreme Court is independent, and will never endure to be dictated to, by any body of men whose claims are not enforced by superior authority. It is nothing to us whether you *had or had not* permission from the Court of Directors to proceed to this settlement; you come to us as an authenticated English Barrister, and as such, we shall, on the first day of the next Term, admit you to *our Bar*." There exists a strong jealousy between the Government and the Supreme Court, lest either should encroach on the prerogatives of the other. The latter not long since committed Mr. Naylor, the Company's Attorney, for some breach of privilege, who being in a weak state of health at the time died in confinement.

The *Esplanade* formed a favourite promenade "of elegant walking parties," in moonlight evenings. The five chief streets of Calcutta abutted on it—to the south of it was the *maidan* covered with paddy fields, while the course led the ladies down to see an occasional launch at Watson's works.

Facing Government and Council House, stands *Fort William*, commenced shortly after the battle of Plassey in 1757. The works were planned by an engineer named Boyer. It was evidently designed to hold the inhabitants of Calcutta, in case of another siege, as permission was originally given to every inhabitant of "the settlement",—the name by which Calcutta was designated during last century,—to build a house in the fort. But entertaining views of domestic comfort, different from those held at Bombay, the people did not avail themselves of this *privilege*. They preferred the plan of living in garden-houses. In 1756 the site of it and the plain were occupied by native huts, the property chiefly of the Mitre family, and by salt marshes, which afforded fine sport to buffalo

litigious propensities of the natives. "A man of abilities and good address in this line, if he has the firmness to resist the fashionable contagion, gambling, need only pass one seven years of his life at Calcutta, to return home in affluent circumstances; but the very nature of their profession leads them into gay connection, and having for a time complied with the humour of their company from prudential motives, they become tainted, and prosecute their bane from the impulses of inclination."

We have an account of a Portuguese who, in 1789, carried on a law-suit with an American, which cost him 40,000 rupees.

hunters. The borings made in the fort in 1836-40, under the superintendence of Dr. Strong and James Prinsep, have shown that the ocean rolled its waves 500 feet beneath the surface of the present fort, and in 1682, an ancient forest existed in that locality.

During the building of the fort, the great famine of 1770 occurred, which caused great difficulty in obtaining food for the workmen—a sad time—children died at their mothers' breast—the Ganges' stream became corrupt from the corpses—and even its fish were poisonous from feeding on corpses,—76,000 natives perished in the streets of Calcutta between July 15th and September 4th. 2,000 Europeans perished in Bengal. Two millions of people died in Bengal, and some natives in the neighbourhood of Patna fed on human flesh.

This fort cost two millions of money, of which five lakhs were for piling, to keep off the encroachments of the river; but the Company was cheated in their accounts, both by Europeans and natives. The amount may be estimated by the fact, that when Holwell, Governor of Calcutta, was about to prosecute certain defrauders, some party unknown sent a *lakh of rupees* to his house on the eve of the trial, to induce him to drop the prosecution; but he, as an honest man, handed it all over to the Company's treasury. Unhappily, in these days, he had few imitators, John Company was viewed as a lawful subject of spoliation, Dutch and English ran a race in making what money they could *quocumque modo*. The Company designed that only a fort, capable of being garrisoned by 1,000 men, should be erected, as if it required a much larger garrison they could keep the field. Much interesting and curious information respecting the building of the fort may be obtained in the *Reports of the House of Commons on India Affairs for 1770-72*.

It is only in recent years we have had any road outside the fort: the *Respondentia* walk extended a little below Chandpal Ghât, the resort of those fond of moonlight rambles, and of children with their train of servants—as no horses were allowed to go on it. Of the Strand-road we shall state little, as such an ample account has been given of it in this *Review*, No. X., pp. 430-55.

The Respondentia walk joins on with what is now the Strand-road, the creation of the Lottery Committee in 1824, along with Cornwallis and Amherst-streets. The *Strand-road* was formerly a low sedgy bank, and the river near it was shallow, as the deep channel was formerly on the Haura side; but owing to the formation of the Sumatra sand (so called from a ship of that name sunk there, whose wreck formed the

nucleus of a mass of mud) " the deep channel has been thrown " to the Calcutta side, from the projecting angle at Haura " Ghât."

Babu's Ghât, next to it, was named from Raj Chandra Mir, who built it. The *Bankshall*, the hall on the banks of the river (?) was the site of the first dry dock in Calcutta, made here by Government in 1790, but removed in 1808. Bankshall seems to have been an old name, given to stations for ships or pilots ; thus Fulta was called the Dutch Bankshall, as their ships, owing to the strong currents, sometimes could not ascend the river to Chinsura, but anchored there. This gave rise to the Pilot Service, which was established in 1669, the men were to be furnished from the Indiamen, to man *one* pinnace. *Police Ghât* is so called from the Police Office having been there formerly. The embankment in front of the *Custom House* was begun in 1800. *Nimtola* was named after a *Nim* tree, which protected the way with its shade. The *Strand* district is the oldest settled in Calcutta, its sedgy shores called Suttanutty, were occupied by Job Charnock in 1689, when he landed from Uluberia ; they presented the only cleared spot, as jangal extended from Chandpal Ghât all to the south.

In 1823 the *Strand-road* was formed, which led to a great sanitary improvement, but injured the ship-builders, who had docks in Clive-street, and were obliged to remove to Haura and Sulkea. This road has been widened at the expense of the river, so that where the western railing of the Metcalfe Hall stands, there were, forty years ago, nine fathoms of water.

Clive-street, parallel with the Strand, was once the "grand " theatre of business, and there stood the Council House, and " every public mart in it ;" near where the Oriental Bank is now, was the residence of Lord Clive.

Jessop's foundry was established by Mr. Jessop of the Buttery iron works in Shropshire. He was sent out in 1820 by the East India Company, to make an iron suspension bridge for the King of Lucknow : he remained five years in Lucknow, then came to Calcutta and commenced a foundry.

The *Mint*, of modern erection, was built below high water mark, two-thirds of it is under ground, propped up on mud and piles.

The *Bag-bazar* is of long standing, it was in 1749 one of those farmed out by Government, along with *Soba-bazar*, *Sam-bazar*, *Hât Kola*, *Faun-bazar*, *Burtolla*, *Suttanutty Hât*.

We come now to *Haura*, on the opposite banks, but as we wish to confine our remarks to points not generally known and not easily accessible to the public, we refer our readers for an

account of the *Botanic Gardens, Bishop's College, Haura, &c., &c.*, to an Article in No. VIII of this *Review*, pp. 476-484.

We merely notice that Haura in 1709, had docks and a good garden belonging to the Armenians, that the ground to the north-west of the church is marked off in Upjohn's map as practising grounds of the Bengal artillery. The old fort of *Tanna*, built to protect the trade of the river, was situated a little to the south of the residence of the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens: mention is made of it in 1686, when its garrison endeavoured to hinder an English sixty-gun ship from passing down the river. In 1783 the *Orphan House*, now the Magistrate's kachari at Haura, was erected, of which David Browne was the first chaplain, but he resigned this *lucrative* post in 1788, and devoted himself to the *gratuitous* service of the Mission Church.

Sulkea, a densely populated suburb, containing 73,446 inhabitants in 1835, formed the terminus of the Benares road, which, by its narrowness and roughness, reminds us of the difficulties *dāk* travellers must have met with in former days. It was a common practice, however, formerly, when travellers were few, for Englishmen to send to the zemindars along the road for supplies of bearers and food: the zemindars supplied them, but quietly indemnified themselves by debiting it to the expenses of the *revenue* collection, or else making the *rayats* pay for it. It was not until 1765 that a regular *dāk* was established, and that only between Calcutta and Murshidabad; and for a long period after that, travellers had no bungalows, but were obliged to send two sets of tents on before them.

Opposite *Sulkea*, on the left bank of the river, is the *Nawab of Chitpur's* palace, which was a favourite resort of Europeans in the last century. The buildings and gardens were magnificent; and the Nawab Rezah Khan lived on intimate terms with the *Shah-lok*, inviting them to his palace, and presenting a fine object, mounted on his splendid elephant and attended by a guard of honor. When the foreign Governors came down from Serampur, Chandernagar, Chinsura, they landed at Chitpur, where a deputation received them, and they then rode in state up to Government House—this Nawab was a descendant of Jaffir Ali.

Beyond his palace, in the house now occupied by Mr. Kelsall, and known by the name of Kasipur House, lived Sir R. Chambers, noted for his oriental learning.

South of this is the *Chitpur-road*, which may be called the Cheapside of Calcutta, as Lal-bazar is its Wapping, being thronged constantly with native vehicles. Various wealthy

native families, who lived in this street formerly, have now deserted it on account of its noise and dust. It received its name from the goddess *Chiteswart*, who had a splendid temple here, where human sacrifices were formerly offered. Chitpur-road is the oldest road in Calcutta, forming a continuation of the Dum-Dum road, which was the old line of communication between Murshidabad and Káli Ghât.

Mutsya-bazar was famous for its sale of fish in last century; the native merchants lived on the river banks, while behind them were the seats of trade. The ground here is the lowest in Calcutta, and only eight feet above the sea level.

The *Bara-bazar* is mentioned in 1757. A native friend has communicated to us some anecdotes of natives, who resided in this and the neighbouring bazar a century ago: we give them:—

The oldest inhabitant of Calcutta, of any note, was Baishnavacharan Set, who lived at Bara-bazar a hundred years ago, and was reckoned one of the richest and most honest merchants of his time. As an instance of his honesty, it is said, that Rámarájá, prince of Telingáná, would use no Ganges water for his religious services, unless consigned to him under his seal. Once the Set bought a quantity of zinc in the name of his partner, Gauri Sen, which afterwards turned out to contain a large admixture of silver. He attributed the transmutation of the metal to the good fortune of his partner, and, accordingly, made over the whole profit of the bargain to him, unwillingly to share the good fortune of another. Gauri Sen became very rich from this windfall, used to spend large sums of money in liberating prisoners who happened to be confined for debts, and pay fines for such poor people as happened to fight or quarrel for a good cause, and were punished by fines: hence the adage, “লাগে

টাকা দেবে গৌরী সেন.”

Of this Set, it is also said, that once he contracted to buy 10,000 maunds of sugar from a merchant of Burdwan, a *tam-buli*, or pân-dealer by caste, named Gobardhana Rakshit. When the sugar arrived at Kadamtola Ghât, at Bara-bazar, the people of the Set, in order to extort money from the consigner, reported to their master that the goods were not equal to muster. This, in due course, was communicated to the consigner, and he was requested to make a proportionate deduction in the price. The Rakshit, rather than abate in his price, and submit to the stigma of attempting to deal unfairly, ordered the whole cargo to be thrown into the river. When this intention was carried out in part, the Set interposed, and offered to take the remainder, paying for the whole invoice. Gobardhana, not to be out done by the Set in honesty, would only take for what remained at the invoice rate, and the bargain was settled accordingly.

বনমালী সরকারের বাড়ি।

গোবিন্দরাম মিত্রের বাড়ি।

আমির চাঁদের বাড়ি।

হকুরি মল্লের বাড়ি।

Of the four individuals named in the above stanza, all contemporary, of the middle of the last century, Banamali Sircar, the party noted for his fine house, was a *Sudgopa* by caste, and used to serve as a banian to European merchants. The ruins of his house still exist near Bag bazar. His son Radhakrishna Sircar held a high position in Hindu society, and Raja Navakrishna, even in his better days, is said to have paid him court.

Govindaram Mitta was a zemindar, and had held large farms from the Nawabs of Murshidabad.* He was notorious for his devotion to club law, and his *lattie* was an object of universal dread. A temple (the oldest in Calcutta) and a Navaratna on the Chitpur-road still exists.

Hazurimall was a Shikh merchant; he lived at Bara-bazar in a very large house, had a large establishment of clerks, and sixteen sets of singers and musicians to sing the praises of Akál. A lane at Baitakhana is still known by his name.

Dewán Káshinátha was a parvenu. His widowed mother used to serve a Mohammedan fakir named Sháh Júnmah, who lived in a reed bush on the bank of the river near Bara-bazar. On the death of the fakir, Káshináth came to some fortune (it is said) through the blessing of the saint, and subsequently, much improved it by his connection with the Rajá of Káshijorá, to whom he was introduced by Baishnavacharan Set.

The *Faujdarí Balakhana* was formerly the town-house of the Faujdar, or Governor of Hugli; under the Musalmans, he was an important personage, and one of the chief officers in Bengal.

We come next to an ancient quarter of Calcutta, the part occupied by the Armenians, Portuguese, Jews, Greeks. The appearance of the houses tells their own tale, and reminds us of the compact buildings in the garrison towns of the continent.

The *Armenians* are among the oldest residents, and their quarter attracts, by its antique air, contrasted with conspicuous modern buildings in Calcutta. The Armenians, like the Jews, were famous for their mercantile zeal, and in early days, were much employed by the English as *Gomastahs*—they are to be commended for their always having retained the oriental dress—they have never had much social intercourse with the English. They had a church here as early as 1724, the present St. Nazareth; previous to that they had a small chapel in China-bazar, and their burying ground was on the site of the present church, while the East India Company made a regulation that, in whatever part of India the Armenians should amount to forty, the East India Company would build a church for them, and pay the minister's salary for seven years. The Armenians had settled in this quarter as early as the days of Job Charnock.

The *Portuguese* quarter of *Murgi Háta*, or the fowl market, is equally interesting: we have given an account of it in an article in this *Review*, No. X.—“The Portuguese in North of

* He was “the black banian” of the Mayor's Court for twenty-five years, and amassed an immense fortune.

India," we therefore need not repeat what is stated there. As the Portuguese were such ancient and influential inhabitants of Calcutta, we make a few general remarks respecting them.

It presents a singular contrast to present times, when 4,000 natives are receiving an English education in Calcutta, that in the middle of last century, the Portuguese language was a common medium of intercourse. The Portuguese had, for two centuries previously, carried on a flourishing trade, and many of them were employed as topazzas, table servants, and slaves (last century the generality of Europeans in Calcutta kept slave-boys to wait at table). On this subject we extract from a Calcutta paper of 1781 the following advertisement:—

"TO BE SOLD BY PRIVATE SALE:

Two Coffee boys, who play remarkably well on the French horn, about eighteen years of age: belonging to a Portuguese Paddie lately deceased. For particulars, enquire of the Vicar of the Portuguese Church."

Mrs. Kindersley, in her letters, states, that the Dutch at the Cape imported slaves from the East Indies, which were easily procurable, as it was a practice of the Portuguese, in their early navigation in the East, to land on the coast, rob and plunder the defenceless inhabitants, and then carry them away as slaves, which they reconciled to their consciences, by making Christians of them, in giving them a black hat, trousers, coat and stockings, an European name, teaching them to repeat so many *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Marias*. Those natives who apostatised were burnt at Goa. Slaves were regularly purchased and registered in the kácheri, and in 1752, we find each slave paid a duty of four rupees four annas to the East India Company, while at that period the charge for a marriage license was only three rupees. Hamilton, in 1702, speaks of a place twelve leagues above Sagar, "commonly known by the name of "Rogue's river, which had that appellation from some banditti "Portuguese, who betook themselves to prey among the islands "at the mouth of the Ganges, and committed depredations on "those that traded in the river of Hugli." In other points morals were not better, the same writer states: "The Bandel "deals in no sort of commodities but what are in request at the "court of Venus."

The Portuguese came in 1530 into this country, as mercenaries in the service of the King of Gour, and acted as a kind of pretorian guards to the native Rajahs; at that period the chief emporia from the Cape to China, an extent of 12,000 miles of

sea-coast, were in their possession,—and all this in the short space of fifteen years under Albuquerque.

We must allow the Portuguese full credit for a sincere desire to propagate their faith. "Wherever the Portuguese prevailed " or gained a settlement, one of their first points was to stock " the place with missionaries," but, like the French missionaries in North America, they were, in various cases, the panders to ambition, so that the English at Bombay would not allow Portuguese missionaries to settle there, though they permitted French, German or Italian ones.

Hamilton writes in 1708 respecting their language: "Portuguese is the language that most Europeans learn to qualify " themselves for general converse with one another, as well as " with the different inhabitants of India." How fallen now! There are, perhaps, not three Europeans now in Bengal well acquainted with it, and even few of the so-called Portuguese can read it intelligently. The Portuguese language has now fallen through India. In 1823 it was complained of in Calcutta that "the priest preached in high Portuguese, while the people only " understood the language of *ayas*." Few traces of it now are left, except in such words as *caste*, *compound*, *janala*, and a few others. The Portuguese conquests, by the temporal advantages conferred on converts, spread the system, but chiefly among the lower classes, who became their servants and soldiers. The epithet "Rice Christians" applied to Native Christians, was handed down from the Portuguese, who called such persons *Christianos de Arroz*. But what could have been expected from converts, when their teachers were a set of ignorant men, taken out of the class of common sailors and soldiers, who could scarcely read? No wonder that such men professed to show at Goa, the model of a ship which sailed in one night from the Cape of Good Hope to Goa, "the devil holding the helm, and the " Virgin Mary acting as quarter-master." At Goa was every where to be met the image of the Virgin, described as "a " woman gorgeously dressed like a courtesan, with a friz bob-wig, with a crown on it, and a large hoop petticoat reaching " down to her feet, tied round the neck instead of the waist, and " a child in her arms." These priests were famous legacy hunters and thoroughly profligate, as the people were completely subject to their will.

The name Portuguese, in the last century, was a bye-word of reproach, the name Portuguese ayah was synonymous with *femme de plaisir*, while the men who boasted to be countrymen of Albuquerque and the DeCastas, became petty *keranis* or

cooks—what a fall for persons, whose ancestors, as early as 1563, used to send thirty ships annually from Bengal to the Malabar Coast, laden with pepper, sugar, cloth and oil.

With all their faults, the Portuguese, in one point, set an example to the English, they made India their home—the word so current among the English last century of “the exiles,” teyh spurned, they would not have called Calcutta a settlement but a city.

The native part of the town, east of the Chitpur-road, is comparatively modern; though we find the names of Mirzapore and Simla mentioned in 1742, yet, down to the commencement of this century, their site was occupied chiefly by paddy fields, with stagnant tanks sending out their malaria, while at night no native would venture out with any good clothes on him—there was such just dread of robbery and murder. Of Simla, it was stated in 1826, “no native for love or money could be got to go this way after sunset.” The site of Cornwallis Square and of the Circular canal was long noted for the murders committed there. *Sohn Bazar* is a building of last century and reminds us of Nabakissen and the days of Clive.

Near the *Circular-road*, when the Marquis of Wellesley, whose influence gave a great stimulus to the improvement of the roads, came to Calcutta, was “the deep, broad Mahratta ditch,” which was chiefly filled up by depositing the filth of the town in it. “The earth extavated in forming the ditch was so disposed on the inner or townward side, as to form a tolerably “high road, along the margin of which was planted a row of trees, “and this constituted the most frequented and fashionable part “about the town” An old writcr states: “Now (1802) on the Circular-road of Calcutta, the young, the sprightly and the opulent, “during the fragrance of morning, in the chariot of health, enjoy the gales of recreation.” In 1794 there were three houses, in its length of three miles. The ditch was dug in 1742 to protect the English territories, then seven miles in circumference, the inhabitants being terrified at the invasions of those modern Vandals, the Mahrattas, who, the year previous invaded Bengal to demand the *chaut* or fourth part of the revenues; they were fierce invaders, called by Arungzebe “mountain rats;” but it is to be remembered they were Hindus, who claimed, by treaty, a share in the revenues of the country: the Moguls broke their promise, and the Mahrattas had to collect by main force. But the Mahrattas in 1742, were not a whit more atrocious than were the Orangemen and Romanists in Ireland towards each other in 1798. The Mahratta power was a pure Hindu revulsion against

the Musalman, and rose rapidly on the decline of the latter, extending its sway from Surat to the confines of Calcutta, and from Agra to the Kistna, collecting a revenue of seventeen crores, and numbering 300 000 cavalry, all under the guidance of Brahmans. Like the French national guard, they were soldiers and peasants and noted for the keen sword blades they wielded ; they used to say the English swords were only fit for cutting butter. Owing to the defeat of 200,000 Mahrattas at Paniput by 150,000 Musalmans Bengal became for ever free from any apprehensions of invasion. The Mahratta ditch commenced at Chitpur bridge, but was not completed, as the panic subsided. By the treaty of 1757 with Mír Jáfír Ali, the latter agreed to give up to the English " the Mahratta ditch all round Calcutta and " 600 yards all round about the ditch ; the lands to the southward " of Calcutta, as low as Culpi. should be under the Government " of the English Company." The country on the other side of the ditch was, at that time, infested with bands of *dakauts*, but there was a high road which ran alongside the ditch, probably made from the excavation in 1742.

Omichand's garden, now *Halsi bagan*, was the head-quarters of Suraj Daula, and a military post fortified with cannon in 1757. Here, at the durbar, Messrs. Watts and Scrafton saw there was no prospect of making peace with the Nawab, and that the sword was the *ultima ratio*. The garden was so called from Omichand, the Rothschild of his day, a merchant of Patna who possessed great influence over Ali Verdi Khan ; he gained much money by usurious practices with the troops. The names of Omichand and Manikchund occur, who as Hindus, held high appointment under the Musalman dynasty, but Gladwin, in his history gives us the key to this policy. Omichand was the great millionaire of his day, who, by his influence could sway the political movements of the court of Murshidabad. During forty years he was the chief contractor for providing the Company's investments, and realized more than a crore of rupees. He lived in this place with more than regal magnificence, most of the best houses in Calcutta belonged to him, hence merchant-like, he was an enemy to war. Omichand stipulated with the English to obtain thirty lakhs for betraying Suraj Daula, but on finding he was deceived by a fictitious treaty, he lost his reason.

The ground to the east of Omichand's garden was the scene of hard fighting, when, in 1757, the English troops marched in a fog through Suraj Daula's camp, to the east of Halsi began, and marched down the Baitakhana. In the skirmishing which took place, the English lost more men than they did at Plassey.

Baitakhana-street, now the *Bow-bazar*, received its name from the famous old tree that stood here, and formed a *Baitakhana* or resting place for the merchants who traded to Calcutta, and whose caravans rested under its shade. Owing to the dread of the Mahrattas, who plundered in the districts west of the Hugli, the Eastern side, as being protected by the river, was selected for their route of trade from the North-west. Job Charnock is said to have chosen the site of Calcutta for a city, in consequence of the pleasure he found in sitting and smoking under the shade of a large tree. This tree was, probably, the Baitakhana tree: "here the merchants met to depart in "bodies from Calcutta, to protect each other from robbers in the "neighbouring jungle, and here they dispersed when they arrived "at Calcutta with merchandise for the factory." This tree is marked on Upjohn's map of 1794. Baitakhana was called in 1757 the avenue leading to the eastward, the greater part was then surrounded by jungle. A *rath* of Jaggannath, seventy feet high, formerly stood here, and a *thanna* was located under the shade of the big tree.

Opposite Baitakhana, in the south corner of Seald, is the site of the house which formed the Jockey Club and refreshment place of the Calcutta sportsmen, when, in former days, they went tiger and boar hunting in the neighbourhood of Dum-Dum. Let our readers remember that last century there were no pakka buildings in Dum-Dum, the artillery merely went there in the cold weather from the fort. An anecdote is related of an officer named Tiger Duff, noted for his athletic high-land form. Dining, some seventy years ago, at the bungalow mess-room in Dum-Dum, he found his servants retiring quickly from the room, when rising up to see what was the matter, he came in collision with a huge Bengal tiger, who had made his appearance within the compound. He had presence of mind to thrust the brawny arm of his right hand into the tiger's throat, and seized hold of the root of his tongue; the enraged beast twisted and writhed, and lacerated the other hand, but still he held his grip until he had seized a knife, and with his left hand cut his throat, when the animal fell in the agonies of death on the floor.

The house next Baitakhana is occupied by *Mr. Blacquiere*, the oldest resident in Calcutta, now in his ninety-second year, seventy-eight of which have been passed in Calcutta, where he arrived a fortnight after the execution of Nankumar. He has seen the maidan a rice field.

Seald is mentioned in 1757 as a "narrow causeway, raised

"several feet above the level of the country, with a ditch on each side leading from the East." It was the scene of hard fighting in 1757, when there were thirty-nine English and eighteen sipahis killed, eighty-two English, and thirty-five sipahis wounded. The English guns had to be dragged through Sealda, then rice fields. At *Baitakhana* was a Musalman battery commanding the ditch, which inflicted great slaughter on the English.

To the north-west of *Baitakhana* is the *Portuguese burial ground*, the gift of Mr. Joseph Barretto, one of the Portuguese "merchant princes" of Calcutta, who purchased it in 1785 for Rs. 8,000.

The *Baitakhana Church* was founded in 1809, by a Mrs. Shaw.

The *old Madressa*, founded by Warren Hastings in 1781, in the first instance at his own expense, still remains; the collegiate establishment was removed to Wellesley Square in 1824; the buildings have been improved,—but not the Musalmans; now as then, "they despise the sciences and hold trade in contempt."

Of the Calcutta Musalmans of last century little can be said; they were fierce and haughty, and paraded the streets with daggers in their girdles. On the decline of Murshidabad the best families went to the North-West; the commercial influence of Calcutta not being liked by men whose ascendancy lay in the sword. In fact, Bengal was never thoroughly incorporated into their empire, and all their conquests in the South were slow; thus the Carnatic was not entirely reduced under their sway until 1650. They were never very zealous here in propagating their religion, and the case of Jafr Khan, who pulled down all the Hindu temples within four days' journey of Murshidabad, in order to build his own Mausoleum and a mosque with the materials, stands as a solitary case. They were severe collectors of the revenue however. Murshid Kuli Khan used to oblige defaulting zemindars "to wear leather long drawers, filled with live cats—to drink buffalo's milk mixed with salt, till they were brought to death's door by "diarrhoea." With all this cruelty, the Musalmans gave speedy decisions, which were preferable to the tardy, and therefore, almost useless decisions of our existing courts. The *chora* or whip, and *sipaha* or triangle of bamboo, with a rope suspended for tying up the culprit, were formerly common in their *kacharis*; the zemindar presided, and Europeans have been known to send their servants with a chit to the zemindar, politely requesting him to flog them!

Sealda leads to the Circular canal; the *Circular canal* branches

off from the Circular-road ; the north part of it was once the Mahratta ditch, through which a stream ran ; it was begun in 1824 and finished in 1834, at a cost of Rs. 1,443,470, but its increasing trade soon brought in a large profit ; in three years 23,109 boats passed through it.

On its site Suraj Daula's army was encamped in 1757, the part near Chitpur bridge is on the site of the old Mahratta ditch, which formed here a strong defence of Calcutta, against Suraj Daula's army.

Though, for some time, this canal was the cause of unhealthiness, it has contributed very much to the clearing of the country. *Baliaghat*, now the scene of such a busy trade, was seventy years ago called the "Baliaghat passage through the wood." A branch of the canal, a mile long, called the Entally canal, excavated in 1809, serving as a large mud trap, contains 722.065 cubic feet

The *Circular canal* begins at Chitpur, a little beyond is the village of Barnagur, i.e., *Barahanagar*, or the place of boars, once abundant there ; it was formerly a Dutch settlement, and the half-way station between Fulda and Chinsura. Stavorinus writes of it as having a house for the temporary accommodation of such of their servants as land here in going up or down the river.

The *Salt-water Lake* seems, in former days, to have been deeper and wider than now, running probably close to the Circular-road. Holwell states, that in his time, about 1740, the lake overflowed in the rains, an occurrence which seldom takes place of late years. As late as 1791, Tarda was on the borders of the lake, but the lake is now at a considerable distance ; its greatest depth does not exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and it seems to be gradually silting up ; charred and peaty earth, found twenty feet below the surface, indicates that here, as in Dum-Dum, where the remains of an ancient forest, and that it was the resort of wild buffaloes. These marshy lands are not now wholly useless, as they yield to the zemindars, by the fisheries and reeds, a profit of 16,000 rupees annually. It is about three feet lower in level than the banks of the river. Dr. Stewart, in his interesting "Notes on Calcutta," written in 1836, states that : Not more than forty years ago, the salt-lake was much nearer to Calcutta than at present.

On a road leading from the Circular-road to the lake, is the *Chinese burial ground*, on another road the *Parsi's*, and on a third the *Jew's* : the latter teems with Hebrew inscriptions.

The Circular-road might have been justly called the Valley of

Hinnom in former days, as it was lined to the north in various places with burial grounds, which were then "some miles from the town, though now situated in populous neighbourhoods, but "the temple of the divinity was not made a charnel house."*

The *Mission burial ground*, called Kiernander's, was originally made by that eminent missionary, and opened on August 25th, 1767, on the old burial ground near Tank Square being ploughed up and its monuments levelled. Few names of note occur here. Few call up historic associations, as Ghazipur does of Cornwallis, or Tanjore of Swartz, or Goa of St. Xavier. The name of Jones almost stands out alone, *magnum et venerabile nomen*; his monument has been repaired at the expense of the Asiatic Society. The ground yielded large profits, Rs. 500 last century being charged for opening graves for the respectable classes,—days when undertakers fattened on the spoils of death. The small square on the opposite side was opened in 1773 for interring Kiernander's wife, the square to the east was opened in 1796: the monuments chiefly record the names to those "born just to bloom and fade." There is, however, the monument of Colonel Stewart, disfigured by the emblems of Hindu idolatry, which in life he so warmly cherished. Few tombs of the old times occur, though Park-street burial ground is the *Pere Le Chaise* of Calcutta; there are, however, the tombs of General *Clavering*, the great opponent of Hastings, of *W Chambers*, the first person in Bengal who translated any portion of the Bible, and of *Cleveland*, the benefactor of the Rajmahal hill tribes.

Tiretta's burial ground was opened in 1796, taking its name from the same Monsieur Tiretta who established the bazar already spoken of.

The *French burial ground* contains few monuments of any antiquity, though the French seemed at one time in a fair way to have contested for the prize of Bengal with the English,—when Colonel Clive took Chandernagore in 1757, their fort mounted 183 pieces of cannons, many of large calibre, and they had previously a greater number of European troops than the English,—but England was the "Ocean Queen."

* Among the most flourishing trades, that of an *Undertaker*, was the foremost. As late as thirty years ago, an undertaker, about to sail for Europe, demanded 20,000 rupees for the good-will of his business for the months of August and September,—memorable month in old Calcutta, when as late as Hastings' administration, those who survived them used to congratulate each other on having a new lease of life; and at an earlier period, the 15th of November was an equally memorable day, when the survivors met to rejoice in their deliverance from death.

The Muhamadans have five burial grounds along the road ; Narikeldanga, Gobra, Kasia-bagan, Tangra and Karbela.

Respecting the native part of Calcutta, little is to be gleaned. We find in Holwell's account, that in 1752, the names of the following places are mentioned :—Patreah Ghât, Soba-bazar, Bag-bazar, Hatkhola, Simla district, Mirzapore district, Hogul-kurea district, Dombapara, Jaun Nagore, Baniapukur, Tangra, and Dollond.

We have thus taken a glance at the chief points of interest in the different streets,—but the European population change here so rapidly, that the events of the past soon become buried in oblivion, and this was particularly the case before the newspaper press sprang up, which is such a mirror of the events of the day. Few of the streets bear any marks of antiquity, and the English, like the Americans, have had the bad taste to give them European names, instead of euphonious expressions drawn from native associations ; yet there is not a single street which perpetuates the name of the founder of Calcutta, Mr. Charnock. The natives have not been so neglectful, as Barrackpore still retains the soubriquet of Chanak. Of the native ones, some are called after things which were sold on the site of the existing streets ; as Suriparah (wine sold) ; Harikatta (bones for combs) ; Kulutala (oil) ; Chuturparah (carpenters) ; Chunam (lime) ; Molunga (salt) ; Aharitola (curds) ; Kumartola (potters' tank).

The names of old native proprietors are recalled by *Hedaram Banerjee Guli*, *Bihma Banerji Guli* (Bihma was noted for inviting large parties of natives and giving them scanty fare) ; *Jay Narayan Pakrasi Guli*, (Jay Narayan is said to have had a contract for building a part of the fort, having received several lakhs in advance, he fled) ; *Tulsi Ram Ghose Guli* (Tulsi Ram gained much money as a ship banyan.)

Loudon-street recalls the name of the Countess of Loudon, in whose time it was built. *Russel-street* was called after Sir H. Russel, Chief Justice, who built the first house there now occupied as a boarding establishment. *Middleton-street* was so named after its first resident, a civilian ; it was formerly a part of Sir E. Impey's park. *Grant's-lane* in Cossitolla, so called from the late Charles Grant, father of Lord Glenelg, who resided in the first house on the right hand side as you enter from Cossitolla. He came out to India, poor and penniless, but by the force of integrity and religious principle, he rose afterwards to be Chairman of the Court of Directors. What a contrast his original position was—

that of an "interloper" or private trader,—a class to which the Court was so hostile, that in 1682 they sent out orders that none of their servants should *intermarry* with them. *Clive-street*, so called from Lord Clive: he lived where the Oriental Bank is now located.

The Musalmans have given few names to places, those chiefly from *pirs*—such as *Manicktala*, which was called after a Musalman *pir* or saint, named Manik.

The Portuguese have *Baretto-street* (the name of Baretto occurs, as that of a Viceroy in India, in 1558). Joseph Baretto was a Portuguese merchant, who came from Bombay and settled in Calcutta as a merchant, and was a man of the same generous stamp as Palmer.

We close now our notes on the *localities* of Calcutta; an equally wide field is presented in the *people* of Calcutta of last century—their amusements—literary and religious condition—their dress—diet—diseases—manners—institutions—the newspaper press—the prices of articles—trades; but the limits assigned to this *Review*, and the extent of our article, forbid our entering on the subject at present.

THE RISE, PRINCIPLES AND TENDENCIES OF BUDDHISM.

BY REV. E. STURROW.

1. *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists.* By B. H. Hodgson. Serampore, 1841.
2. *Notes on the Religious, Moral and Political State of India before the Mohammedan Invasion.* By Colonel Skyes. London, 1851.
3. *The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian.* Calcutta, 1848.
4. *Christianity in Ceylon* By Sir J. E. Tennent. London, 1850.
5. *Introduction à L'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien.* Par E. Burnouf. Paris, 1844.
6. *A Manual of Buddhism.* By R. S. Hardy. London, 1853.

No form of religion is so widespread as Buddhism. By the best authorities its followers are said to be more than three hundred millions.* It prevails over most of the fertile and populous regions of South-Eastern Asia. It is the prevalent form of religion in Burmah, Siam, An-nam, Japan, Thibet and Loo-choo; in Ceylon, Nepal, Mongolia and the splendid islands of Malaysia, it is widely diffused; whilst with the exception of the aristocratic, political disciples of Confucius, and the rational, philosophical followers of Laou-tsze, the unnumbered millions of China worship Buddha. As the religion of one-third of the human race, as a system exhibiting some singular developments of the religious faculty, and as a form of belief exerting a most mighty influence on the destinies of numerous nations and countless individuals, it merits our thoughtful consideration.

Justice to ourselves, as well as to our readers, requires the statement, that whatever may be written in the present day on Buddhism must lie open to future correction. The esoteric principles of this widespread system are but imperfectly

* Hassel estimates the Buddhists at 315,977,000. Balbi numbers them at only 170,000,000; this is evidently much below the truth, and may be accounted for by his estimating the inhabitants of the Chinese Empire at 150,000,000, whereas the last imperial census gives the numbers as 367,000,000, which Mr. Gutslaff declares to be as "near the truth as can be ascertained." The following estimate was given by Professor Neumann of Munich, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1834, of the number of Buddhists:—

China.....	200,000,000	Indo-China.....	25,000,000
Manchoos and Mongols.....	5,400,000	Ceylon	600,000
Japan and Loo-choo	25,000,000	Nepal	2,000,000
Thibet and Bootan	6,000,000		
Corea.....	5,000,000		
		Total...	269,000,000

This number is too low, because there are several smaller Buddhists' States not enumerated, and the disciples of Fo, in China, are probably much beyond two hundred millions.

known; for although we may easily ascertain what are its popular aspects, it is difficult sometimes to trace out the more philosophical and abstract notions which lie hidden beneath, and amidst the "various and varying" forms of this Protean religion, to define what are its fundamental principles, its substantive truths; just as it is difficult to a stranger, when viewing an Indian army, in which are blended cavalry and infantry, regulars and irregulars, Europeans and Natives, Sheiks, Patans, Gurkas, Rajputs and Hindustanis, to point out what there is which unites them into one mass, distinguishing them from other forces, and at the same time binding them to each other. Many of the original sources, whence correct information might have been obtained respecting the rise and early tenets of this faith, have been destroyed or mutilated. The fierce and terrible struggle between Buddhism and Hinduism which led to the complete expulsion of the former from India, was followed up by the efforts of the latter to destroy every memorial of the existence and the power of its rival. Large and massive temples were either demolished, or divested of every Buddhistic peculiarity, and then devoted to the worship of Jagannath, of Vishnu, or of Shiva; its literature was destroyed, and its history perverted or suppressed; hence it is that Hindu writings are of very doubtful value in all investigations into early Buddhist history; and leaving the land of its nativity, we must search the literature of the various nations amongst whom it took refuge, would we arrive at even a proximate knowledge of its primitive form.

Another source of difficulty arises from the fact, that the Buddhism of one country is very different from the Buddhism of another. Religious error has ever been as flexible as it is frail. Buddhism has been pre-eminently so. Mohammedanism has destroyed the systems with which it has come into conflict, Buddhism has absorbed them into itself. Like the supple climbing parasitic plants of the tropics, which spread themselves over every tree and ruin within their reach, themselves assuming a form from the objects to which they cling, yet leaving the form of that object substantially unchanged, has Buddhism spread itself over numerous nations and islands of the sea; too feeble to destroy, it has overlaid and smothered the Polytheisms it met, and assumed a form which was dictated by the very superstition over which it triumphed. During the twenty-three centuries of its existence, among nations remarkable for their intellectual subtlety, speculativeness; and apathy, it has developed "phases of faith" which differ almost as much from one another as they do from avowedly antago-

nistic creeds. In Nepal it has incorporated within itself much of Hindu mythology ; in Ceylon, it has assumed an atheistic form ; in Thibet, it is theocratic ; in China, " it acknowledges, " gods many and lords many, its principal divinities are goddesses, together with innumerable other feigned deities " presiding over individual, local, and national interests ; " * in Comboja, " it is nothing else but a vast and absurd Pantheism " which covers with its veil a hopeless Atheism."† And from viewing it merely in its local aspects, various writers have been led to give the most conflicting definitions of the leading principles of the faith of Guadama. It has been represented " sometimes " as almost perfect Theism ; sometimes as direct Atheism ; sometimes as having the closest analogy to what in a Greek philosopher, or in a modern philosopher, would be called Pantheism ; " sometimes as the worship of human saints or heroes ; sometimes as altogether symbolical ; sometimes as full of the highest abstract speculation ; sometimes as vulgar idolatry."‡ All these statements are true when made about a *form* of Buddhism, but they are manifestly false as definitions of Buddhism. The investigators into oriental systems of religion need to be aware lest, like the two knights on the *opposite* sides of the statue with the gold and silver shield, they too dogmatically declare that their opinions are true, forgetting that the opinions of others are *equally* so.

Another reason why diffidence is most becoming when writing on this subject, arises from the fact that we are in possession of only a small portion of the existing literature of the system. Turnour and Upham in Ceylon, Hodgson in Nepal, and Colonel Sykes in India, have brought valuable Buddhist documents to notice, whilst Burnouf, Klaproth, Lassen and others in Europe have done much to unfold the system to our view ; but the wisest of them have felt that it was reserved for a future age to solve those mysteries, which they could but imperfectly unravel. Although, as with Hinduism, it is to be feared that on some questions, especially of an historical nature, light can never more be shed, yet there are others from which the darkness of ages shall ultimately pass away.

As an illustration of the correctness of some of the previous remarks, we may allude to the conflicting statements made by different writers respecting the time when Guadama lived and died. A Thibetan author of the sixteenth century mentions no less than fourteen different calculations made to fix the date

* China ; by Professor Kidd.

† *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. vi, p. 605.

‡ Maurice's *Religions of the world*.

of his death. Bohlen gives a list of thirty-five dates of the same event. The time when he flourished, has been fixed at various periods, ranging over more than 1,800 years. Some Thibetan writers state that he died 2,420 years B. C. The Chinese and Japanese tell us that he was born 1,029 years B. C. and died 950 B. C., although other Chinese documents place his birth 688 years B. C., and his death 609 B. C.* The chronology of the Rajatarangini, a Chashmerian history, gives the early part of the sixteenth century B. C. as the period of his death; whilst the Singhalese annals give the year 543 B. C. as the date of his death, when he was about eighty years of age. The last date is probably very nearly correct. Some writers have attempted to reconcile these varying statements by suggesting that there were several Buddhas. Without denying that Buddhism existed in some form before the age of Guadama, we may state that the suggestion of several historical Buddhas is based upon very imperfect evidence.†

Sakya Muni, Sakya Sinha, or Guadama Buddha, the founder of the system which bears his name was born at Kapila, in the kingdom of Magadha, not far from the modern city of Lucknow. He is said to have been the son of a king, and the various accounts of his life sufficiently indicate that he was of superior rank. Like Confucius, whom in many respects he resembled, it is said he spent the earlier period of his life in princely enjoyments; but on arriving at maturity, he broke away, like our Henry the Fifth, from his youthful associations, that he might pass his days in retirement and meditation, or in the sterner duties of religious proselytism. For several years,—somewhat reliable tradition informs us—he lived in the practice of rigid austerity, but afterwards adopted a more genial mode

* That the higher date of the Chinese is to be rejected, and the Singhalese preferred in its stead, may be shewn by the following facts: All writers state that Sakya died in the reign of Ajatasatta. According to the chronology of the Vayu and Matsya Puranas, this king flourished about 243, or according to the Vishnu Purana, about 280 years before Chandragupta. Now the latter was a contemporary of Seleucus Nicator, who reigned from 310 to 305 B. C. If then we add the latter number to the former, we shall arrive at the true era of Prince Sidhanto's death. Again, it is generally acknowledged by those nations that assume the higher date, that the second revision of the sacred writings took place during the reign of Asoka, 330 years after the death of Sakya; but since he flourished about the middle of the third century B. C., the death of Guadama could not have taken place 900 years before our era.

† The question is, Were the mortal Buddhas, who are said to have preceded Sakya Sinha, real personages, or are they myths? Buddhist history begins with Guadama, and all that we know of previous events is said to be the result of his special revelation. There is, however, reason to believe, that even Sakya himself was opposed by a relative of his own on some point relating to the number of Buddhas who had already existed; and from Fa Hian, we learn that, when he was in India, there was a sect who acknowledged the Buddhas anterior to Sakya, but rejected him.

of life, because convinced that the mortification of the flesh was inefficacious to bring blessings to the soul. When first he became a religious teacher, he is said to have been reserved in the declaration of his views, probably because they were abstract rather than practical. Unlike his proselytizing successors, yet apparently like the Rishis and Munis of his own land, he selected such disciples as he supposed capable of comprehending his ideas and of sympathizing with them; but—whether from his growing popularity, his great benevolence, or his altered sentiments, we know not—he soon developed a more popular form of instruction, partly ethical, partly philosophical and partly religious, and proclaimed it himself through a considerable part of Central India. Magadha was the stronghold of his followers, and his own most frequent residence; its kings espoused his cause, and lent their influence to spread a doctrine so favourable to the conservation of their privileges. He is said to have attained to supreme intelligence, or to have become Buddha, before his death, which took place to the north of Patna, in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Nepal.

What may have been the actual character of Sakya Sinha, and how far he was influenced by pure, benevolent and exalted motives it is difficult to define, since we are left but with few facts to aid us in forming a conclusion; and we must resort to a species of induction, which is difficult at any time in relation to human character, and especially so in relation to men who have stood, like Ajax, above the multitude, and who are usually as much unduly depreciated by their enemies as they are exalted by their partizans. There is no reason to believe that the low ambition of founding a sect, the desire of supplanting teachers who had overlooked or despised his claims, or the love of spiritual domination, were the motives under which Guadama acted. We are no hero-worshippers in the Emmersonian sense, nor, on the other hand, are we inclined to anathematize those master minds who have established great religious systems. A profounder investigation, and a less prejudiced judgment, are beginning to show that they were neither the knaves nor the hypocrites they have been represented. Priest-crafts exist, because people like them. Many a founder of a sect has been led on to his dizzy preëminence, much more by the desire of the multitude to have a master and a leader, than from any wish of his own to deceive and mislead. The minds capable of exerting the mightiest influence over others, are generally of a type incapable of the baseness of religious imposture; but we cannot pursue this tempting discussion. By what mental process Sakya Sinha was led on from the pleasures

of a princely youth to the rigid practice of asceticism, and then to undertake the difficult and dangerous labours of a religious reformer, it is difficult to say ; however, we are not wholly without light, albeit our path lies through an Indian jungle, and night, and the rank vegetation of ages, obscures and impedes our course.

There is reason to believe that, like all profound and reflective minds, Guadama was inclined to dwell on the more sombre aspects of human life, and the more perplexing mysteries which are connected with the relations of mankind to the spiritual and the future. It is said that circumstances in his early history threw a dark shadow over his prospects and induced him to seek in solitude relief for his own broken spirit, and a remedy for the ills under which he saw humanity suffering. There seems good reason to believe, that when he laid aside the habits of an ascetic, and became a public teacher and the founder of a party, he was influenced chiefly by a benevolent desire to check the progress of error, and to confer on the people a system which, in its tendencies, should operate to check evil, and cherish that which was virtuous and good. We cannot but attribute to him a profound sympathy with human nature in its vain efforts to attain a higher state of purity and freedom than it had then reached ;—a desire to set men free from the priestly domination which crushed them down to the dust ; and a wish to diffuse principles, which, if not productive of the largest amount of happiness, should at least preserve the multitude from the depths of evil into which they were ever liable to fall ; in short, he seems to have possessed the chief attributes of a wise, benevolent and thoroughly able reformer.

What position he assumed in relation to the popular and dominant faith, and in what respects that position was altered on account of the opposition of his enemies, we are not informed. We feel assured, however, that he commenced his career as a public teacher, not as the opponent of Hinduism, but as its adherent ; probably, as the expounder of some dogmas which had formerly been recognised, but were now forgotten and cast aside, like the trappings of some gorgeous pageant when it has passed away. "It is clear," says Burnouf, "that he appeared as "one of the ascetics who, from the most ancient times, had been "in the habit of traversing India, preaching morality, respected "in society in proportion to the contempt of it which they "affected : it was even by placing himself under the tutelage of "the Brahmins that he entered on the religious life. In fact, "the Lalita Vistara shows him to us, when he left his father's "house, resorting to the most learned Brahmins, in order to

"derive from their school the knowledge of which he was in
"quest. * * * Sakya Muni, or the anchorite of the Sakya
"race, is not distinguished, at first, from other anchorites of
"Brahminical descent ; and the reader will see presently, when
"I collect the proofs of the struggles which he had to sustain
"against the rival ascetics, that the people, astonished at the
"persecutions of which he was the object, sometimes asked his
"opponents what reasons they had for hating him so much,
"seeing he was only a mendicant like themselves."

That Guadama did not begin by assuming a position directly antagonistic to Hinduism, is shewn also by the following considerations : That attachment to what is believed to be religious truth, which leads to a bold, unequivocal, disinterested denunciation of error, and a repudiation of all its sophisms, is essentially a Christian virtue ; nor do we remember a single instance among heathen nations, in which certain tenets have been disinterestedly abandoned only because they were erroneous, and others as boldly adopted only because they were true. On the other hand, numerous instances of mental reservation, an unfair and specious interpretation of the popular faith to square with the opinions of wiser men, or of downright hypocrisy, will present themselves to the readers of classical history. And there has not been a Hindu sage, from the days of Vyasa to those of Chaitanya, who has not acted more or less on the policy of Kapila, the founder of the Sankya philosophical school, who seems to have admitted the existence and liberation of the soul *as terms* into his atheistical system, as Epicurus admitted the gods into his, simply that the prejudices of polytheists might not be shocked by a direct denial of a tenet acknowledged by the received religion.

A question here arises, which has relation, both to the character of Guadama, and the early history of the system which bears his name. Which is the more ancient system, Buddhism or Brahminism ? We shall not be expected to go fully into this controversy, although it is worthy of lengthened remark ; at the same time we cannot fairly pass it by. It is alleged by those in favour of the priority of Buddhism, that many of the dates assigned for the age of Buddha are far back in antiquity beyond the period we have fixed for the apotheosis of Guadama—that the system bears marks of extreme simplicity and antiquity—that there were Buddhas before Sakya Buddha. We are confident, that *as a system of religion*, Brahminism is much older than Buddhism ; but we see no reason to conclude that Buddhist opinion did not exist before the age of Sakya Muni. There is reason to believe, that some of the

tenets of his system were held by ascetics—perhaps even taught as distinctive matters of faith, long before his age. They might be—they probably were—a part of that surging, crude, shadowy mass of notions which have always been floating about in the Asiatic mental atmosphere, waiting for some Zoroaster, Mohammed, Hermes, or Vyasa, to give them “a habitation and a name.” It may be possible, therefore, to show that isolated tenets of the Buddhist system existed long anterior to the age of Guadama; but it was he who founded and systematized the religion. And, as no entire system, which has ever taken hold of the minds of nations, neither the religions of the ancient nations of Europe, nor Hinduism, nor Mohammedanism, have emanated as original productions from one mind, but men of genius, selecting that which was true or fitting in current opinion, and amalgamating it with new forms of thought, have created faiths more suitable to the age which gave them birth;—it was thus with Buddhism. Ideas which Sakya saw were in danger of being overlaid and forgotten—and ideas which he conceived were essential to give compactness and strength to his system, were mingled that they might form a faith able to satisfy the cravings of humanity, and capable of offering resistance to antagonistic creeds.

If, then the Buddhist religion originated with Sakya Muni in the fifth century B. C.—and this we aver—it is, of course, posterior to Brahminism. But we must offer further proof of this. Buddhist history can be traced up with great distinctness to the age of Sakya Muni, but no further; whilst Hindu history can be traced up to an antiquity to which authentic Buddhist history lays no claim. The Vedas were compiled by Vyasa about the fourteenth century B. C., but no date for the rise of Buddhism, earlier than the twelfth century B. C., merits the least notice. The Buddhists of almost every country speak of India as the original seat whence their faith was derived, and such a concession is surely of great weight, if not decisive. The religious literature of these nations constantly recognises Hinduism as existing in the time of Guadama, and as offering the greatest opposition to the spread of his opinions. To cite but one witness, Burnouf, in his *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, gives a long list of Hindu deities, and says—“All these deities are those of the people amidst whom Sakya, with his devotees, lived,” and after quoting several proofs that the disciples of Sakya recognised Indra, Brahma, Janardana, and other gods, but as inferior to Buddha, he says—

These testimonies mark exactly the relation of the popular gods of India to the founder of Buddhism. It is evident that he found their wor-

ship already existing, and that he did not invent it. * * * I am thoroughly convinced, that if Sakya had not found around him a pantheon peopled with the gods I have named, he would have had no need to invent, in order to ensure to his mission the authority which the people might refuse to a man. Sakya does not come, like the Brahminical incarnations of Vishnu, to show the people an eternal and infinite God descending on earth and preserving, in his mortal condition, the irresistible power of the deity. He is the son of a king, who becomes a religious devotee, and who has nothing to recommend him to the people but the superiority of his virtue and his knowledge.

Elphinstone argues on the same side "from the improbability that the Buddhist system could ever have been an original one." He says—

A man as yet unacquainted with religious feeling would imbibe the first notions of a God from the perception of powers superior to his own. Even if the idea of a quiescent divinity could enter his mind, he would have no motive to adore, but would rather endeavour to propitiate the sun, on which he depended for warmth, or the heavens, which terrified him with their thunders. Still less would he commence by the worship of saints; for sanctity is only conformity to religious opinions already established; and a religion must have obtained a strong hold on a people before they would be disposed to deify their fellows for a strict adherence to its injunctions, especially if they neither supposed them to govern the world, nor to mediate with its ruler.

The Hindu religion presents a more natural course. It rose from the worship of the powers of Nature to Theism, and then declined into Scepticism with the learned, and man-worship with the vulgar.

The doctrines of the Sankya school of philosophers seem reflected in the Atheism of the Biddha, while the hero worship of the common Hindus, and their extravagant veneration for religious ascetics, are much akin to the deification of saints among the Buddhas. We are led, therefore, to suppose the Brahmin faith to have originated in early times, and that of Buddha to have branched off from it at a period when its orthodox tenets had reached their highest perfection, if not shown a tendency to decline.

Perhaps one of the strongest proofs in favour of the position we are maintaining, is the statement of all Buddhist authorities, that all the seven Manushi Buddhas were of *Brahmin and Kshetria descent*.*

Buddhism had gained a firm footing, and numbered its thousands of disciples, when Guadama died. Kassapo was then chosen to be the leader of the party or the sect. What were his peculiar functions, we are not told; they could not have been those of a sovereign pontiff, for the system was too popular in its form, and too hostile in spirit against an established hierarchy, to admit of such an office. Probably he was regarded as the most worthy to preside over its communities, and to

* Hardy makes the same statement respecting the *twenty-four* mortal Buddhas who preceded Guadama. It may be necessary to state, that writers differ as to the numbers of mortals who have become Buddhas.

guard the conservation of its principles. His influence and ability were, however, immediately needed, for during the first year after Sakya's death, it was necessary to call a council at Rajagaha, the capital of Magadha. The doctrines of Buddhism were then defined by the most eminent followers of the system. To the *Sutto-Pittaka*, ascribed to Guadama himself, they added two supplementary parts. These compose the most valued Buddhist writings, for the council is supposed to have been divinely inspired, that they might transmit the system, pure and authoritative, to future ages.*

About a century after the death of Guadama, a second council was held, in the year 443 B. C., at Wesali, in Magadha, to suppress some heretical opinions which were held. After the degradation of the heretical, the orthodox, in order to check the recurrence of schismatic opinion, revised the existing sacred writings, and lent them the weight of their authority and influence.

Another, and a yet more important council, was held about 220 years B. C., at Pataliputra, in the reign of Asoka, who used his great influence to spread Buddhism in India. It seems to have met, not only to check a perverted form of the religion, but also to suppress the hostility of a party, who had taken alarm at the rapid spread of Sakya's opinions. On this, as on the former occasions, the most eminent Buddhists revised the formulas of their faith, and, not improbably, modified them to meet the wants of an enquiring and a refined age.†

Buddhism had all along displayed a strong proselytizing tendency. Beneath the force of that tendency, Hinduism had been obliged to give way, repulsed, if not defeated; and not only in Magadha, but among numerous Hindu kingdoms, the faith of Sakya pressed on with all the prestige of a youthful, vigorous, and successful assailant. This tendency was intensified and developed by the third council. It set in operation one of the most remarkable proselytizing efforts the world has ever seen. Missionaries were despatched not only into various parts of India, but to Gandhara, the upper part of the Punjab, to Cashmere, to Thibet, the various regions to the north and west of the Himalayas, and to Ceylon.

* The Buddhist age of inspiration is said to have continued for four hundred years. During this period a large mass of reputed sacred writings were given, called by the Singhalese the "*Pittakattaya*," or the three *Putakas*, called the *Wineyo*, *Abhidhammo*, and *Sutto-Pittako*. Besides these, Buddhism recognises an immense mass of sacred literature.

† See Turnour's *Introduction to the Mahawanso*. He fixes the date of a third council in 309 B. C.

What led to this extraordinary movement, so unlike what might have been expected from any Indian system, is a matter of dispute. Landresse and others would lead us to suppose that it was rather the result of flight from persecution than of spontaneous zeal. There is, however, good reason to believe, that until several centuries afterwards, no persecution, at least of an organized nature, disturbed the Buddhist community. There was undoubtedly no dubious blending of the proselytizing and martial spirit in this movement; not only has the genius of the system been preëminently peaceful, but widely as it has spread, in no instance has it employed force. Even political intrigue has had less to do with its diffusion than with the diffusion of Brahminism, Mohammedanism, and even Christianity itself. Whether it was the result of rivalry, leading the followers of Guadama to aim at a geographical and numerical superiority over their Brahmin adversaries—or, whether it was that love for proselytizing which stimulates the religionists of every creed, save the caste-bound Hindu—or, whether it was the promptings of an elevated and benevolent sentiment—or, whether it was the result of one of those capricious, sudden, mysterious movements, which occasionally impel the people of Asia to wake up from the lethargic sleep of ages, like the forces of nature when the earthquake heaves, and to perform deeds of daring and of energy which are foreign to their ordinary nature, we profess not to decide. Account, however, as we may for this remarkable outbreak of religious energy, remarkable, chiefly, for its disinterestedness and peacefulness, it stands recorded as a fact on the page of history, although its causes are hidden amidst the shadows of a dim and distant antiquity. As with modern Christian missions, the efforts to diffuse abroad the principles of the faith were attended by corresponding efforts to spread it throughout the land of its birth. These efforts were attended with signal success. Mr. James Prinsep has attempted to show, from the testimony of coins and inscriptions, that in the age of Alexander of Macedon, India was under the rule of Buddhist kings. Colonel Sykes speaks still more positively—
 “ With respect to the general prevalence of Buddhism in India,
 “ from the seventh century B. C., to the seventh century A.D.,
 “ the personal testimony of Fa Hian, that when he was in India
 “ there was not a single prince eastward of the Jumna who was
 “ not of the Buddhist faith, and that it had continued UNINTER-
 “ RUPTED from the time of Sakya Muni, would seem to render
 “ further testimony unnecessary, up to the beginning of the fifth

"century A. D."* These views, we think, require modification. They give a somewhat too wide and too early sway to Buddhism. It does not follow that because it was dominant, when Fa Hian was in India, about the year 412 of our era, that therefore it was equally dominant, or equally prevalent, nine centuries earlier. Analogy, as well as facts, would lead us to a different conclusion. The testimony of Fa Hian is certainly explicit :—"As to Hindustan itself, from the time of leaving "the deserts (of Jeyselmir and Bikanir and the river (Jumna) "to the West, all the kings of the different kingdoms of "India are firmly attached to the law of Buddha, and "when they do honor to the ecclesiastics, they take off their "diadems." We are quite willing to believe the worthy Chinese, in relation to what he actually saw, though he does tell us his own eyes beheld a veritable *shadow* of Buddha kept as a relic by the priests ! But like Rubruquis, Marco Polo, and other old travellers from the West, he is evidently not a very reliable authority when he writes ancient history, or tells us of things about which he had only heard. There can, however, be no doubt, that Buddhism was very popular in the reign of Asoka. It was the religion of the monarch, his kingdom was very extensive, and all the vast power he wielded was employed to protect and propagate this vigorous faith ; nor can there be any reasonable doubt that it was either dominant, or extensively diffused, not only in the North-West of India, but also in Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Guzerat and Southern India. The vast and remarkable antiquarian remains found at Ellora, Carli, at Amravati in Behar, Rajputana, the Mysore and on the Malabar Coast, would sufficiently prove this, were other proofs wanting. The precise date we shall not presume to fix, but it was somewhere between the second century B. C. and the sixth century of our era.

How was it that the faith of Buddha thus rose up by the side of Hinduism so rapidly, and attained a vigour so great as to endanger the existence of its great rival ? The reasons must be sought both in the new and in the ancient superstition, for no great moral revolution has ever occurred where the causes lay entirely either with the party which triumphed or the party which suffered defeat. We see good reasons for supposing, that about the time when Sakya Sinha lived, was, what the Germans would call, the age of the development of Hinduism. It had emerged from the Pantheism of the Veda into a form of Polytheism, different indeed from the hideous conglom-

* *Notes on the Religious, Moral and Political State of India before the Mohammedan Invasion ;* by Colonel Sykes.

meration of the present day, yet equally false and almost as pernicious. Along with this development, innovations had taken place as repulsive to the sensibilities of a virtuous man, as they were chafing to a philosopher and offensive to a patriot. Priestly power and pride had grown up, like the gigantic tithcoco around the nunagách, and had left the body-politic, a leafless, sapless, lifeless thing, which yet remained only that it might sustain the hateful parasite which had brought it to decay. The growth of an idolatry, characterised equally by physical grossness and unphilosophical peculiarities—by an hereditary priesthood—by the vilest superstition, and the consequent depreciation of the regal dignity: the exclusion from sacred service of many who coveted its honors and its immunities, and the tendency to crush anything in the shape of political freedom and popular advancement, might well excite a large amount of dissatisfaction and hostility. Prince Sidhanto was well fitted to lead a popular movement. Of royal lineage, benevolent, profound, bold, prudent, and enthusiastic, he could easily gain the confidence of his disciples, and retain that confidence because of the plausibility and comprehensiveness of his views. The retention in his system of many essential tenets of Hinduism preserved him for a time from open hostility, and not improbably from death himself. As before stated, he began by being a reformer of Hinduism; although probably, like Mohammed, Luther, Wesley, and others, he was forced, by circumstances he could not control, farther, and still farther, from his original position, like a vessel exposed to strong winds and currents when her anchorage is bad. It is, however, both vain and unnecessary to attempt to trace either the history of his own mental development, or the growth of the system which bears his name. Of two things, however, we may be sure. Its various dogmas were adopted, either with a view to the conservation and consistency of the system; or, that it might present a formidable front in all cases of aggression. At present we have to consider the causes why it so rapidly spread, in spite of the powerful system to which it was opposed.

*It was favorable to the exaltation of princes and of kings.** In this respect it was politically opposed to Brahminism. The latter system tolerates kings, it does not exalt them. Though monarchical in theory, it is oligarchical in fact; and oligarchical in the worst form: that of a hereditary priesthood. The Brahmins rule through the king: The terrible and deci-

* See "Memoir on the History of Buddhism," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. i.

sive struggle, which, there is reason to believe, once took place between the Kshetrias and the Brahmins, sufficiently indicates that the Hindu mind has not passively submitted to this absorption of power on the part of the priesthood. And the genius of Buddhism was a revolt against the same odious despotism. It declared that no third party should come between the people and the prince. It left the latter free.* No wonder, then, that "all the kings of the different kingdoms of India were firmly attached to the law of Buddha!" It was to them what the appeal of the monarchs of Europe, during the middle ages, was to the free towns and people of their realms—an effort to become free from a powerful band of nobles, by calling into existence a new power.

Another feature favorable to the progress of Buddhism was its *repudiation of caste*. It must have taken ages to enable one-half of a nation to make the other half believe that they were in every respect inferior. It was a doctrine too monstrous to be broached at once—that one class were born slaves for the special behoof of another, and could never, by any possibility, be anything else. Even the Hindu mind, yielding as it is, has shewn a disposition more than once to throw off this galling bondage; and never had it so nearly succeeded, as when Prince Sidhanto proclaimed that all men were alike and equally free. No wonder that, like the gathering cry of many a patriot leader, it drew around him the more thoughtful, the more bold, and the more injured of the kingdoms of Northern India!

The intense individuality and self-consciousness created by Buddhism, was favorable to its diffusion. It freed men not only from the thralldom of caste and the evils of priestly domination, but it quickened the individual energies by its opposition to a deadening Pantheism. Each Buddhist was thrown back upon himself, and must have felt that he was not so much a helpless unit of a system, as a *person* possessed of capabilities of the very highest order.

* The following passages from the Code of Manu will show how much the king was under the control of the Brahmins:—"To one learned Brahmin, distinguished among them all, let the king impart his momentous counsel." (Chap. vii, 58.) "A king, desirous of inspecting judicial proceedings, must enter his Court of Justice, composed and sedate in his demeanour, together with Brahmins and councillors who know how to give advice." (Chap. viii, 1.) "But when he cannot inspect such affairs in person, let him appoint for the inspection of them a Brahmin of eminent learning. Let that Chief Judge, accompanied by three assessors, fully consider all causes brought before the king." (Chap. viii, 9-10.) Let the king, "having risen at early dawn, respectfully attend to Brahmins, and by their decision, let him abide," &c. (Chap. vii, 37.)

Buddhism, then, was intended to be popular, and it was so. Powerful monarchs delighted to honor a faith which so fully recognised their supremacy. Magnificent temples illustrated the wealth and influence of its votaries. A new era in literature and history was the effect of its diffusion, and the vast multitude of its adherents proved how thoroughly it was welcomed by the people. It was not, however, to be expected, that its prosperity would be allowed to flow uninterruptedly on. It was too flexible, too latitudinarian, and too successful, to commit overt acts of persecution : but its powerful rival could not be expected to look passively on, whilst its temples were being deserted and its tenets impugned. By what gradations Buddhism drew off more, and still more, from Hinduism, and by what events the two were brought into collision, we know not ; this only do we know, there was a long, a relentless, and an exterminating struggle ; but the guilty, unscrupulous, jealous priesthood of India have taken good care that few remains should exist to witness against them ; like a murderer, who, after a deadly struggle with his victim, carefully removes every trace of the strife, that no proof may be found to discover his guilt and reproach him with his crime.

The first record of this persecution is in the *Kumarika Chanda*, which says, that in the year 3291 of the Kaliyug, or 196 A. D., the King Sudraca destroyed the workers of iniquity.* This, however, could have been but a partial outbreak of religious hostility, for Fa Hian speaks as though Buddhism were reposing in prosperous tranquility at the very commencement of the fifth century. There seems good reason for concluding, that not long afterward, the final struggle commenced. Kumarila Bhatta is said by Mahdeva, a commentator on the Vedas, who wrote about 1300 A. D., to have been the chief leader in this persecution, for it was at his instigation that King Sidhanma issued the terrible decree which breathed nothing less than extermination to the Buddhists :—" Let those who slay not be slain, the old men among the Buddhists and the babe, from the bridge of Ram to the snowy mountains." Kumarila accomplished his purpose, not only by means of the civil power, but by presenting Brahminism in a form at once plausible and formidable. The recognition of the Vedas, as the basis of all

* The following passages from the *Bhagavat Gita*, in the prophetic style, give the Hindu idea of the causes of the Buddhist schism :—" Then, at the commencement of the Kaliyug, will Vishnu become incarnate in Kakita, under the name of Buddha, the son of Siuha, for the purpose of deluding the enemies of the gods."—" Praise be to the pure Buddha, the deluder of the Daitiyas and Danawas."—" By his words, as Buddha Vishnu deludes the heretics."

religious truth, enabled him to give an appearance of system and definiteness to Hinduism, such as, for at least some time, it had not possessed; whilst his professed intention of seeking out the meaning of the sacred writings, gave him the opportunity of offering such a signification as he pleased to these dubious statements which best suited his designs. He certainly missed no opportunity of controverting Buddhist doctrine, and of denouncing its adherents.*

The existence of severe persecution about this period is strikingly confirmed by the records of several nations now professing Buddhism. Driven from India, the followers of Guadama sought refuge in lands where their faith had already been planted, or carried it with them to nations who were willing to give them shelter. At the end of the fifth century, the hierarch of the Buddhists left India, and sought in China an asylum where he might preside in peace; and shortly after, at the beginning of the following century, Dharma, the son of an Indian monarch, said to have been descended from Prince Sidhanto himself, entered China, and by his zeal and influence did much to consolidate the Buddhist faith.† From China it seems to have spread to Japan, Tonquin, Cochin-China, and the remote islands of the Eastern seas. About 530 it was introduced into Corea. Toward the end of the century, a large number of priests and idols arrived in Japan from India. Buddhism was introduced into Java during the sixth and seventh centuries, when multitudes of Hindu emigrants arrived there, and in the various islands of the Indian Archipelago.‡ Like a strong adversary, however, whose means of defence are not speedily exhausted, and who, though driven from one strong position, yet retains the power to turn back to another, and bravely renews the conflict there, Buddhism, no longer caressed by kings and honoured by millions of their subjects, yet lingered in several parts of India. Al Edressi mentions it as professed in Guzerat in the twelfth century. About the same time, a Buddhist dynasty reigned in Bengal, whilst in the Decan it lingered until the ninth, or perhaps three hundred years later. And now, throughout the whole of Peninsular India, not a single Buddhist remains! Not only has its existence ceased, but the very memorials of that existence are almost

*The Cerala Utpatti, written about A. D. 800, chiefly relating to Malabar, states that Kumarila visited the country, and succeeded in entirely expelling the Buddhists. Other accounts affirm his earnest zeal to suppress Buddhism.

† The *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii, p. 260.

‡ Raffle's *History of Java*.

lost, and we, who seek to construct its strange history from the broken fragments that are left us, are like travellers amidst the mysterious ruins of the cities of Central America: we tread with uncertain steps, surrounded by the ruins of a people, whose place of glory has been utterly overthrown, and whose only memorials in the land over which they once proudly reigned, are the wrecks of their former greatness, to which even a strange people lay claim.

But what are the PRINCIPLES of this system, which thus rose up side by side with Hinduism, until, too formidable to be tolerated, it was cast out from the place of its birth, like Ishmael from the tents of Abraham, and found a habitation among nations which comprise one-third of the population of the world? Religious error is always difficult to define. Chameleon-like, it varies with the change of circumstances. It is controlled, not by principle, but by expediency, and therefore its faithful delineator oftentimes has to record paradoxes and contradictions which it is vain to attempt to combine in one homogenous system. We believe it is in the writings of Archbishop Whately, that we have met with the remark, that before the introduction of Christianity, excepting among the Jews, no people had ever thought it was absolutely necessary that the dogmas of a religion should be believed on the simple ground that they were true. Had this obvious principle been acted on, how much of the ancient forms of Polytheism would never have been dreamt of, or if dreamt of, rejected at once and for ever. Man, however, is no ardent lover of pure religious truth, and is, therefore, easily led into error. "The people imagine a vain thing," and are too ignorant, or too indolent, or too superstitious, not to believe their own lie. The priest winks at the delusion, for religion is not with him a thing that is true, but a thing which is profitable. The philosopher cares not to correct the error, as long as it cherishes a false tranquillity. And thus every false system has been liable to endless mutations, which, whilst indicating the weakness and ignorance of man, as really show that he feels his need of something more divine than he has yet attained. The classical scholar need not be reminded of the difference existing between the Polytheism of the ages of Romulus, of Augustus, and of Julian; nor of its diverse aspects as viewed by the peasant, the politician, and the priest. Still more various have been the forms of that indescribable thing called Hinduism. Nor is this surprising! A religion which comes not to man with the lofty demands of divine right, requiring absolute and unconditional submission to its claims, because founded on truth; instead of moulding man's na-

ture, according to its own abstract form and spirit, will itself be modified and changed in obedience to the capricious will of its adherents. Buddhism illustrates these remarks. The principles taught by Sakya, twenty-three centuries ago in North-eastern India, have been singularly developed during their chequered history of conflict, defeat and triumph. The most debasing polytheism, the most subtle philosophy, positive atheism, servile hero-worship, and the grossest pantheism, have become indented with Buddhism in the various States where it is paramount. Nevertheless, there are certain ideas which lie at its basis, whatever form it may have assumed; and to these, rather than to the discrepancies and minutiae of the system, we shall now address ourselves.

Adi-Buddha is the supreme self-existent god. He is infinite, eternal, without members or passions, dwelling in unbroken peace and boundless happiness. The relation of Adi-Buddha to the universe, it is not so easy to define, for whilst some say, "he delights in making happy every sentient being," he tenderly loves those who serve him:—his majesty fills all "with reverence and awe. He is the assuager of pain and grief;"—there are others who tell us that he dwells altogether apart from mundane affairs, and has never awoke from the profound repose in which he ever exists, but to perform one single act of creative power.

It is one of the peculiarities of Buddhism and Brahminism, that, whilst acknowledging a Supreme Being, they practically ignore his existence, by recognising others as the creators of the universe, the objects of worship, and the awarders of man's destiny. Brahma has not a temple in India. He is too abstract—perhaps too great, to be worshipped by those who delight in contemplating the more palpable qualities of Ram, Krishna, and Shiva. Adi-Buddha is equally a sublime, impalpable, undefined creation of the oriental mind, imagined rather than conceived of; the apex of a grand religious theory, but too abstract a conception of the human intellect in its most subtle development to be either devoutly feared or deeply loved. Some philosophical systems, indeed, divest him of all sentient qualities, and attribute to the material universe those active endowments and forces which develop the varied phenomena which we see around us.* Even those who

* Though popular Buddhism is certainly theistic, there can be no doubt that its philosophy—as for instance, the Swabhavika system described by Hodgson—is mostly atheistic and pantheistic. The denial of immateriality; the assertion that matter is the sole substance; the attribution to matter of the qualities of activity, intelligence, and organization, can only tend to one conclusion. Yet the pantheistic philosopher, who believes that matter thinks, possesses merit, resolves to develop

believe him to be the self-existent one, take very different views of the relation subsisting between him and the creation, although the orthodox generally agree in regarding him as the primal cause of existence to all things. Sambhu, or the self-existent, was before all, and alone; he conceived the desire—Prajñā—of creating; that desire at once led to the thing desired.* This creation, however, was not ultimate, but the first step of a series, which was to result in the gift of existence to inferior intelligences. The desire of Adi-Buddha brought into existence five Dhyani-Buddhas, or divine intelligences. So inherent is the conception of listless repose to the oriental idea of divinity and happiness, that even the Dhyani-Buddhas must delegate the task of creation to others. Each one, therefore, produced by means of his divine energy, another being called his son, or Buddhīsatwa. According to one theory the Buddhīsatwas were the actual creators of the universe, each one being the framer of a certain number of worlds; but the more popular view is, that four of these took no active part in the production of nature, being absorbed in the worship and the contemplation of the Supreme: and that the work of creation was accomplished by the fifth, named Padma-Pāni. But here again a difference of opinion prevails, for it is alleged by some that Padma-Pāni was only the creator of the creators, having called into existence Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, to whom he delegated the task of creating, preserving, and destroying the universe.

It does not fall in with our design, neither does it accord with our inclination, to enter fully on the subject of Buddhist cosmogony. Our readers certainly would not thank us for our pains in endeavouring to enlighten them on a subject so confused, elaborate and worthless; to those who have a taste for such knowledge, we recommend the first chapter of Mr. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*. The creation is

itself in all these forms of beauty and of harmony, which our world displays, may speak of Adi-Buddha—supreme intelligence—as easily as the most devout of Bonzes, but they do not mean the same thing.

* A different theory is taught by some. Buddha—intelligence, operated upon Dharma—matter, which led to the production of Sangha—the actual creative power which develops all phenomena of the existent universe. This triad, of Intelligence, Matter, and an Influence produced by the former upon the latter, or according to some, by the latter upon the former, has no resemblance to the Hindu triad. It is a much more profound conception; and whilst it is more philosophical, it is at the same time more dangerous; for in the case of Buddha—by which term is often meant in such a connexion, the abstract idea of intelligence conjoined with matter—being regarded as the first of the triad, its tendency is pantheistic, whilst when Dharma is held to be supreme, atheism is likely to be the Charybdis upon which the refined speculator is wrecked.

composed of a great variety of worlds or mansions. The highest, called Agnishtha-Bhuvana, is the abode of Adi-Buddha. Next to this are ten (some say thirteen,) Bud-dhisatwa-Bhuvanas, into which, according to their merits, the followers of Buddha are admitted when they die. Ranking next to these are eighteen mansions, called collectively Rupyavachara. These belong to Brahma, and his devout worshippers are eventually received into them.*

Below these are six mansions, called Kama-Vachara, subject to Vishnu, and prepared to receive his followers. Next to these are the three mansions called Arupya-Vachara, over which Mahadeva presides. After these are the Bhuvanas or mansions of Indra, Yama, Surya, Chandra, the stars, the planets, Agni, Vayu, and the earth, the physical features of which are much the same as those described in the Hindu Puranas. Below the earth are the infernal regions, called Patalas; six of these are the abodes of various supernatural beings, chiefly of a malignant nature; whilst the seventh is divided into eight parts, in which punishment is inflicted according to the demerits of the condemned.† These punishments extend through periods of incalculable duration, and are of every variety. Dante even might have gathered from them conceptions of horror and of agony, which would have deepened the gloom of his *Inferno*. Four of the great hells are intensely cold, and four intensely hot: and some of the victims will alternately endure the agonies of both. To be torn to pieces with red hot irons, ground to atoms between fiery mountains, transfixed on iron spikes, to be cut and torn by the swords and spears of demons, and woes yet more unendurable, are reserved for the guilty. These punishments, as might be expected, are not always inflicted on the principles of rigid justice; sometimes actions of the most dissimilar kind are punished in the same degree, and frequently an offence of a very trifling nature is visited with tortures of the severest kind, whilst deeds of moral delinquency are passed slightly by.

The following extract illustrates this, as well as other observations we have made:—

“The infernal days and years differ from those on earth, for every day in the great hells is equal to a thousand terrestrial years; whilst in some of the small hells it equals 600 years, in others 700, and in others 800. 1st.

* It will be remarked how extensively the mythology of India has infused itself into Buddhism. It is simply our business to state such anomalies as Brahma and his worshippers having supernatural abodes amidst the heavens of Buddhism, not to explain them.

† Hodgson's *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*. A very minute and extensive description of the heavens and hells of Burmese Buddhism will be found in the sixth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. On this subject there is considerable uniformity in the descriptions of native authorities.

Those who are irascible, or cruel, quarrellous, or drunken, who are dishonest in deed, word or thought, or who are lascivious, will, after death, in the great hell, Seinzi, be torn to pieces with glowing hot irons, and then exposed to the cold; after a time their limbs will again unite, and again will they be torn asunder, and exposed to the cold; and this alternation of misery will endure for 500 infernal years. *2ndly*.—Those who, either by action or speech ridicule their proper parents or magistrates, or Rahans, or the old men, or the studious of the law; those who, with nets or snares, entrap fish or other animals; all those will be punished in the great hell, Chalafo, for 1,000 infernal years: on a bed of fire they will be extended, and like so many trunks of trees with burning iron saws and hooks, they will be cut into eight or ten pieces. *3rdly*.—Those who kill oxen, swine, goats or other such animals, and who are by profession hunters; warlike kings, ministers and governors, who oppress the people; all such will, in the great hell, Singate, be ground between four burning mountains for 2,000 years. *4thly*.—Those who do not mutually assist their neighbours, and who, on the contrary, deceive and vex them; those who kill animals by immersing them in boiling oil or water; those who are drunkards, or who commit indecent and forbidden actions; those who dishonour others; all such will have their bowels consumed by fire entering their mouth. This punishment will last for 4,000 infernal years." (*"On the Religion and Literature of the Burmans," Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi, p. 219.)

The punishments of the guilty, though long, are not eternal; there is hope even for him who suffers for a period far beyond our powers of calculation. He may, by the commission of new guilt, extend the period of his doom, or sink into a place of suffering yet more terrible; or by submission, penitence, and the cultivation of a devout nature, he may rise to worlds of suffering less and less abhorrent; nay, he may not only purge away the stains of his pollution, but ultimately acquire an amount of merit which will entitle him to all the bliss of Nirvana itself.

Like Hinduism, Buddhism teaches the successive destruction, formation, and existence of the world through periods of immense duration. Fire, water and wind are the material causes of these changes; but the Burmese say that there are three evils: luxury, anger and ignorance, which induce the operation of these three agencies.

"There are three modes of destruction," says Mr. Hardy: "The sakwalas—the space to which the light of a sun, or moon extends, is a sakwala—are destroyed seven times by fire, and the eighth time by water. Every sixty-fourth destruction is by wind.

When the destruction is by the agency of fire, from the period at which the fire begins to burn to the time when the destruction is complete, and the fire entirely burnt out, there are twenty antah-kalpas.*

* To convey an idea of the immense duration of these periods, the following illustration is used:—"Eighty antah-kalpas make a maha-kalpa. There is a species of cloth, "fabricated at Benares, of cotton, that is unequalled in the delicacy of its fibre."

From the period at which the fire ceases to burn, to the falling of the great rain by which the future world is to be formed, there are twenty antah-kalpas.

From the first falling of the seminal rain to the formation of the sun, moon, rocks, oceans, &c., there are twenty antah-kalpas.

After the lapse of twenty kalpas more, a great rain begins to fall.

Thus, there are four great cycles of mundane revolution : 1. Of destruction. 2. Of the continuance of destruction. 3. Of formation. 4. Of the continuance of formation. These asenkya-kalpas make a maha-kalpa.*

Besides the beings we have named, there is a large intermediate class between the *dii majores* and mankind. Like the fanciful creations of other peoples, they are very varied in their attributes ; some of them preside over particular words, and possess amazing power ; others of them are fallen beings who yet retain some of their original brightness ; some are the attendants of the Buddhas, and not a few resemble the elves and fairies of the western world ; generally, however, they are much akin to the asuras, ghandarvas, and giants of Hinduism.

We now come to the distinguishing peculiarity of Buddhism—the finite nature of man may develop itself into the infinite nature of God. Besides the divine Buddhas we have mentioned, who form but a part of the speculative theory of the system, there is another class, the mortal Buddhas, who occupy a much more prominent and important position. Their number is variously stated, although only seven are particularly named ; and of these Sakya was the last.† This state is only to be attained after the practice of rigid virtue, extreme self-denial, and profound meditation for innumerable ages. Sakya Sinha, before he was born as Prince Sidhanto, had been a Buddhisat, or candidate for the supreme Buddhaship, through many a transmigra-

Its worth, previous to being used, is unspeakable ; after it has been used, it is worth 30,000 nila-karshas (of the value of twenty or thirty small silver coins) ; and even when old, it is worth 12,000 karshas. Were a man to take a piece of cloth of this most delicate texture, and therewith to touch, in the slightest possible manner, once in a hundred years, a solid rock, free from earth, sixteen miles high, and as many broad, the time would come when it would be worn down, by this imperceptible trituration, to the size of a mung or undu-seed. This period would be immense in its duration, but it has been declared by Buddha, that it would not be equal to a maha-kalpa."—Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 1.

* Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 5.

† These have reached their high dignity during the successive yugs of the existing world, another has to appear before the end of the Kaliyug. In previous worlds, numerous beings became Buddha.

tion ; and the legends of the superstition are full of stories of the various events which occurred, not only during the eighty-three times he was an ascetic, and the fifty-eight times he was a king, but whilst he was a thief, a pig, a devil-dancer, and a frog ! It must, however, be remembered, that many of these states of existence were not essential to the attainment of supreme beatitude, but assumed as the necessary result of demerit ; for even the Buddhisats are not free, either from guilt or its penal consequences.

The following passage will give an idea of the various steps by which alone the supreme state can be attained :—

" For the space of twenty asankya-kap-lakshas, that is to say, from the time that the Manopranidhana, or resolution to become a Buddha, was first exercised, the thirty Paramitas by Gutama Buddhisat. (1). He gave in alms, or as charity, his eyes, head, flesh, blood, children, wife and substance, whether personal or otherwise, as in the Kadirangara birth. In this way he fulfilled the three kinds of dana, *viz.*, dana-paramita, dana upa-paramita, and dana-paramarthu-paramita. (2). In the Bhusidatta birth, and in others of a similar description, he practised the sila paramita, or observance of the precepts, in the three degrees (3). In the Chulla Suttasama, and other similar births, he abandoned vast treasures of gold and silver, and numberless slaves, cattle, buffaloes, and other sources of wealth, and thus fulfilled the naskrama-paramita, which requires retirement from the world. (4). In the Sattubhatta, and other births, he revealed to others that which he saw with his divine eyes, and thus fulfilled the paraguya paramita, or the virtue proceeding from wisdom. (5). In the Maha-Janaka, and other births, he performed things exceedingly difficult to be done, thus fulfilling the mirya-paramita, or the virtue proceeding from determined courage. (6). In the Kshan-tiwada, and other births, he endured with an equal mind the opposition of unjust men regarding it, as if it were the prattle of a beloved child, thus observing the Kshanti paramita, or virtue proceeding from forbearance. (7). In the Maha-suttasama, and other births, he spoke the words of truth, thus exercising the satta-paramita, or virtue proceeding from truth. (8). In the Terva, and other births, he set his mind to that which is excellent, in the most resolute manner, never giving way to evil in the least possible degree ; thus fulfilling the adhishtana paramita, or virtue proceeding from unalterable resolution. (9). In the Nigrodhani-ga, and other births, he gave away that which he enjoyed, to aid the necessities of others, and took upon himself the sorrows of others ; thus observing the maitri-paramita, or the virtue proceeding from kindness and affection. (10). In the Sara, and other births, he regarded with an equal mind those who exercised upon him the most severe cruelties, and those who assisted him and were kind ; thus fulfilling the upaksha-paramita, or virtue proceeding from equanimity."*

Negative, rather than positive, results are the reward of the being who raises himself to the condition of a Buddha. By means of his mighty efforts, he attains to a state in which desire, anger, ignorance, and every imperfection becomes extinguished. The sorrows of life, and—what is far more

* Pujawalinga-Sadharmanaratnakare, cited in Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 101.

pleasing to the oriental imagination—its agitation and restlessness are passed ; an immortality of peaceful repose is the loved inheritance of the thrice-honoured and happy Buddha ; and his intelligence is enlarged almost to the extent of a boundless knowledge.

Guadama was the last who reached this state of coveted dignity. Though practically the supreme head of the system, it is nevertheless difficult to define the relation he sustains to our world. It is true, that he is represented as the paramount lord of the earth and man ; it is true that he fills a space in the Buddhist mind, which neither his six predecessors, nor the Buddhisatwas, nor the Dhyani-Buddhas, nor even Adi-Buddha himself occupies ; but whether they have delegated their power and their prerogatives to him ; or whether, on the ancient Hindu theory of sacrifices and austerities being sufficient to secure a power not only superior to the gods, but over them, he has become lord of the ascendant ; or whether an irreversible destiny, to which both himself and even beings more divine must bow, has fixed him on his elevated throne ; or whether his Buddhahood is a position of honour rather than of power, we find it difficult to decide ; in fact, traces of all these ideas are to be found in the crude mass of Buddhist opinion.

The bliss to which every Buddhist is encouraged to aspire, seems closely related to that attained by Buddha. Two points of difference, however, at once present themselves :—the latter maintains an individual existence, the existence of the former is merged in that of another ; the state of the latter is one of influence, that of the former is one of inactivity and passiveness. The belief in this peculiar form of final beatitude is based on the idea, that the soul is not a distinct individual existence, but a part of the essence of Adi-Buddha, allied to the material creation by misfortune and error, and only awaiting the period when it shall have expiated its guilt, to become free from the thralldom of humanity, and allied again to the supreme essence from which, in sorrow, it has been separated. To become free, therefore, from all the mutations and lapses necessarily contingent on an imperfect and sinful state of being ; to vanquish those sympathies and associations which ally the soul to earth, and prevent its rising upward, is the highest aim of every devotee. and the hope of every follower of Guadama. The primary elements of Nirvana are, deliverance from the perils and the sorrows of transmigration, and absorption into the divine essence. But the precise nature of this coveted state of existence—or non-existence, it is difficult to ascertain. "In its ordinary "acceptation it means 'extinct,' as a fire that has gone out.

"Its etymology is from *va*, to blow as wind, with the preposition *nir*, used in a negative sense. It means calm and unruffled. The notion which attaches to the word is that of perfect apathy. Other terms distinguish different gradations of pleasure, joy, and delight. But a heaven of *imperturbable apathy* is the ultimate bliss to which the Indians aspire; and in this the Jains, as well as the Buddhists, concur with the orthodox Vedantists."*

"The nature of Nirvana, or cessation of being," says one well able to give an opinion, "is obvious from this; it is not the destruction of an existent being, but the cessation of his existence. It is not an absorption into a superior being, as the Brahmins teach; it is a retreat into a place of eternal repose, free from further transmigration; it is not a violent destruction of being, but a complete and final cessation of existence."† Most Buddhists, however, do not attach the latter idea to Nirvana. The following definition by a Burmese chief priest gives the more popular interpretation of the term:—"When a person is no longer subject to any of the following miseries, namely, to weight, old age, disease, and death, then he is said to have attained Nirvana. No thing, no place, can give us an adequate idea of Nirvana; we can only say that to be free from the four above-mentioned miseries and to obtain salvation, is Nirvana. In the same manner, as when any person labouring under a severe disease, recovers by the assistance of medicine, we say he has obtained health; but if any person wishes to know the manner or cause of his thus obtaining health, it can be answered that to be restored to health, signifies no more than to be recovered from disease. In the same manner only can we speak of Nirvana, and after this manner, Gaudama taught."‡

The extinction of existence can never become a popular belief, much less can it become the object of strong desire and devout hope. From the dark unfathomable abyss of annihilation, the spirit turns abhorrently away. But the Buddhist does *not* turn away from Nirvana; on the contrary, he anticipates it as a delightful repose from all the ills of life, and as the happy recompense of meritorious effort. It is a prize worth struggling for, not a gulf to be shunned. Annihilation, therefore, though a correct definition of the word Nirvana, is not of the *thing* itself. But separate existence is lost; yet that loss is not the cessation of enjoyment. In what way the individuality of the soul can cease by being merged into the higher life

* Colebrooke's *Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus*, sec. v, chap. v.

† *Notes on Buddhism*, in the Appendix to Lee's *Translation of Rihyo's Ceylon*, by the Rev. D. G. Gogerly, p. 264.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, London Edition, vol. vi, p. 266.

of the Supreme, and yet its perfection and bliss be enlarged, is one of these fine imaginings which can delight and satisfy the highly speculative mind ; but how many minds there must be which find no firm footing on such a refinement, and are forced downward into the abyss of a dark cold Atheism ! Perfect and unassailable repose, then, is undoubtedly the chief element in the conception of Nirvana ; yet not such repose as may be illustrated by the calm peace of the soul, when the truth is known and loved after many a weary effort to find it ; rather it may be compared to the effects of some strong opiate, when, in a state of profound apathy, the mind, incapable of vigorous thinking, indulges in vague day-dreams and fitful imaginings, which cost it not an effort.

The attainment of Nirvana is, deliverance from the eddying vortex of transmigration. That, like most oriental opinions, has both a popular and a philosophical aspect. It is the general notion, that the same soul passes through an indefinite number of births, the nature of which depends on the moral qualities of the one immediately preceding. Another view differs somewhat from this. The state in which any soul may be at present, it is said, is not necessarily the result of what happened in the state just before it, but it may be the consequence of some actions performed in a state long since passed.* Speculative Buddhism is much more refined than even this. "The general mass of the Buddhists of Ceylon," says Mr. Gogerly, "are not orthodox in their view of transmigration, as they believe that the same soul migrates into different bodies. But this is contrary to the teaching of Buddha, and of this the learned priests are fully aware ; but they do not attempt to correct the error, regarding the subject as too difficult to be understood by the unlearned. His—Buddha's—doctrine is that of a series of existences, which he illustrates by the metaphors of a tree and a lamp. A tree produces fruit, from which fruit another tree is produced, and so the series continues. The last tree is not the identical tree with the first, but it is a result, so that if the first tree had not been, the last tree could not have existed. Man is the tree, his conduct is the fruit. The vivifying energy of the fruit is *desire*. While this continues, the series will proceed : the good or evil actions per-

* The Cambojans have an opinion somewhat different from this. When the soul quits the body, they say, that it departs into heaven or hell according to its earthly qualities ; after it has enjoyed an amount of happiness equivalent to its merit, or suffered the just punishment of its guilt, it will return to inhabit a new body on the earth. This body will depend upon the state of the soul in its previous earthly condition, so that innumerable ages of happiness or misery may intervene between one transmigration and another.

"formed, give the quality of the fruit, so that the existence
"springing from these actions will be happy or miserable, as the
"quality of the fruit affects the tree produced from it. Accord-
"ing to this doctrine, the present body and soul of man never
"had a previous existence, but a previously existent being, un-
"der the influence of desire, performed virtuous or vicious actions,
"and in consequence of this, upon the death of that individual,
"a new body and soul is produced. The metaphor of the lamp
"is similar. One lamp is lighted from another, the two lamps
"are distinct, but the one could not have been lighted, had not
"the other existed."* It is unnecessary to point out the injustice
of this theory, or the irresponsible position in which it leaves
every individual.

Vague and mysterious as Nirvana may be, the means by
which it is attained are more definitely made known, nor are
those means without such qualities as the mind complacently
contemplates after the dreamy abstractions and useless specula-
tions we have been considering. The heart, as well as the
eye, is gratified with the verdant beauty of the oasis after weary
travel over the barren dreary desert. Voluntary poverty, chas-
tity, knowledge, energy, patience, humility, and self-sacrifice for
the good of others, were characteristics of primitive Buddhism.
These characteristics still exist in the five commandments and
ten sins of its moral code. From the meanest insect up to
man, thou shalt kill no creature whatever. Thou shalt not steal.
Thou shalt not commit either fornication or adultery. Thou
shalt tell nothing false. Thou shalt drink neither wine nor
anything that will intoxicate; nor eat opium, nor any inebriat-
ing drug. These are its positive prohibitions. Its ten sins
are cognates of these—to kill animals, to steal, to commit
adultery, to lie, to quarrel, to use harsh and indignant language,
to indulge in idle talk, to covet the property of another, to envy
the prosperity of others, to rejoice in their misfortunes, and to
worship false gods. Besides these, various precepts are inculcated.
Covetousness, scepticism, gambling, idleness, improper company,
frequenting places of amusement, are forbidden; kindness on the
part of parents, obedience on the part of children, are commanded;
honour and deference must be paid by the pupil to the teacher;
the husband must act so as to promote to the highest degree the
happiness of his wife;† the master is to be kind and forbearing to
the meanest of his servants; friendship must be characterised by

* Lee's *Translation of Ribeyre's Ceylon*, p. 246.

† The following extract from a Singhalese work affords a pleasing view of the social tendencies of Buddhism, and contrasts favourably with the sentiments of Hindu and Moslem moralist, on the same subject:—"There are five ways in which the husband

the utmost generosity, candour and confidence. These precepts are enforced in every variety of manner :—" As the jipa-nese is the chief among flowers, and as the rice called rat-hal " is the chief among all descriptions of grain, so is he who is free " from evil desire, the chief among the wise." They who abstain from these sins, and practise these virtues, will increase in virtue, until at length purified, elevated, and enlightened, they are worthy of looking on the face of a Buddha, " of hearing his voice ;" and, at length fitted for Nirvana, they shall never feel the miseries of life again, but young and immortal, exist for ever in the untroubled calm of the highest heaven.

The superiority of this morality to that of Mahomedanism and Hinduism, is very manifest. There is an elevation, completeness, and purity characterising it, which is nowhere surpassed in the East. Even if contrasted with the ethics of the Zendavesta, it will not suffer. None will deny that the Koran gives utterance to sentiments of great purity and righteousness, and that even Hinduism is not without its pure aphorisms, though they are few and feeble in their influence, as are the stars in a dark and stormy sky ; nevertheless, the morality of the former—if, indeed, it should be honoured by that name,—is cold, stern, and incomplete ; whilst to speak at all of the morality of the latter, seems to be but burlesque. But we can speak of the ethical *system* of Buddhism. Its uniform utterances on the subject are gentle, benevolent and pure. But it is destitute of life and warmth. It is mild, cold and fair like the moon. It lacks both spirit and power. Our observations in succeeding pages will show, to a great extent, how its moral tendencies are neutralised ; but it is proper here to remark, that man needs something besides correct moral precepts to check his passionate tendency to irreligion and to vice, nor does Buddhism supply the want. It is destitute of nearly all those qualities which lead to obedience. It does not work powerfully either on the love, the fear, the hope, or the gratitude of the heart. "Its cold philosophy and thin abstractions," prevent the exercise of a strong and active faith. Neither the intellect nor the heart is at all likely to find in it anything

"ought to assist the wife:—1. He must speak to her pleasantly, and say to her, 'Mother, I will present you with garments, perfumes, and ornaments.' 2. He must speak to her respectfully, not using low words, such as he would use to a servant or slave. 3. He must not leave the woman whom he possesses by giving to her clothes, ornament, &c., and go to the woman who is kept by another. 4. If she does not receive a proper allowance of food, she will become angry ; therefore she must be properly provided for, that this may be prevented. 5. He must give her ornaments, and other similar articles according to his ability." (*Singalovada Sutra-Saume*.) *Hardy's Manual of Buddhism*, p. 480.)

which can powerfully affect the sympathies of the one, or the convictions of the other. "In confiding all to the mere strength of the human intellect, and the enthusiastic self-reliance and determination of the human heart, it makes no provision for defence against those powerful temptations before which ordinary resolution must give way; and it affords no consoling support under those overwhelming afflictions by which the spirit is prostrated and subdued, when unaided by the influence of a purer faith, and unsustained by its confidence in a divine power. From the contemplations of the Buddhist, all the awful and unending realities of a future life are withdrawn—his hopes and his fears are at once mean and circumscribed; the rewards held in prospect by his creed are insufficient to incite him to virtue; and its punishments too remote to deter him from vice. Thus, insufficient for time, and rejecting eternity, the utmost triumph of his religion is to live without fear and to die without hope."*

The philosophy of Buddhism is to us, at present, forbidden ground. To treat it as briefly, as were consistent with literary justice, would occupy more pages than we have already done. Our readers, therefore, we doubt not, will complacently acquiesce in our silence. Suffice it then to say, that the grand and solemn mysteries, which have ever engaged the attention of the most thoughtful and devout intellects, seem to have pressed heavily on the mind of Guadama himself. He attempted to spell out the meaning of the dark oracle, whose voice we all hear, but cannot understand. His religion vainly essays to popularise many of these mysteries, and its genius is well fitted to stimulate speculators, like the fallen ones of Pandemonium—

——— to reason high
Of providence, fore-knowledge, will, and fate;
Fix'd fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute;
And find no end, in wandering mazes lost.
Of good and evil much they argued then,
Of happiness and final misery,
Passion, and apathy and glory and shame;
Vain wisdom all and false philosophy.

It is, indeed, astonishing that so much should have been written on professedly philosophical questions, and written, too, with such acuteness and labour, yet be so worthless and perplexing. The complaints of Remusat over the prolixity, obscurity and uselessness of Mongol Buddhist philosophy, may be taken up in relation to that of Nepal, Ceylon, Tibet and Burmah as well. From causes which we cannot now stop to explain, it has

* Christianity in Ceylon, by Sir J. E. Tennent, p. 227.

taken a thoroughly negative direction. Even the abstractions it professes to establish cannot lead to any positive or beneficial result. Its tendency to deal with questions of pure opinion, where certainty cannot be attained, and if attained, would be worthless, induces a habit of scepticism and indifference which is fatal to all devoutness of heart and earnestness of purpose. Its necessary course is to nihilism in philosophy and disbelief in religion.

We now come to the TENDENCIES of this system. One of the most striking of these is its *exaltation of human nature*.

It recognizes no just and philosophical distinction between the human and divine. That which Hodgson distinguishes as one of the most diagnostic tenets of the Swabhavika school of philosophy, is rather one of the most singular characteristics of Buddhism generally—"man is capable of enlarging his faculties to infinity." All souls, it is believed, both by those who hold the principles of materialism and immaterialism, are portions of the divine essence; separated, it may be, for a season from their great source, but destined ultimately to be absorbed into it again; unless, like the mortal Buddhas, the divinity within assumes a more individual manifestation. Now this idea cannot but invest every man, in the view of the devout disciple of Guadama, with a peculiar form of sanctity and dignity. We are not now, be it remembered, giving our opinion of human nature, else we might put its claims to dignity on very different grounds from those we have mentioned; but as expounders of a faith far different from our own, we state, that he who believes that any man, however vile, may ultimately become absorbed into the essence of the Infinite One, nay, that he *is* a part of that Infinite One; and beyond this even, who believes that the spirit which will become the next or eighth Buddha, is now, it may be, inhabiting his own frame, cannot be indifferent to all the claims which humanity has on our reverence; hence the scrupulous regard inculcated by the system for every form of life: and hence the following tendencies:

If, between the divine and human nature, there be but a difference of degree, then that nature, even under its lowest form, should be *revered*. Such a dogma, it is true, degrades our conceptions of God, just in the proportion that it invests man with a dignity which is not his own. But when did a people, without the light of revealed truth, manifest any jealousy lest the peculiar prerogatives of the Supreme One should be questioned or denied? To some minds, which admitted this postulate, Atheism would be inevitable; to others, Pantheism; to others Lamaism; but in all cases, the essential distinction between

God and man would be lost, whilst the latter would receive a reverence which was as dangerous as it was false ; for who can know, the speculatist might suggest, how far any mind may have advanced toward the divine nature ! If Guadama, in passing through five hundred and fifty states of existence, was a dog at Benares, a cuckoo and a fish in Oude, and things yet viler still, who can tell the destiny of the spirit which now abides in some poor wretch who performs the meanest offices in our house ? May not even the soul destined to become the eighth Buddha, now inhabit the frame which lies before us stricken with disease and sorrow !

If all souls are emanations from the soul of the universe, and equally capable of restoration to their great original, then Brahminical *caste is both untrue and unjust.*

For, what is caste but the belief in an essential difference of nature between the Brahman and the Shudra ? No conceivable changes can enable the latter to become the former. That which has proceeded from Bramha's foot can never be that which came from Bramha's mouth. The Shudra can never cease to be the servant of his proud and sacred master. This is not a humiliation to be eradicated by penance, by prayer, or by pilgrimage. But if the soul, in its upward and onward progress, sees no impassable limit to its development,—if it is so akin to the supreme intelligence, that it may rise through all the intervening stages, until it enters Nirvana, then the only allowable distinction between man and man is, that which arises from merit and demerit, from difference of position on the pathway which leads from alliance with the earthly to alliance with the divine ; or rather, we might say, from the imperfect to the perfect development of our nature. The genius of Buddhism, therefore, has ever been antagonistic to caste.

Neither could the receivers of this first postulate of Buddhism acknowledge the claims of an *hereditary priesthood.*

For such claims must be founded on the assumption that the class thus honoured are the peculiar favourites of heaven, as with the Brahmins ; or, that existing priests alone have the power of making others priests, as with the Romanists. A denial of *caste* the assertion of the principle that all men are naturally equal involved in it, therefore, a repudiation of Brahminical usurpation : for, not to speak of the probability—a probability supported by facts—that popular reaction would now and then lead to resistance of Brahminical tyranny and exclusiveness, it was not possible to admit the first principles of Sakya, without denying the right and the necessity of priestly

Interference. For, was not every *true worshipper a priest*? He who himself anticipated becoming divine, surely needed not another to aid him in approaching that intelligence which, though infinite, was yet but the higher manifestation of himself! To such an one the services of the priest would be an obtrusion and an interruption. The tenets of no religion, save Mahomedanism, offer so limited a field for sacerdotal influence. It recognises no atonement in any form. Since one of its principal features is intense self-righteousness, it necessarily scorns the interference of mediators, both divine and human; and for the same reason, since it dispenses with the doctrine of sacrifices, it also needs not the services of a priest to lay the victim on the altar, and to pronounce the acceptance of the offerer before God. Its vaunted spirituality and intellectualism cannot but lead the worshipper to withdraw into himself, that within his own being he may find the means to break through the obstacles which separate him from God, nor could he wish for a third party to aid him in that which must be purely an effort of his own intellect and heart. The sacrifice of the priest would give place to intense meditation on that which himself was to be. In the monastery, the solemn silent forest, far away from the interruptions of human society, he could best be the priest of his own soul, and, alone with the Great Being whom he worshipped, and in part resembled, attain to yet nearer oneness with Him. Hence the monastic tendency of Buddhism.*

Whilst acknowledging a *Supreme Intelligence*, it denies his interference with the *affairs of the universe*.

It is like the Epicurean philosophy, in affecting to elevate the Deity far above the care of interfering in the affairs of the countless worlds which lie at the footstool of his throne; but that philosophy fixes the abode of its supreme intelligence in some bright and blessed region of the universe, where conscious pleasure, almost approaching to sensual delight, flows toward him from the various objects of beauty and of joy which are around him

—As thick as dew drops

On the fields of heaven;

and in this they are unlike. Adi-Buddha is imagined by the

* Its ministers are "an *order of devotees*," rather than a "*caste of priests*." Since their ordination is neither hereditary nor perpetual, they have but few temptations from a *priesthood* to become a *priestcraft*. The ministers of no religion have so little influence as they; and this arises not so much from anything in the hierarchical system, as from the positive genius of the religion itself. The priestly robe, therefore, is assumed, not because it opens up the path to wealth and honour, but because it affords an opportunity to gratify a devout and religious tone of mind.

people, who call him god, yet never worship him, as dwelling mysteriously in boundless space and endless time, absorbed in a felicity so profound, spiritual and impalpable that it is altogether independent of volition, neither is the slumber of his profound repose ever broken even by a dream. Whence, then, came the universe? By what power were its palaces and empires built up? What influence is that we see at work wherever we may cast our eyes and direct our thoughts; marshalling the stars of heaven into such glittering forms of grandeur and of harmony; covering the earth with endless manifestations of life; and conducting all things, from the mighty worlds of the universe, to the spiritualized æther which dwells in flowers and lowly plants, through all the stupendous revolutions of renovation, sustentation, decay, and destruction which stern destiny dooms them to undergo? By the power of Adi-Buddha, once exerted to set in motion the machinery of the universe, say some. By *Swabhava*, says the Swabhavika school of philosophy in Nepal, a plastic power springing from god, yet acting without any co-operation of will or design on his part, by which the universe perpetually revolves between *Pravritti* and *Nirvritti*, or creation and annihilation. By *Kusalakusala*—merit, including its privative demerit—say others, which, as an effect existing before a cause, produced through a moral quality all the phenomena of the material universe.* By *Podma-Pani*, say others, who derived his existence from the Dhyani-Buddhas who derived their being from Adi-Buddha, and who, after the creations of three Buddhisatwas, have been successively created and destroyed, called forth by means of Dhyani—divine efficacy—the existing system of creation, which in its turn, will pass away and be replaced by the creation of Visu-Pani, the next of the Buddhisatwas.

It is obvious that the followers of a system, which admits of such conflicting opinions on the question of creation, must be wanting in reverence and attachment to the Creator, whatever name he may bear; indeed, it is clear, that the tendency of such diverse speculations must be toward practical Atheism. Mr.

* This mode of reasoning, however opposed to the principles of Western philosophy, is not confined to Buddhism. In the Sankhya Karika, a Hindu work of some repute, it is written—"Effects subsist antecedently to the operation of causes, for what exists not, can by no operation of cause be brought into existence." It is equally foreign to European reasoning to regard personal merit as a power sufficient to produce physical results. Hinduism, however, as well as Buddhism, presents endless illustrations of this idea. To the Jogi and the Muni are attributed miraculous endowments and a power superior to the gods, won by the boundless efficacy of contemplation and maceration; nay, even spheres of existence, and abodes as glorious as those in Boikanta, have been created by the power of merit for its happy and favoured possessors.

Hodgson says, that "the epithet Dhyani, as applied to a class of Buddhas, is obviously capable of an atheistic interpretation;" and that this interpretation is attached to the idea of Dhyani-Buddhas and to Adi-Buddha as well, may be shown in various ways. Buddha is without qualities, since his proper and original state is one of quiescence. He is not to be conceived of as doing any thing. "Rest is not so much his attribute as his essence." Human language can only describe him by negative terms. Now if the Buddhist sage ask himself—"What is this I attempt to conceive of? It has no qualities and no positive attributes. It is a pure abstraction. It exists not, save in a state of profound unconsciousness. It has not revealed itself to us by any works of grandeur or of goodness. It is known only by name and by the conception of the mind and it is altogether incomprehensible. Can it then be anything—his reasoning may suggest—any thing but the dreamy conception of the imagination? Is it a thing, or a being, or only an idea?" Here then is Scepticism; and with a system so wanting in the dogmatic and the proven, scepticism will usually result in positive unbelief. To ordinary minds, the result is likely to be substantially the same. Even were there no difficulty in conceiving of an abstraction like Adi-Buddha, the ordinary tendency of our race to render homage to the *presens divus* would lead the multitude to forsake the shrine of the Supreme, that they might render homage to the Buddhas, whom they believe to be the more immediate rulers of the earth's destiny, and especially to Guadama Buddha, who is now lord of the ascendant. For if creation—the government of the world—the emanation of law—the execution of judicial sentence on mankind, be attributed to others, and not to the Great God, then must these others come to be regarded as the proper objects of worship; or, agitated by conflicting claims, the mind will sink into a state of indifference with regard to the attributes and claims of any super-human power whatever. For what is Adi-Buddha to the poor Singhalese, pressed down by the weight of earthly want and sorrow? Adi Buddha did not make him, he does not care for his distresses, and he is, perhaps, unconscious even of his existence. Adi-Buddha does not hear his prayer, nor regard his worship. Adi-Budha has not given him a law by which he may guide his life and shape his destiny; nay, even if he should ever become a part of Adi-Buddha, it will be purely an accomplishment of his own. Adi-Buddha can be to him but little more than a name. In fact, all beings above Guadama,—Buddhisatwas, Dayani-Buddhas, even Adi-Buddha himself, though of importance in speculative Buddhism, are

practically excluded from any share in popular religious worship. The State of China illustrates our remarks. Dr. Medhurst writes :—" No first cause characterizes all the sects, and the "supreme self-existent God is scarcely traceable through the "entire range of their metaphysics ; and yet the Chinese manage to combine the apparently irreconcilable principles of "Atheism and Polytheism. Gods many and lords many are adopted by every sect, and it is more easy to find a god than a man "in China. Though they account no divinity to be eternal, yet "they discover a god in every thing. Their temples, houses, "streets, roads, hills, rivers, carriages, and ships, are full of "idols. Every room, niche, corner, door, and window, is plastered with charms, amulets, and emblems of idolatry. So that "while they acknowledge no god, they are overrun with gods, "and find it their greatest burthen to support and worship their "numerous pantheon."*

Whilst teaching the doctrine of *fate* or *necessity*, it cherishes a feeling of *enthusiastic self-reliance*.

The difference between mental, moral, and material laws and operations is not recognized by Buddhism. It assumes that there is a principle at once mental, moral, and material, which equally operates in the production of the elements, the formation of worlds, and the development of organized life. Our world and all other spheres pass through the great Kalpas of duration, subject to a law of inevitable reconstruction, progress, and decay. Nor is this law the result of the directing control of the Supreme, but an indestructible, inherent property of matter. But the mind and the moral tendencies are equally subject to its control ; for there is a productive power in matter, which, when developed into being, constitutes the merit of that being, or, in other words, that quality of matter which is called productive power, when viewed in relation to being, is called merit. This productive power or merit, from the time it is developed in conscious life, is ever undergoing a series of refining changes, whilst passing along its course of endless transmigrations ; so that that which is *now*, is not absolutely that which *was*, but a refinement of it. The progress of being thus originated, seems to be traced in the following manner by Guadama to its final destiny :—" *absence of knowledge*. The want of power "to comprehend the sorrows of developed life, permits the free "action of material power, which, in realized existence, we call "merit or demerit ; thus a consciousness is produced ; *this necessitates a bodily frame ; that develops organization ; that neces-*

* *China, its State and Prospects*, by the Rev. Dr. Medhurst, p. 319.

"sitates again organic action and impulse ; *these* sensibility of "pain or pleasure ; *that* desire of enjoyment ; *that* attachment "to beloved objects, and *this* leads to various states of existence." All forms of animation, therefore, are regarded by the philosophy of Buddhism as the result of a common principle, and passing onward through different stages to a common goal. The identity of all life, therefore, whether of insect, man, or God, necessarily follows from the doctrines of the system. The Buddhist ascetic, therefore, who cherishes a tender love and reverence for all living things, manifests but an appropriate consistency.

The great design of Sakya's system was not to teach cosmogony, nor philosophy, but how to obtain final deliverance from the sorrows and imperfections of our present state. In developing the means by which this great end may be consummated, it was necessary to refer to various other matters ; but they are all the accidents of a great idea—an all-absorbing thought ; just as Homer's description of the sword, the shield, the ca-que, and the greaves of his warriors, though no parts of their personal qualities, are yet given to enable his readers to form an adequate conception of them. Wisdom and virtue constitute *kusalakusala*—merit,—and by its possession alone can the vicissitudes of being come to an end, and the peace and perfection of Nirvana be secured. Nor does personal merit tend merely toward a state of mental and moral exaltation and power : it is equally efficacious in conferring supremacy over material agencies. A highly advanced class of persons, therefore, are said to be endowed with a miraculous energy, which can overcome multitudes of physical obstacles, even invest its possessors with vast physical strength, and enable them to accomplish deeds far beyond the ordinary powers of our nature. It is thus that the passivity of Buddhism is neutralised, and its leading principle established, that "the last refuge of mankind is man." He must tread alone and unaided the interminable pathway of being, and though destiny forces him on his course, it is himself only who can make that pathway to lead directly to untroubled rest, or tortuous as the labyrinth in which Theseus wandered dangerously. He is the framer of his own destiny. The god whom he acknowledges, cherishes no loving interest in his well-being, nor will come forth at the voice of his piteous cry to succour and to save. His creed recognizes neither forgiveness nor atonement. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," will be exacted with relentless severity. If he offends, there is no escape from the inevitable penalty of transgression, and in vain will he cast his eyes around, searching for one to bear his heavy

load of guilt; the prison-house he must enter, and there is no escape "till he has paid the very last mite." No kindly influences from superior beings will visit him in the hour of weakness and of darkness, like the pleasant dews which the heavens drop on the earth; for, from the fountain of his own being, not from that of another, must he draw the water which will renew and invigorate his powers, or the poison which maddens him to despair. Even Guadama Buddha is to him only an example of what human nature is capable of achieving. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Buddhist mind falls back upon itself and seeks in its own native powers, the strength and the wisdom which are to fit it for its solitary walk through the mysterious pathways of transmigration—pathways dark, dismal, and dangerous as the valley of the shadow of death, through which poor Christian tremblingly went—or he sinks into a state of hapless apathy and fatalism.

The *popular and latitudinarian* characteristics of this system cannot fail to strike the careful observer.

It was originally the revolt of the intellect against the lofty intolerant assumptions of a priesthood, which sought to perpetuate and strengthen its power by the most impious and singular of claims; and so strong has proved the law of antagonism, that the lapse of twenty-three centuries has witnessed no approach in this respect of the two systems, one to the other. The reason for this immutability on the part of Buddhism is easily explained. It denies that men are naturally unequal, and consequently it repudiates the exclusiveness of a class. If Nirvana be attainable by any one, then surely any one may become a priest, neither can we expect that the priestly office under such restrictions will be invested with circumstances either of splendour or power. Any one free from bodily infirmity and disease, who has arrived at twenty years of age, and who is willing to submit to the rules of the priesthood, may become a member of the order. But he can relinquish the clerical character at pleasure; and even whilst he retains it, his office much more resembles that of the regular than of the secular priests in a Roman Catholic country; and let him choose to renounce his vow of celibacy, or take the life of any animal,* or even "extol himself as a saint, or a person endowed with any preternatural gifts," and his priestly character is forfeited. "The priest who, "prompted by ambition, falsely and impudently pretends to have

* The prohibition to take away life is binding only on the priests, though they are at liberty to eat whatever is offered to them. The laity may use animal food, but it is thought meritorious to waive the permission. In this, as in other respects, the rigidity of the ancient faith has been relaxed.

"obtained the extraordinary gifts of *Zian and Meipo*, or to have "arrived at *Nirvana*, is no longer a priest of the divine order. To "what can he be compared? In the same manner as a palm-tree, cut through the middle, can never be rejoined, so as to "live, in such manner shall this ambitious priest be unworthy "of being esteemed as belonging to the sacred order."* As a class they are influenced by none of those selfish motives which influence the Brahman in relation to the Sudra, and the priests of a purely catholic country in relation to the laity. The priest is from the people and of the people. No broad line of separation is drawn between the two; he has no strong motive to stand by his order, because his order have little to stand by; and whenever interest or inclination prompts, he can, without dishonour and without sin, abandon the tonsure and resume his place in secular society. Buddhist countries are at least free from one of the evils which, more or less, has troubled the peace of most civilized and semi-barbarous nations—the unreasonable and ambitious pretensions of the priesthood.

Of all false creeds, this is the least jealous and bigoted. Never has a sacred order guarded its usurped powers as have Brahmans against Kshetryas, Vaisyas and Sudras; nor ever has its iron heel been withdrawn; although fierce and frequent have been the contests between the rival castes and rival creeds of Hindostan. Mohammedanism, whenever it has come into contact with another faith, has given indications of a strongly defined intolerance; and that intolerance is seen in the hostility of Sunnite to Shiite, as really as in the law which dooms to death the Persian or the Turk who dares to exchange the faith of the Crescent for that of the Cross. And Romish intolerance has seldom foregone a favourable opportunity of pressing forward its proud claims, even to the extent of conquest, imprisonment and death. But Buddhism is essentially tolerant and mild. Even in the days of its youthful vigour, when it could command the power of Hindu kings, its thirst for propagandism was displayed only through the medium of embassies and preaching; nor since then, in its diffusion amongst the numerous nations and tribes of South-Eastern Asia, has it resorted to violence or shed blood. Its internal variations give rise to none of that party spirit and virulence which too frequently disgrace the sectaries of other creeds, nor is it inclined to meet aggressors with the stern hostility of Moslemism, or the compact passivity of Hinduism. It is true, the Chinaman will reject Christianity, but his natural exclusiveness has much more to do with the act than either his strong love for his

* The *Kammua*, a Burmese book relating to the ordination of priests.

own system, or his abstract dislike of the religion of the foreigner. On this account, we feel convinced that, if political jealousy could be overcome, Buddhist countries would offer the most favourable spheres for the exertions of the Christian Missionary; and we should see the lofty principles of our holy faith received with a facility, compared with which all modern success would seem to be insignificant.

This latitudinarianism, we must remark, is far removed from high-principled liberality of sentiment. The Buddhist is so tolerant, because he is so indifferent. He cares little about opposing other religions, or the sectaries of his own, because he is destitute of all strong convictions and sympathies for the faith of Guadama. It does not come to him as a revelation of unspeakable love and mercy, as a much-needed message of peace from the Sovereign of all worlds; it is rather the belief of certain facts in relation to invisible beings and the theory of the universe, with which he has little or no concern; it excites his dread, but it cannot call forth his love. Vague, dreamy, ungenial, and dreaded, it is like poor Geneva:—

Wild, pale, and wonder-stricken, even as one
Who staggers forth into the air and sun,
From the dark chamber of a mortal fever,
Bewildered, and incapable, and ever
Fancying strange comments in her dizzy brain
Of usual shapes, till the familiar train
Of objects and of persons passed like things
Strange as a dreamer's mad imaginings.

The *intense individuality* induced by this faith necessarily leads to *selfishness*.

The Buddhist has no strong inducements to love any beings in the universe, or to sympathise with them. There is no connecting link, either of love, gratitude, or duty, between him and superior intelligences, whilst not one element of his creed tends to identify him with his fellow-men. It reveals no grand and comprehensive truths to awaken the hopes or the fears of the world. It is a thing not for humanity, but for man. It ignores society, much in the same way as though we were to think of the world, not as a wonderfully beautiful combination of parts forming a perfect whole, but as a mass of distinct atoms; and just as such a view would indicate the want of all appreciation of what is philosophical, beautiful, and comprehensive, does Buddhism display its inability to understand humanity, either in relation to its wants or its aspirations. Its only attempts at generalization are when constructing theories of the physical universe: and here, it is as absurd and false as Hinduism. But it deals not with any broad views of truth, and the application of truth to the existing conditions of mankind. We might, indeed, almost say that it makes no pretension

to be an authoritative revelation from God to man, and that its only claim to be called a religion springs out of the fact that each individual man feels it absolutely incumbent on him to do something, not because it is morally right, but necessary to secure his own happiness. It teaches nothing of the relations subsisting between God and man,—the designs of creation—the principles of the divine government—the manner in which all events must ultimately work out the highest glory of the infinite God, and the largest amount of good to His creatures ;—and thus it necessarily follows that some of the truths most calculated to elevate the mind, to enlarge its conceptions, to teach it to think worthily and lovingly of God, to draw out its sympathies toward whatever is holy, divine, and true, are altogether ignored by this cold and selfish system. It follows, of course, that the Buddhist is as destitute of benevolence toward man as he is of love toward God. There is nothing in his creed to call forth strong sympathy in their behalf. It forms in him the pernicious habit of viewing himself exclusively as an individual, and thus it induces a frigid, calculating selfishness, most prejudicial to all that is kindly, generous, and expansive in our nature.

We know nothing so admirable as the manner in which a gracious Providence prevents man reaping to the full the effects of wicked and false principles. Whilst such principles most certainly indicate by their consequences, that they are under the ban of divine justice, the way in which the Moral Governor counteracts their worst effects is no less indicative of his pity and love. The ideal of Hindu society could not be realized. The communistic arch formed on such a model, would fall to pieces ere it were finished. The necessary conditions of human society are incompatible with entire and universal wickedness. A large amount of the good man does to his fellow-man, springs out of motives in no respect characterized by benevolence. The Buddhist abstains from evil, not because it is evil, but lest his entrance on Nirvana should be retarded. His faith is ever appealing to his self-interest ; and, therefore, we find that it is negative rather than positive ; it tells him much less of what he should do than of what he should not. And thus it happens that Buddhist society is characterized neither by great virtues nor great vices. It is a stranger to that benevolence which produces the former, whilst its self-interestedness leads to the latter. It is moderately bad, because it cannot be magnanimously good, and dares not to be recklessly wicked.

The *peaceful tendencies* of this system are among its most striking characteristics.

For centuries there has been less war in South-Eastern Asia than in any other part of the world. The terrible struggles which have disgraced and devastated, not only Africa, America, and Western Asia, but even civilized and professedly Christian Europe, have no parallel in the farthest East. Among such a variety of nations, continual peace, of course, is not to be expected. We, in India, who live under a Government which is almost always at war, and yet always wishing for peace, may well understand how various events may precipitate hostilities among nations who delight not in them. What is to be expected, then, among such nations is, that wars will be infrequent and speedily brought to a close; and this we find to be the case. The weakness of a reigning dynasty, the oppressions of a cruel tyrant, the smiling verdure of a well-cultivated province, wrong unrepented of, and insult followed by haughtiness, will of course tempt the powerful, the ambitious, the needy, and the down-trodden, to take up the sword and the spear; and yet the comparative infrequency of war can only be accounted for by admitting that there is some strongly counteracting cause. A creed which, more than any other, holds all life to be sacred, cannot but discourage the shedding of human blood.

The mildness induced by Buddhism leads to this peacefulness, and the "love of order" peculiar to it, tends in the same direction. It is essentially conservative, and therefore inclined to mould society into such a form, as that it shall exist free from violent shock and change. China affords the best illustration of this. Its philosophers assert, that a principle of "order" is everywhere discoverable in the arrangements of the world; and that this principle should be the object, both of our reverence and of our imitation. And the operation of this idea is seen everywhere. Even the conception of Government and society is based on it; the Emperor professedly sustains a closer relationship to his people than any other Asiatic prince. He is the head of the State, for its sake, not for his own; and throughout all the departments of Government, and all the orders of society, it is manifest that a *principle*, rather than a *will*, presides.

The tendency of Buddhism to *deadens the intellect*, demands a more extended notice than we can now give.

It represses the mind within a very limited range of ideas. It is favourable neither to strength nor energy of thought. Subtle speculation, the dreamy play of the fancy with metaphysical abstractions, contemplations which lead to no practical result, are what the Buddhist delights in. His faith acts upon him like a strong narcotic. The half-despairing, indolent

sensuous language of Tennyson's "Lotos Eaters," is strikingly expressive of the Buddhist's aspirations :—

Let us alone. Time driveth onward fast,
And in a little while our lips are dumb.
Let us alone. What is it that will last ?
All things are taken from us, and become
Portions and parcels of the dreadful past.
Let us alone. What pleasure can we have
To war with evil ? Is there any peace
In ever climbing up the climbing wave ?
All things have rest, and ripen towards the grave ;
In silence ripen, fall, and cease ;
Give us long rest, or death, dark death, or dreamful ease.

Under such influences, the intellect could not be expected to flourish. It has never been creative and suggestive. Genius has not been one of its attributes. This faith has produced fewer great minds than any other. Even Hinduism can boast of no mean array of poets and philosophers, whose names have lived long, and will survive through many a future age ; but Buddhism has hardly a single name which suggests aught that is great and good. Perishable as the vegetation of an Indian jungle, its generations have successively sunk into oblivion, leaving no memorial behind them. They present to the sad gaze, nothing but a dead level of mediocrity. Since nearly all onward movements are led by superior minds, which alone seem to have the power of originating and directing them, we find that Buddhist nations, being destitute of such minds, have made no progress. Their civilization has been both peculiar and limited, nor will they ever be able to stand conspicuous among the great family of nations, until they discard the dreamy sceptical faith which has so long been their bane.

The facts we have just stated will be all the more striking, if we remember the manner in which this faith glorifies the intellect. "The one infallible diagnostic of Buddhism is a belief in the infinite capacity of the human intellect." The very signification of the name it gives to deity is "Supreme Intelligence." And yet it has not caused the intellect to grow. Nowhere, perhaps, is there less intellectual life than where it is dominant ; it is like the enchanted prince of the *Arabian Nights*, "a dead man among the living, and a living man among the dead." Whilst it is incompatible with a state of barbarism, it is clearly incapable of elevating mankind to a high state of civilization. The nations who honour Guadama, whose chief characteristic is intelligence, have for centuries made no progress. Perhaps one great reason why the King of Heaven has permitted this system to exist for so many ages, is to give a fresh illustration of the fact, that "the world by wisdom knows not God."

ANTE-MAHOMETAN HISTORY OF ARABIA.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes avant L'Islamisme, Pendant L'Epoque de Mahomet, et jusqu'à la réduction de toutes les tribus sous la loi Mussulmane. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval, Professeur d'Arabe au Collège Royal de France. Trois Tomes. Paris, 1847—1848.

M. CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL has, in these volumes, traced the history of the Arabian tribes and States, from the earliest glimmerings of Mahometan tradition, to the period when the whole were united under the banner of Islam. With inconceivable labour, he has thrown together the multitudinous and often discrepant genealogies, and accounts of individuals and of tribes; collating the several steps of various lines, and noting at what points they meet, and where the tradition of events disproves or corroborates the tradition of names. The result of his investigations is exhibited with great ingenuity and clearness, in fifteen tables or genealogical trees, in which the descent of the chief tribes and most famous personages of the peninsula is traced up, with the approximate era of each generation, to the most remote period for which tradition furnishes authority. These tables add much to the value of the book, for the general reader, whose mind is bewildered with the maze of collateral families and tribes crossing and re-crossing each other's path.

M. C. de Perceval is intimately acquainted with the native historians of Arabia, and with its early poets, whose evidence is of the most essential value in these investigations. He has pursued his enquiries with much learning and singular research,* and, as it appear to us, with extraordinary success.

The first half of his first volume is devoted to the history of Yemen, brought down to the Mahometan invasion; the second half to the rise of Mecca, and the biography of Mahomet, as far as his flight to Medina. The second volume opens with an extended review of the kingdoms of Hira and the

* It is much to be regretted that M. C. de Perceval's ignorance of German has prevented his availing himself of the valuable treatises bearing on his subject, lately published in that language.—(*Vol. I., Preface*, p. vi)

Ghassânide dynasty, up to their absorption in the Mahometan Empire ; then of the tribes of Central Arabia ; and, lastly, of Medîna. The third volume resumes the history of Mahomet, and brings down the progress of Islam to the Caliphate of Omar, and the submission of all the Arab tribes. The work thus exhausts the subject ; but the arrangement is bad, and the thread of narration not unfrequently broken.

"Long temps divisés en fractions, formant autant d'Etats difféients, de petites Républiques, ou de hordes ennemies les unes des autres, les Arabes sont rassemblés en corps par Mahomet, et l'unité de la nation achève de se constituer sous Omar. Tel est, en résumé, le sujet que j'ai essayé de traiter."* In short, the grand object of the work is to trace the process by which the independent and hostile fragments of Arabia became one great and irresistible nation.

We are not aware that the mass of information presented by M. C. de Preceval, in his first two volumes, is anywhere available to the English reader ; and we purpose, therefore, to throw it together in as brief a form as may be possible. The reader to whom the subject is uninviting, now fully forewarned of the nature of what follows, will be able, without farther enquiry, to pass on to a more congenial article ; while from those to whom the history of Arabia is one of interest and attraction, we hope to obtain a patient hearing, and pardon for the prolixity which the detail necessary in such an enquiry may involve.

Arabia is commonly described as a triangular continent, having a right angle at Bâb al Mandeb ; but it is more natural and convenient to consider it is an irregular parallelogram, approaching to rectangular, which (if we detach the province of Omân, projecting towards Persia) it will be found to resemble. A line drawn along the Euphrates, from a point above the ancient Babylon, and skirting the southern shore of the Persian Gulph and the boundary of Omân, till it meets the Indian Ocean, will give the eastern side of our figure ; and the corresponding parallel on the west runs from Suez, or from Al Arîsh on the Mediterranean, to the Straits of Bâb al Mandeb. Each of these lines stretches over about eighteen degrees of latitude, and extends for a length of 1,300, or 1,400 miles. The northern side, again, is formed by a line drawn from Suez in a north-westerly direction, till it meets the Euphrates, a distance of about 600 miles, and forms the ill-defined boundary

contested between the roving tribes of Arabia, and the sedentary inhabitants of Syria. The southern parallel is the shore washed by the Indian Ocean. The length of this parallelogram lies diagonally across the meridian ; and it is broader at the south-western extremity, than on the opposite side, where the Euphrates, by its western bend, narrows the Syrian confine.

Along the western line, washed in nearly its whole extent by the Red Sea, runs a chain of lofty mountains. These take their rise in Syria, and forming the high land to the east of the Dead Sea, sweep south to Mount Sinai, and thence to the Straits of Bâb al Mandeb, where they dip into the Indian Ocean, to re-appear on the shores of Africa. The range follows closely the line of the coast, from whence the mariner sees its repulsive rocks of reddish sandstone and porphyry, at times pressing near enough to be laved by the waters of the Red Sea, and at times receding, so as to form a broad margin of low land. The latter is styled the Tehâma.

From the centre of this great chain, is thrown off at right angles a mountain range called the Jebel Ared, which traverses the Peninsula parallel with its northern and southern boundaries. It runs from Tayîf in the vicinity of Mecca, towards Derâych and the Persian Gulph, and thus divides Arabia into two equal halves. Another chain, the Jebel Shammâr, runs east and west between the Gulph of Akaba and the mouth of the Euphrates ; and a third unites the eastern portions of both the lateral ranges. The space between these mountains is comprised in the district of Najd, and forms a vast expanse of lofty country, which abuts upon the grand chain of the Red Sea, and slopes downwards towards the Persian Gulph.

Between Najd and the Red Sea lies the mountainous region of the Hejâz,* which includes both Medina and Mecca. The main longitudinal range lies here far back from the coast, at a distance perhaps of 100 miles, and is in some places of great elevation ; but the interval is filled with mountain chains rising from the shore, one above another, with alternate vales or *Waddies*, until the granite-crested peaks of the chief range overtop the whole. Here the weary traveller, who has toiled up the ascent, finds to his surprise that, instead of a similar declivity on the other side, he has reached a vast plateau of lofty country, stretching away towards the east.

The southern half of the Peninsula is divided into two parts. The western comprises the hilly but fertile Yemen ; and the

* That is "the barrier," as lying between Yemen and Syria ; or the frontier between the northern and southern merchants. (*C de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 2.—Springer's Mohammed, p. 14.*)

perennial streams which here flow into the sea, with the rich corn-fields and plantations of coffee, well entitle it to be called the garden of Arabia. North of Yemen, lie Khaulân, Najrân, and other districts, partaking more or less of the same character. The eastern division, lying between these countries and Omân, is almost unknown (if we except its lofty and precipitous coast), and is supposed to be entirely desert.

Though Arabia is not greatly inferior in extent to India, yet it does not possess a single navigable river: and, instead of a wide expanse of alluvial cultivation, it exhibits, for the most part, a barren and dreary waste of rock and sand. Most of the rivers lose themselves in the sandy plains, and never reach the sea: but here and there, between the hills, the soil is fertilized by the streams or fountains; and the Wâdi or Oasis, contrasting with the wild bleak wilderness around, charms the traveller with an unspeakable freshness and verdure.

The whole of this vast continent has been peopled from time immemorial by the Arab race who, secluded from the rest of the world by their pathless deserts, peninsular position, and peculiar habits, have throughout all ages retained a singular purity from foreign admixture either of blood or manners. Although sacred writ and classical authority give some general intimations as to the colonization and state of the country, yet neither source furnishes us with any detailed history of the central and southern tribes;* and for this object, we are forced back upon the native tradition of Arabia. In a former paper in this *Review* the nature of Arab tradition has been discussed, and it has been shown, that as regards genealogical and phylarchal reminiscences, it has peculiar claims upon our belief.†

In the case of the Himyar empire, in the south of Arabia, besides the benefit of such tradition, there is ground for believing that national events were chronicled by inscriptions, and thence incorporated in the traditional accounts of the Arab historians. It is thus that the history of the Himyar dynasty ascends far above that of the Abrahamic tribes, and it therefore demands our first consideration.

The reader has no doubt followed, with interest and curiosity, the successive discoveries which have been made of Himyar inscriptions at Sanâ, Hîsn al Ghorâb, Kharîba, and Mâreb. These were ancient seats of Himyar rule, and as we are assured that writing was known to the nation, and that the country

* Vide Art. IV. No. XXXVIII.—On the Aboriginal Tribes of Arabia.

† Vide Art. I. No. XXXVII. pp. 42, 43 and (Id.) p. 65.

was far advanced in civilization and opulence, it only corresponds with our natural expectation, that we should find in the neighbourhood permanent memorials of ancient greatness, "graven in the rock with a pen of steel." Notwithstanding many learned and ingenious attempts to unravel these inscriptions, no certain clue has yet been found; and though in some of the words a resemblance is traced to ancient names in the Himyar dynasty,* the foundation is not broad enough to build any sure theory upon.

We have, however, the indisputable fact, that events of some description, and most likely the names of the ancient kings, were thus chronicled. It is also highly probable that at the time of the Mahometan conquest, there were some of the inhabitants alive, versed in decyphering the Himyar alphabet, and able to communicate the meaning of the inscriptions to the curious enquirer. Thus, although we read nowhere of any Himyarite history of Yemen,† and although the knowledge of the Musnad character became soon extinct, yet it is probable that the early Mahometan writers had the means of deriving, from native authority, a chronicle of the names, and of some of the acts of the kings of Yemen.

Yet even supposing this authentic source of information, its imperfection is manifest from the doubtful and discrepant character of the details presented to us by the Arab historians. M. C. de Perceval, after incredible pains to reduce them to a uniform history, thus expresses his opinion of "the profound uncertainty" of these accounts.

Vague tradition, lists of kings discordant one with another, and containing manifest gaps, and interrupted or doubtful genealogies:—such are the documents presented to us by oriental writers. With only feeble elements like these for the construction of a history, there is little ground for the hope of reaching *the truth*. At the best, it may perhaps be not impossible to attain to *what is likely*. Beyond this latter term I do not stretch my pretensions.—(Vol. I., p. 47.)

These modest pretensions M. C. de Perceval has fully realized.

The first of the Yemen dynasty is the great CAHTAN. In order to calculate the era at which he lived, it is necessary to note the number of generations between him and Dzu Nowās, the last of the race. The amount, by the Himyar line, as adjusted by M. C. de Perceval to thirty-nine, which, at thirty-

* See instances given by M. C. de Perceval,—Vol. I. pp. 90 and 111.

† Hamza mentions an ancient history of Yemen: but the meaning no doubt is an ancient *Mahometan* history.

three years to a generation,* give an interval of 1,287 years. Now the birth of Dzu Nowas may be placed approximatively at 460 A. D.; and thus the birth of Cahtan would be carried back to 827 B. C.

When, however, we follow the descent by another line, that of *Chalân*,† the brother of Himyar, and also by the separate Himyar line of *Codhda*,‡ we find only from thirty-three to thirty-six generations between Cahtan and Mahomet; and this would reduce the antiquity of the date by two or three centuries. In favour of the more modern era, there are the uncertainties and discrepancies in the Yemen succession: for it is possible that different and contemporaneous branches have been confused and represented as a continuous line.§ This is the more likely to have occurred, from the yearning of the Mahometan writers after extreme antiquity, and their desire, by protracting the genealogies, to connect them with the Mosical record.

Whichever line be adopted, we may, with tolerable confidence, place the era of Cahtan between the years 800 B. C. and 500 B. C. It is this Cahtân whom Mahometan writers have identified with Joktan, the sixth from Noah; but the identification is one of those extravagant fictions which the followers of Islam, in their zeal to accommodate Arab legend to Jewish scripture, have made in defiance of the most violent improbability, and the grossest anachronisms. || Cahtân was

* M. C. de Perceval calculates thirty-three years to a generation excepting where the exact period is known by historical fact or synchronism, but he admits that thirty years would in general suffice for an Arab generation.—(*Vol. I. p. 248—Note 1*) Sprenger allows three generations to 100 years, but he admits that "this is somewhat too high in ordinary cases," and he adopted the calculation, because some of Mahomet's progenitors were begotten at an advanced age, which raised the average.—*Asiatic Journal*, No. CCXXI., p. 349.)

† See Table II. Vol. I of M. C. de Perceval.

‡ Idem, Table III.

§ M. C. de Perceval admits that from the imperfection of his materials he has frequently been obliged to supply the lacunæ in the reigns from the genealogical lines and *vice versa*. Thus about the time of Abd Shams II., the 10th prince of the line, there is an admitted gap of several names in the royal line, as we learn by comparing it with the genealogical trees.

On the other hand, the lines of Cahlân and Codhân were preserved *memoriter*; while that of Himyar was recorded in some manner, and in this respect is likely to be more complete.

|| M. C. de Perceval agrees in this view. "Il ne paraît point que, chez les premiers, il ait existé aucune tradition nationale relative à la filiation de Chatan. C'est depuis l'Islamisme seulement, quand les Arabes ont commencé à recueillir les souvenirs de leur histoire, et à les comparer avec les témoignages de la Bible, que la plupart des écrivains orientaux ont identifié Cahtân avec Yectan, fils d' Heber (*Vol. I., p. 39*) In the following page, however, he adds that though the identity is not demonstrable, it may yet be plausibly entertained, but only on the supposition that a great number of unknown generations intervened between Cahlân and the descen-

succeeded by his son YAROB, who is said to have expelled or destroyed the Adites, and consolidated the empire of Yemen. He gave to his brothers *Omân* and *Hadhramaut* (the story is perhaps a myth.) the government of the two countries, thenceforward called by those names. Yârôb begot Yashjob; and Yashjob, Abd Shams Saba the Great.

ABD SHAMS SABA is said to have been the founder of the city of Mâreb or Saba, represented, by most of the classical writers, under the name of *Mariaba*, as the capital of the Sabæans, and situated upon a mountain. He is also reported by tradition to have constructed or repaired the famous lake-embankment (*Sadd Mâreb*) which was in the vicinity of that city, and the remains of which are apparent at the present day.*

Among the sons of Abd Shama Saba are the two famous partriarchs, HIMYAR and CAHLAN, the sires (as tradition will have it) of the whole Arab progeny. Their birth, according to the variety of opinion above expressed, may have taken place from 400 to 700 B. C. The pure races from this descent are termed *Mutâriba*; those mixed with supposed Ishmaelite blood, *Mustâriba*.†

The children of Himyar are marked by their comparatively settled habits. They lived chiefly in cities, and acquired the civilized manners and states of urban life. The children of Cahlan betook themselves to the free and wandering occupa-

dants reputed as his sons. But it appears to us not only that the identity cannot be proved, but that it cannot be maintained as even possible. It is utterly incredible that the name of Yectan should have survived so many centuries as that of an historical personage, while all else before and after is blank. The dictum of Mahometan tradition on the subject is plainly of no more value than that of any speculator or scriptural harmonist of the present day: nor than that of the Medina party, who represent Cahlan to be a descendant of Ishmael, and therefore to have no connection with Yectan (*Wackids*, p. 2624.—*C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 39).

* Others attribute its construction to the Adites—(*C. de Perceval* Vol. I., pp. 16, 53.) in which case Abd Shams may only have repaired it. In dealing with such remote facts, we cannot do more than conjecture. For an account of the ruins see the interesting *Relation d'un voyage à Mâreb (Sana) dans l'Arabie méridionale, entrepris en 1843* Par M. ARNAUD (*Journal Asiatique*, Fev. Mars. 1845; and the remarks of M. Fiesol., *Id.*, September and October 1845. The great dam is an hour's distance from Mâreb (p. 242.)

† See *Weil's Mohammed*, p. 2; and *C. de Perceval*, Vol. I. p. 7, where the third (or rather first) class given by the Arabs viz., *Arîba* is noted as consisting of the ancient aborigines, such as the Amâlica, Adites, Thamûd, Jadî, Tasm :—who, it is held, became extinct; but more likely merged into the more powerful *Mudriba* and *Mustâriba* tribes. The three words are different forms of the same word *yar*, Yârôb, the name of Cahlan's son, is from the same source. The Arabs may either be really called after an historical character so named; or what is likelier, the character and name may be mythological, symbolizing the received opinion of the descent of the various Arab tribes from a common ancestor, thence styled by them Yârôb.

tions of the Bedouin, scorning the restrictions of place, and the self-imposed wants of a sedentary residence.

A differing speech distinguished the two races. The *Himyarite* was spoken in the towns of Yemen, and was early provided with an alphabet.

The Arabic of the Cahlânite tribes (acquired by their intermixture with the Abrahamic tribes of the north) did not possess this advantage, apparently, till near the time of Mahomet.* The Bedouins alone cultivated poetry, and they sang only in the Arabic language: we meet with no tradition mentioning a single verse composed in the Himyar tongue†

From Himyar we may pass over fifteen or twenty reigns, some of which are of doubtful existence, and all characterized by vague and dim description.‡ We then come to that portion of the Himyar line known as the illustrious dynasty of the TOBBAS,§ and enter on a period of greater historical certainty

* *Vide* note at page 6, Art. I, No. XXXVII of this Journal.

† The Himyar was probably the indigenous tongue of the Yectanide races: but it may have become assimilated with the Abrahamic Arabic from intercourse with the Abrahamic tribes. There are a variety of traditions regarding the prevalence of the two languages in Yemen. (*Conf. C. de Perceval, Vol. I, pp. 8, 50, 56, 79.*) The Mahometan theories, that all the aborigines (*Araba*) spoke Arabic, and that *Yârbâ* introduced it into Yemen, are evidently grounded on the etymological meaning of the words. A later king is said to have introduced the Himyar tongue into Yemen, *upon* the Arabic *العربية* — as if the Arabic had been the vernacular. But the expression may refer to the court language of Mâreb, which perhaps may have changed at various times.

The fortuitous discovery of Himyar inscriptions, at various places, in a character hitherto unknown and the felicitous recognition of an Arab MS. on the Himyar alphabet, give hopes that something may hereafter be decyphered from such monuments; but up to this time little more has been identified than a few names, and those uncertainly. The lucubrations of Mr. Forster on this subject are ingenious but fanciful.

The usual mode of writing is from right to left; but sometimes the *boustrophedon* style is used. The letters are all separate, and the words disjoined by a vertical bar (*Journal Asiatique* December 1838, and *September and October 1845*—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I, p. 79*) The Mahometans do not appear to have known much of the language; some saying that the writing was from left to right; some that the letters were disjoined, others connected. It is possible that there may have been a variety of styles; but the Mahometans are not remarkable for great exactness in such relations.

‡ To illustrate the absurdity of the fictions which abound in the history of this line, we may mention that the Arab writers have invented a story, according to which a Persian king, Menûr Shahr Shummir, the grandson of Himyar and Moses, are all three made to appear on the same stage! 'Le synchronisme présenté par " quelques historiens entre Chammir, Moïse, et un roi de Perse, Menoutchehr, ne mérite aucune attention. C'est une fausse conjecture, qui prend sa source dans " l'idée très exagérée que se font les Arabes de l'antiquité des souverains du Yaman, dont on a conservé les noms " (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I, p. 56*).

§ The origin of the name is doubtful. Some apply it to all Harith's successors, others to those only of them who ruled over the *entire* empire of Yemen, and did not divide its sovereignty with others (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I, p. 64*). Their royal residences were successively Mâreb or Saba, Tsafâr, and Sana. Between the second and third centuries there were three renowned "Tobbas" known by that name *par excellence*.

HARITH AL RAISH, or AL FILSUF "the philosopher," supposed to have flourished about a century before Christ, is termed the first of the Tobbas. He re-invigorated the empire, and restored to his single sceptre a variety of the kingdoms which had fallen under princes of the Cahlân stock.*

The successor of Harith was ESSAB DZU-L-CARNAIN, or "the Horned." The surname is that which the Arabs accord to Alexander the Great, and which is connected in the *Coran* with some strange legends, especially with the construction in the north of the prodigious rampart of *Yajûj* and *Majûj*.† The marvel-loving historians of Arabia have not been slow to follow up the clue. Some have identified Essâb at once, as the hero of the *Coran*, and as the great Alexander; while others hold that he was a monarch contemporary with Abraham.‡

The third monarch from Essâb is styled by the foreign name of AFRICUS or AFRIKIN. He, probably, flourished about half a century before our era. The name, as usual, has suggested a variety of wild stories. Some allege that this king located in Africa the Amalekites, who escaped from Joshua, and who there grew up into the Berber nation: others, that his exploits *against* the Berbers procured him his distinctive title. The reigning prince of the day, in Africa, was Jirjir, or Gregory; § a strange contemporary indeed for Joshua!

* M. C. de Perceval thinks that the Yemen empire may have become known as the *Himyar* from this date. The first mention of it in classical authors under that appellation, is by Strabo, regarding the expedition of Aelius Gallus; and he finds it difficult otherwise to account for such silence. But it would be still more difficult to believe that the name of Himyar was revived, and after the abeyance of so many centuries, became the distinguishing title of the kingdom of his remote descendants.

† (*Coran* XVIII., 85 *et seq.*) This fabulous wall has been identified with fortifications near the Caspian Sea, made, as they say, by Alexander, and repaired by Yazdegerd II. (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol I., p. 66.) Whatever Alexander may have done to stop the inroads of the barbarians, the Arab legend is too wild to be seriously connected with them. It may, however, have originated in some grand construction or work by Alexander, the account of which may have reached the Arabs greatly magnified, and which, in their hands, would grow apace.

‡ Yet the ancestor of one of these parties was but just now represented as contemporary with the remote descendant of the other, *i. e.* Shammir, the thirteenth or fourteenth in ascent from Essâb as contemporary with Moses! Such is Mahometan criticism and chronology.

§ M. C. de Perceval is of opinion that the Mahometan writers have here confounded their idea of some ancient African prince, with Gregory the Partician, who commanded in Africa, when invaded by Othmân. He well adds: "On voit là un exemple de peu de scrupule avec lequel l'ignorance de quelques écrivains orientaux rapproche les temps les plus éloignés." (Vol. I. p. 68.)

M. C. de Perceval has an ingenious theory that Africus may have been employed by Cæsar in the war against Juba, and thence connected in name with Africa. In the battle of Actium, the Arabs of Yemen are said to have fought for Antony, and to have fled with Cleopatra.

Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabæi. (*Æneid*, VIII., 706.)

Is it not more likely that he made hostile incursions into the Roman dependencies in Africa; and that these may in some manner be connected with the Roman expedition of Aelius Gallus, which followed shortly after.

To Africus succeeded his brother DZU-L-ADZAR, to whose reign attach a tissue of imbecile legends. Caycaus, King of Persia, attacked him, but was taken prisoner: he was subsequently liberated by the famous Rustam, and returned to his kingdom, after marrying the daughter of Dzu-l-Adzar.* M. C. de Perceval has ingeniously surmised that these facts may contain an allusion to an invasion from an opposite quarter; for it was somewhere about this period that Aclius Gallus, after having taken *Negrans*, or *Negra* (Najrân,) attacked, and was repulsed from *Marsyaba*, (*Mariaba* or *Mâreb*,) a city belonging to the Yemenites,† who were then governed by *Ilasare*. The name of Ilasare, he recognizes in that of Dzu-l-Adzar; but the appellation of this prince's son and successor, ALEISHRA or LEISHRA, appears to have a more close resemblance to that of Strabo's Yemen chief. Our author's table makes Aleishra (who was also called SHURAHBIL, and YAHISAB,) to have been born 68 B. C., or forty-four years before the Roman invasion, so that he is likely to have taken a part in the Arab defence.

The reader will not fail to observe that the Arab histories contain no farther clue to this memorable inroad of the Roman army. Yet it was a circumstance which, from its unprecedented novelty, from the lasting marks of devastation, and from the glory acquired in the repulse, was likely, above all other events, to have lodged itself in the national mind and tradition. The story of 2,000 years, though possessing often little interest, is told with freshness and circumstantiality, while this most striking and remarkable of all other events, is, after a lapse of five or six centuries, unnoticed and unknown!

The granddaughter of Aleishra was the famous Queen BALKIS, who must have flourished during the first century of the Christian era: and her history furnishes even a stronger example of the illusory nature of remote Mahometan tradition. She is held to have been no less a personage than the veritable Queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon, the son of David, a thousand years before! Her mother is said to have been one of the genii; but it would be unprofitable to enter into a detail of the extravagant legends related of this person-

* M. C. de Perceval traces the legend to a poetical fiction in Ferdûsi. "Si l'on en recherche l'origine, on s'aperçoit, qu'une vague tradition, ou peut-être une pure fiction présentée sous des formes indéterminées par le poète l'irdauci, qui florissait trois siècles après l'hégire, a été arbitrairement arrangée par des écrivains postérieurs sous les traits précis d'un fait historique. Firdausi avait chanté une expédition de Caycaous contre le roi de Hâmâwerân, pays inconnu, fantastique, dont on a fait l'Arabie Heureuse. Le poète n'avait pas nommé ce roi: on a imaginé que c'était Dhou-l-Adhâr." (Vol. I, p. 72.) He then shows that the Mahometan historians are utterly ignorant of the real history of Persia at the period supposed.

† In the original Παμαρίτυν, but conjectured by M. Fresnel, with some likelihood to be a mistake for Ιαμαρίτυν.

age, and which have received some countenance even in the *Coran*. It is remarkable that Mahomet there represents her people as addicted to the worship of the Sun.*

Two more successions bring us to TOBBA-AL-AKRAN, in whose reign occurred the celebrated secession of the *Azdites*, a people descended from the stock of Cahlan. This tribe, under the command of two brothers, Omîân and AMR MOZAÏKIA † appear to have become independent of the Himyarites, and made themselves masters of Mâreb. Omrân died, but not (so goes the legend,) without giving his brother some intimation of a dire calamity impending over the land. The wife of Amir followed up the monition by an ominous vision : she bade him go to the embankment of the lake, and if he should see a rat scraping the mound, and detaching huge stones, she prognosticated a speedy and inevitable ruin. He went and saw the fatal sign. Thus warned, Amir Mozaikia made immediate preparations to emigrate ; and set out northward with the greatest portion of his tribe. Shortly after their departure, the embankment rent asunder, and the flood escaping with devastating fury, spread destruction in its path.

In a former paper we have seen good grounds for believing that a cause of far greater depth and extent had long been at work, paving the way for this emigration. The drying up of the Yemen commerce, and stoppage of the carrying trade, had, no doubt, disorganized society, and, perhaps, led to the rebellion of the *Azdites*, and their seizure of Mâreb. The threatened breach of the dam may have accelerated the crisis, and given the last impulse to an overburdened and necessitous population, eager already to go in quest of a livelihood in a

* See *Sura XXVII. 24 et seq.* She is also styled by tradition Balcama or Yalcama; but no name is given in the *Coran*, where she is simply described as the Queen of Saba. — "Mais les interprètes, ne trouvant pas dans la liste des souverains du Yaman, conservée par la tradition, de reine plus ancienne que Belkis, n'ont pas hésité à déclarer que c'était elle qui avait fait le voyage de Jérusalem. Leur sentiment a été pleinement adopté par les chroniqueurs, et cette opinion, accréditée par la superstition et l'ignorance, est probablement, la cause principale qui a empêché les historiens de classer les rois du Yaman suivant un ordre chronologique raisonnable. (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 77.)

We would not however call this the "principal cause" for the departure of the Mahometan historians from a reasonable chronology. Their appetite for ancient dates had a far more important source. They longed to complete the chain of legendary tradition by connecting Adnân with Ishmael, and Cahlan with the Joktan of the Mosical record. The absurd antiquity thus imparted to modern names attached likewise to this Queen, and they were then free to deal with her as they pleased. The motive of identifying Belkis with the Queen of Sheba, is not of itself a sufficient one for the unsettlement of the chronology.

† He is called *Mozaikia*, they say, from dally "rending" the garment of yesterday which he always replaced by a new one : but more likely from "rending, the *Azdites* from their ancient settlement. But who can tell the thousand and one incidents from which a sobriquet may arise ?

less straitened country. The migration took place about the year 120 A. D.*

Yemen, thus relieved of part of its surplus inhabitants, probably regained rapidly its prosperity, notwithstanding the ravages of the flood. Tobba-al-Akran soon recovered his authority. He is renowned as a great warrior; and is said to have carried his arms to the borders of China.

The fourth in succession from Tobba-al-Akran, was TIBBAN ASAD, ABU CARIB, who flourished about the beginning of the third century of our era, one of the most illustrious of the Tobbas.† His name is connected with Yathreb or Medina; for the inhabitants of that place having murdered his son, whom he committed to their custody, when on an expedition towards Persia, he attacked their city, and threatened them with his vengeance. But two Jewish doctors of the Bani Coreitza, then resident at Medina, having brought him over to Judaism, diverted him from his design by foretelling, as is pretended, that Yathreb would become the refuge of the great prophet that was to arise in Arabia. At their instance, he visited and enriched the Kaaba as the shrine of Abraham, and was the first to adorn it with a covering of cloth. On his return to Yemen, he introduced there the Jewish religion; the idolaters contested the change, and appealed to the trial by fire; but they were miraculously confuted by the two Jewish doctors. Judaism did not, however, gain any important extension in Yemen, till the reign of Dzu Nowâs, and even to the era of Islam it had to contend against idolatry.

The details of the Medina expedition are much complicated by two circumstances. The same adventure is attributed by various writers to Hassân Tobba the Less, who flourished

* It is important to fix the chronology of this salient point in the history of Arabia. The Mahometan writers agree in placing the event between our Saviour and Muhomet, some six, some four centuries prior to Islam. The Ahdite genealogies (such as those of the Aws and Khazraj of Medina,) combine to place the birth of Amr Mozalkia about five centuries before that of Mahomet. These considerations combine to place the emigration somewhere about 120 A. D. M. C. de Perceval thinks the great prosperity ascribed to Mâreb by Strabo and Pliny, argues that the calamity of the dam was posterior to the Christian era. We should draw the same conclusion rather from the fact that the altered stream of commerce would, probably, not have worked out its baneful effect upon the Yemen State, till after the Christian era.

M. de Sacy conjectures, that the insecurity of the dam was not the real cause of the emigration; but was invented by the later Ahdites, to cover one less honorable, perhaps, fear of defeat from Tobba-al-Akran. But the view we have given appears more natural.

† The author of the *Periplus* mentions *Caribael* as reigning at Zhafâr. This is supposed to have been about 200 A. D. Caribael may either have been this Abu Caribael Himyari, or his father Calay Caribael Himyari. (C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 90.)

about a century after Tibbân Asâd : while, in many important particulars, it is confounded with another attack, which was made upon Medîna, by a sovereign of Yemen, at least three centuries after Tibbân Asâd, and the memory of which was yet recent in the time of Mahomet *

After Tibbân Asân, there is a break in the Himyar line : for a prince called RABIA, of the *Cahlânite* stock, and *Bani Lakhm* tribe, succeeded to him. The following characteristic legend is cherished by the Mahometans regarding Rabia. He was affrighted by a portentous dream, and the diviners were summoned ; but, as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, they could not tell the interpretation, until the dream should be made known to them. At last two diviners were introduced, each of whom separately narrated to the king both his dream and its signification. *Thou sawest a flame burst forth from the darkness ; and it fell upon the land of Tihâma, and devoured every living thing.* This was the Abyssinians who, they foretold, would overrun Yemen from Aden to Najrân, and rule for above seventy years ; after that, they would be overthrown, and would be succeeded by an inspired prophet of the Coreishite stock, to whose rule all Arabia would submit, and whose law would prevail till the day of judgment. The prince, terrified by the threat of the Abyssinian invasion, sent off his family and adherents to Irâc. This emigration took place early in the third century. We shall see by-and-bye, that from Adi, one of Rabi-a's sons, sprang the *Lakhmite* dynasty of Hira.†

* The two expeditions are so confounded, that many of the names belonging to the modern attack (as that of Ohaiha, who lived in the 6th century,) are introduced by a patent anachronism into the ancient adventure. The later expedition will be farther considered, when we come to Medîna.

With reference to the ancient attack, the fact of the Aws and Khazraj being then at Yathreb (if it be a *bond fide* fact, and not borrowed from the modern expedition,) would argue for its having occurred under the reign of Hassân T'obba the Less, and not under that of Tibbân Asâd Abu Carib : because those tribes did not settle at Medîna till about 300 A. D., or a century after the reign of the latter prince. On the other hand, the introduction of Judaism into Yemen, if really, as represented, a result of the present adventure, would favour the earlier date : because there is reason for thinking that Judaism was known there before 300 A. D.

The whole story is given at length by *Hishâmi*, pp. 7 *et seq.* and is common among the Mahometan historians. The reader will not fail to observe the ridiculous "foreshadowing of Mahomet's flight to Medîna. (See *Journal Asiatique*, November 1838, p. 444). Two valuable papers by M. PERRON, in that and the previous number, may be consulted by the student, who wishes to see, in greater detail, the accounts of the Mahometan historians on the subject. (See also *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. 1., p. 91, and Vol. 11., p. 647).

† (See *Hishâmi*, p. 5, and *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. 1., pp. 96—100). The latter, with reason, regards the prophecy to be a fabrication, and intended to cover a less reputable cause of emigration, perhaps fear of the arms of the Yemen monarch, against whom, in the capacity of vassal, he had rebelled. The Mahometan anxiety to discover or to fabricate *foreshadowings* of the coming Prophet, may have worked together with this motive.

On Rabia's death, the kingdom reverted to the son of Tibbân Asâd, HASSAN TOBBA, during whose reign, in the first half of the third century, a farther emigration took place northward. The *Bani Tay*, a Cahlânite family, isolated since the departure of their neighbours, the Azdites, and like them, we conclude, suffering from the effects of the great commercial change, migrated likewise, and finally took up their position in the mountains of Ajâ and Salmâ, to the north of Najd and the Hejâz.

About four successions later, we find, towards the close of the third century, a Christian king of Yemen, called ABD KELAL. He is said to have been converted by a Syrian stranger, whom the Himyarites, enraged at their Prince's defection, murdered. This is the first special intimation we meet with of Christianity in Yemen, and, as it is attributed to a foreign source, there would appear to have been no indigenous or hereditary profession of it there.

The next prince was HASSAN TOBBA AL ASGHAR or the *Younger*, styled *the last of the Tobbas* to whom is attributed, by Hishâmî and other writers, the attack upon Medîna, mentioned above. He reigned about 300 A. D.; and Arab historians speak of a treaty concluded between him and the Meccan tribe. From this time we have frequent proof of the dependence of the central tribes upon the Himyar kingdom; this influence was ever and anon interrupted by hostilities, and as often, after short intervals, renewed.

The next prince, MARTHAD, son of Abd Kelâl, is famed for his wise and moderate views upon religious toleration. He used to say, "*I reign over men's bodies, not over their opinions. I exact from my subjects obedience to my government; as to their religious doctrines, the judge of them is the Great Creator.*" During this exemplary reign, an interesting embassy appeared in the capital of Yemen, sent by the Emperor Constantius, to strengthen his alliance with the Himyarites, and to attract them to Christianity. At its head was the Indian Bishop Theophilus, who presented to "the prince of the Sabæans or Homerites," among other royal gifts, "two hundred horses of the purest breed of Cappadocia," and sought permission to erect churches for the subjects of the Roman Emperor, attracted thither by merchandize, and for those of the natives, who wished to embrace the religion of Jesus. And so far the mission was successful: for three churches were built, one at Tzafâr, the royal residence; another at Aden, the point of traffic with India; and a third at the chief maritime town on the Persian Gulph. Theophilus flattered himself that he had even

converted the Himyar monarch ; but for this he probably mistook what was no more in reality than a latitudinarian and tolerant philosophy*. It is certain that Arab history makes no mention either of this mission or of its effects.

Philostorgius informs us that the inhabitants of Yemen consisted at that time, partly of Jews and partly of Pagans. The latter, though the most numerous, practised the rite of circumcision, like the Jews, on the eighth day. They also sacrificed to the sun and the moon, and to other divinities, several of whose names we learn from Arab writers.

After the death of Marthad, the Yemen empire began to decline, and its subordinate rulers to throw off the yoke of dependence. This disorganization may, perhaps, have arisen from unsuccessful wars with the Abyssinian kingdom, for about the middle of the 4th century, the sovereign of Axum (between the Red Sea and the Nile) joined to his other titles that of *king of the Himyarites*.†

To such troubles we may probably attribute the brevity, and in some respects, uncertainty, of the history of Yemen for a long series of years. The Himyar dynasty, however, still maintained its supremacy over the tribes of Najd and the Hedjâz ; and about the middle of the fifth century gave them a king or viceroy, called Hojr Akil al Morâr, of the *Kinda* tribe ‡

Towards the end of the 5th century the empire was usurped by a dissolute person styled Dzu Shenâtir. He was abhorred of the people for his flagitious deeds, which he carried to such an extreme as to dishonour the youths of most noble families ; but one of these rather than submit to his indignities, put an end to the tyrant's life. This youth, called DZU NOWAS, belonged to the royal stock, and was unanimously called to the throne. During his reign (490—525 A. D.) there were several encounters between the Kinda viceroy, backed by Yemen troops, and the tribes of Central Arabia. The latter, though repeatedly victorious, always returned again after a time to their allegiance. The Himyar dynasty thus maintained its Arabian influence until overthrown by the Abyssinians, when the feudal autho-

* (*M. C. de Perceval*, p. 112—*Philostorgius Hist. Eccles.*, l. III., ch. 4—6.) Gibbon gives a brief account of this embassy. (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xx.) Philostorgius wrote his work in the first half of the 5th century.

† *M. C. de Perceval* l., p. 114. The Greek inscription at Axum, discovered by Salt, notices these titles as appertaining to the Axumite monarch Aelzanas. See the description of Axum, between Merôe and the seaport Adule, in *Heeren's Res. Africa*, Vol. I., p. 460, &c.

‡ Sabbah, who reigned over Yemen, 440 to 460 A. D., made a tour of Najd, to assure himself of the submission of the tribes of Central Arabia. (*M. C. de Perceval*, l., p. 116.)

rity over the Arabs passed into the hands of the Prince of Hira, the vassal of Persia.

Dzu Nowâs was a votary of Judaism, which he is said to have embraced on a visit to Medina.* However this may have been, it is certain that he supported the creed with an intolerant and proselytizing adherence, which at last proved fatal to his kingdom. His bigotry was aroused by the prevalence and success of Christianity in the neighbouring province of Najrân, which he invaded with a large army. The Christians offered a strenuous resistance, but yielded at length, on the treacherous promise that no ill would be done to them. They were offered the choice of Judaism or of death, and those who remained constant to the faith of Jesus were cruelly massacred. Deep trenches were dug, and filled with combustible materials; the pile was lighted, and the Christian martyrs cast headlong into the flame. The number thus miserably burned or slain by the sword, is stated at no less than twenty thousand.†

However exaggerated this melancholy carnage, there can be no doubt as to the bloody and tyrannical nature of the administration of Dzu Nowâs in Najrân. News of these proceedings reached the Emperor Justin I. through his ambassador at Hira, to which court the tyrant had exultingly communicated the tidings of his triumph.‡ One of the intended victims, Dous Dzu Tholabân, also escaped to Constantinople, and holding up a Gospel half burnt by the persecutor, invoked, in the name of outraged Christendom, retribution upon the oppressor. The Emperor was moved, and indited a despatch to the Najâshi, or prince of the Abyssinians, desiring him to take vengeance upon the barbarous Himyarite. Immediately an armament was set on foot, and in a short time 70 000 warriors embarked in thirteen hundred merchant ships and transports, § and crossed the

* Hamza states that having visited Medina, one half of the inhabitants of which were then Jews, Dzu Nowâs was so well pleased with their religion, that he embraced it. But as M. C. de Perceval shows (Vol. I, p. 122,) it is much more likely that he became a Jew through the influence of the powerful and long established party in Yemen: and that he visited Medina in order to succour the Jews against the oppressive attacks of the Aws and Khazraj. This agrees with the history of Medina, and is in excellent keeping with the sectarian bias, which led Dzu Nowâs to the attack of Najrân.

† M. C. de Perceval, l. p. 129, *Hishâmî*, p. 14. The details are briefly given by Gibbon at the close of the XLII. Ch. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: and the subject is alluded to in the Coran, sura LXXXV. v. 4, *et seq.*, where the *Ashdû al Okhdûd*, are those who perished in 'the trenches.

‡ We gather this from the Greek historians. The Arabs only tell us of the suppliant Dous, whom the Greeks do not mention.

§ The number of the force as given by the Arabs is probably exaggerated. An ecclesiastical work mentions that 600 Roman merchantmen were employed on the occasion by the Abyssinian monarch: he had also 700 light transports. The Greek authorities state that the Emperor wrote to the patriarch of Alexandria to stir up the

narrow gulph which separates Adulis from Yemen. Dzu Nowás was defeated, and, having in despair urged his horse into the sea, expiated, in the waves, the inhumanities of his career. The Abyssinian victory occurred in 525 A.D. *

The army was commanded by Aryât, who reigned over, Yemen as the viceroy of the Najâshi. But another Abyssinian Chief, named Abraha, who had accompanied the expedition, rebelled against Aryât, and, having slain him in single combat, succeeded to the Government. Abraha was a zealous Christian; and the efforts of Gregentius, a Bishop deputed by the Patriarch of Alexandria to follow up the secular by a spiritual conquest, were seconded by him with more energy than judgment. He built at Sanâ a magnificent cathedral, and professed himself desirous that the pilgrimage of the Arab tribes should be diverted to this temple from that of Mecca. It is alleged that he published an order to that effect, and sent Missionaries throughout Arabia, calling upon the Arabs to make the new pilgrimage. The Meccans were displeased, and killed one of his emissaries; while a Coreishite had the audacity to defile the precincts of the Christian edifice. Enraged at such opposition, Abraha set out with an army to destroy the Kaaba; but he perished in the expedition. This attack, famous in the annals of Mecca, as that *of the elephant*, occurred in the year 570 A.D., and within two months of the birth of Mahomet.

The history of Yemen becomes now more detached from the rest of Arabia. The Abyssinian rule was distasteful to the natives, and a Himyarite of the royal house, named Saif, whether impelled by the tyranny of the invaders, or by the hope of succeeding to the throne of his ancestors, sought for foreign aid, first fruitlessly at the Court of Constantinople, and then at that of the Persian king. From the latter, Mâdicarib, son of the original suppliant, at last obtained an order to empty the prisons of such of their inmates as were

Negus or King of Axume to avenge the massacre of his fellow Christians in Najran. This king is styled among the Arabs by the hereditary title of Najâshi, which is another form of Negus. The then prince is called by the Grecians Éleabaas (Atseba :) and by the Ethiopians Caléb or Amda. The former was probably his baptismal name. — *M. C. de Perceval*, i, 181.

* Some Syrian and Greek writers place the Abyssinian conquest, as well as the massacre in Najran, within the year 523 A.D. In Assemani (i. 364,) is given a letter of the Bishop Simeon, stating that tidings of the conquest of Najran reached the king of Hira early in Feb. 524: it therefore occurred about the close of 523. Allowing time for the intervening events and preparations, the defeat of Dzu Nowás cannot well be placed earlier than the beginning of 525 A. D. (*M. C. de Perceval*, p. 188.)

fit for war; and with an army of armed convicts he embarked in eight ships, six of which safely reached the port of Aden. The Persian and Abyssinian armies met, and Wahraz, the convict chief, decided the struggle, by killing Masrûk the Abyssinian viceroy. This happened about 575 A.D.*

In the person of MADICARIB, who was installed as the ruler of Yemen and the vassal of the Persian king, the Himyar dynasty appeared again to re-appear. The Arab tribes sent deputations to congratulate him on the auspicious occasion, and among them is reported Abd al Mottalib, the grandfather of Mahomet; but the story is accompanied by so many gross anticipations of the Prophet, as to involve it altogether in suspicion†

There is reason to believe that the Abyssinians still maintained a struggle with the resuscitated Himyar government, and were not finally subdued till the year 597. Then, after having maintained themselves for seventy-two years, they were effectually crushed by the second Persian army, under the same Wahraz, and Yemen became a Persian dependency.

But a few years wrought a mighty change in the destinies of Arabia; and Badzân, one of the early successors of Wahraz, is said to have given in his adhesion to Islam, while Mahomet was yet alive.

We shall now trace the rise and history of two kingdoms in the north of Arabia, both of which Arab in their origin, exercised a constant and important influence upon the Peninsula. These are the states of *Ilîra* and *Ghassân*.

These kingdoms took their rise subsequent to the Christian era, in the migratory impulse which, as we have previously seen, led numerous tribes to move northward from Yemen, and transplant themselves from the shores of the Indian sea, in some instances, even to those of the Mediterranean, or the banks of the Euphrates. The emigration of the AZDITES, an extensive tribe, descended from Cahlân, the brother of Himyar, has been traced above to about the year 120 A. D.† One portion of them moved eastward towards Omân: the other passed northward through Najrân and the Hedjâz, to

* The account of these events is given in detail by Hishâmi, p. 19 *et seq.*—*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. 1., p. 146 *et seq.*

† Weil, objects to the story upon chronological grounds; but his objections appear to be removed by the explanation of M. C. de Perceval, who makes the Abyssinians to receive the first check and overthrow in 575, but not to be finally expelled till 597. (*Weil's Mohammed*, p. 8 note 1.)

‡ See above, p. 12.

Syria, but left many off-shoots by the way, some of which commingled with the Bedouin tribes of Najd, while others settled at Mecca and Medîna, and played a prominent part in their subsequent history.

The CODHAITE tribe, a race descended from Himyar,* inhabited Mahra, a country to the east of Aden, where they were ruled by their own kings. It was probably before the Azdites, that this people, pressed by the Yemen monarchy, and labouring, as we infer, from the difficulties caused by the great commercial change, migrated to the neighbourhood of Mecca. There they fell out with the Meccan tribes, and finally dispersed themselves in various directions. The *Bani Aslam* settled north of Medîna in the valley of Wadi-al-Cora: the *Bani Kalb* in Dâmat-al-jandal, on the Syrian border: the *Bani Saïth* on the east of Palestine: the *Bani Yasid* in Mesopotamia: and the *Taym Allât*, in Bahrein. The dispersion took place towards the close of the second century.

About the same time, the BANI IYAD and other off-sets of the famous Meccan tribe † (the ancestors of the Coreish,) spread themselves eastward in the Peninsula.

From each of these sources, certain bands of Azdite, Codhâte and Meccan Arabs wandered towards Bharcin, where, opposed in their eastward progress by the Persian Gulph, they combined together about the year 190 A. D., and guided by the coast and by the Southern bank of the Euphrates, alighted upon the site of HÎRA, a few miles north-west of the site of the more modern Cufa. There, attracted by the rich and well-watered vicinity, the strangers took up their abode, and about A. D. 200, laid the foundations of the city. The Arsacide monarchy was then crumbling under revolt and disastrous war, and the young colony, swelled by needy adventurers and desperate refugees from Arabia, grew unmolested and rapidly into an important State. Another city, not far distant from Hîra, called Anbâr, was either founded, or having been previously in existence, was taken possession of by the Arabs.‡

* Some hold that Codhâa was descended from Ma'ild, the Ishmaelite ancestor of Mahomet, and that his posterity, having settled in Yemen, became confounded with that of Himyar. But the legend is unlikely, and was probably concocted from the desire of the Codhâites to participate in the sacred descent from Ishmael. It shows, however, how uncertain is Mahometan tradition of remote events. (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I. p. 207)

† By the Meccan tribe, we designate the ancestors of the Coreish running up to Adnân, and those of their descendants who remained attached to Mecca.

‡ By some, the establishment of this town has been referred back to the time of Nebuchadnezzar II., who is said to have left here the captives carried off in his inroad into Arabia. But this is a mere hypothesis of the Arab historians, who are very expert in imagining such causes for the origin of towns and kingdoms. Another

We have reason to believe that at first there was both an Azdite and a Codhâite chief, the former at Anbâr, the latter at Hîra. The rule of MALIK the Azdite (A. D. 195—215,) was terminated by his son, who in the darkness mistook him for an enemy, and killed him by an arrow. As the father was dying, he repeated these touching lines:—

* اسلمه الرماة كل يوم * فلما اشد ساعده رمائي

"Daily I instructed him in the art of shooting,
And when his arm became strong, he turned against me his bow."

This incident is noted to show with what detail, even at that remote period, the history of Hîra has been preserved. As we advance, the detail becomes greater and more certain. The position of Hîra, closely influenced by the adjoining empire of Persia, and on the highway to Syria, induced an early civilisation and acquaintance with letters. Arab poets frequented the court of Hîra, and their effusions were prized and preserved. Thus there was abundant opportunity, both of public archive and of poetical record; and as these were conveyed down to the era of Islam, the history of this kingdom deserves our confidence.

The parricide fled to Omân, and another son, JODZEIMA, succeeded to the Government. During his reign (205—215 A. D.) the Sassanide dynasty of Persia arose in strength upon the ruins of the Arsacide. The Codhâite chief, with his Bedouin followers, spurned the claims of Persia upon their allegiance, and departed to Syria. Thus Jodzeima and the Azdite party were left in undivided possession of Hîra, which, with its Arab tribes,* became the willing vassal of the Persian king.

Jodzeima made frequent incursions into Arabia, and in one of them was overtaken and beaten by the army of the Himyar monarch, Hassân Tobba. But his greatest and most continued efforts were directed against the Arab allies of the Roman empire in Syria.

As Persia claimed Hîra and the eastern tribes, so Rome assumed for her allies, or retainers, the Arabs of Western Syria;

theory is that Tibbân Asâd Abu Carib, king of Yemen, left here his invalid soldiers; but his expedition did not take place till about 235 A. D.,—a considerable time after the foundation both of Hîra and Anbâr. The question is not one of much importance. The main point is undoubted, *vis.*, that the kingdom of Hîra originated in an Arab colony.

* These consisted of three classes. I. The *Ibad*, or inhabitants of Hîra and its environs. II. The *Tonâkhîtes*, or Arabs (Bedouin) who had immigrated from Arabia into the neighbouring country. III. The *Akkaf*, their allies. The two latter dwelt in tents, and lived a nomad life on the pasture lands adjoining the Euphrates.

and in the struggle between the empires, these two divisions of the Arab clan were wont to fight on their respective sides. Thus rivalry and frequent warfare sprang up, fomented by the private enmities of the Arabs themselves, and often receiving singular illustration in the pages of Roman history.

It was after the middle of the second century, according to the Arab authorities, that the Roman Emperor (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus,) invested the chief of the Bani Samayda, *Odenath* or *Odzeina*, with the sovereignty of Syrian Arabia. The third or fourth in descent from him was *Amr*, son of *Tzarib*, whose kingdom extended to the Euphrates, and embraced a portion of Mesopotamia. He waged war, in the middle of the third century, with various success, against *Jodzeima*, king of *Hira*, by whom he was at length killed, (260—270 A.D.) His widow, (or according to some, his daughter) *Zebba* avenged the death of *Amr*, by inviting *Jodzeima*, under pretence of marriage, to her capital, and there murdering him. The Arab annals abound with marvellous tales of *Zebba*. She possessed a tunnel underneath the Euphrates, and on either bank a fortress, one commanded by herself, the other by her sister *Zeinab*. Her summer residence was *Tadmor*, or *Palmyra*. The successor of *Jodzeima* (*Amr*, son of *Adi*) resolved to revenge his death, and by a stratagem introduced into her citadel 2,000 warriors concealed as merchandize in as many bags hung across the backs of camels. Taken by surprise, *Zebba* fled to her river fortresses, and, having in vain endeavoured to escape by one or the other, destroyed herself by a subtle poison which she always carried in a ring.* With *Zebba*, the dynasty of *Odzeina* fell into obscurity.

These details leave little doubt of the identity of *Septi-*

* Her speech on this occasion *بمدي " لا بد ابن عدي " Let me fall by my own hand not by the hand of the son of Adi*! is proverbial. So also the proverb — *انفك ما جدد قصير* " *It was for an important end, Cusseir cut off his nose*:" refers to the stratagem by which *Cusseir*, the minister of *Adi*, ingratiated himself with *Zebba*, representing that he had fled from the cruelty of *Adi's* son, who had mutilated his nose. He became her merchant, and introduced the soldiers in the manner stated above, as a new investment of goods. (*M. C. de Perceval*, 11. p. 38.) The whole of these circumstances, with many fabulous adjuncts, will be found in *Price's Essay on Arabia antedated to Mohammed*, chapter iv., (which is a mere compilation of Persian histories.)

It is evident that these proverbs must have taken their rise in the events related, or in the popular tradition of them. But such is not the case with the great majority of the proverbs reported by *M. C. de Perceval*, as originating in special events or speeches: these are mostly of a general nature, and having nothing personal about them, are equally applicable to many different occasions. Thus, "*Sweet honey in a bad jar*," (*Ibid.*, p. 651,) and "*After disarming comes captivity, and after captivity death*," (*Ibid.*, p. 578,) would apply to a thousand different circumstances.

mius Odenathus, and his wife Zenobia of classic fame, with the Amr and Zebba of Arabic history. The family of Odenath, honoured with many immunities, and illustrated by the royal surname of Septimius Severus, revolted against Rome, and about the middle of the third century declared Palmyra an independent Government. Septimius Odenath, after hesitating betwixt the allegiance of Rome and Persia, and on the captivity of Valerian inclining towards Sapor, at-length entered upon a decisive struggle with Persia, and in several engagements having covered himself with glory, vanquished the Persian armies and ravaged Mesopotamia. By artful movements in a critical period of civil discord, he rendered essential service to the Emperor Gallienus, and was elevated as his colleague to the imperial purple. He was assassinated at Emessa (A. D. 267) by his nephew Mæonius.* But Zenobia killed the murderer, and after a short but splendid reign, and opposition far from contemptible to the Roman army, she fled from Palmyra, and was made prisoner as she reached the Euphrates (273 A. D.) It can hardly be doubted that the Arabs and the Romans have styled the same hero by different appellations—the former by his proper name of *Amr*, the latter by his patronymic *Odenath*. As little need we hesitate in recognizing Zebba of Tadmor, in the Zenobia of Palmyra: the beauty, the chastity, the commercial riches, the acquaintance with the tongues of Syria, Greece, Italy and Egypt, and many other particulars common to both, all point to one and the same individual ‡. The Arab Zebba perished on a fruitless attempt to escape from her river battlements; the Roman heroine was captured as she was about to cross the Euphrates in a boat. But the Arabs mistook the enemy of Zenobia; it was not the king of Hira, but the Emperor of Rome.†

* See the account of these events in *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, chapters X. and XI. *M. C. de Perc.*, II., p. 193 et seq. If we followed only the similarity of names, *Zenobia* would stand for *Zeinab* the sister of Zebba. It is remarkable that a *Zabda* or *Zaba* is also mentioned by the Greek and Roman authors, and Vopiscus speaks of "*Zenobium*. Et *Zabam*, *Ejus Sociam*," as if the latter were a female; but as the person who went by that name was Zenobia's general in Egypt, the feminine gender must be a mistake, and the correspondence with the Arabic name accidental. *Zenobia's character* agrees only with that of Zebba. (*M. C. de Perc.*, II., p. 30, note 4)

† Consult the account given of her character and fortunes by Gibbon. (*Decline and Fall*, chapter XI.)

‡ This subject illustrates the feeble authority of unsupported Mahometan history of remote date. "Les Arabes ont travesti l'histoire de Zénobie; ils font jouer au roi de Hira Amr fils D'Adi, le rôle de l'empereur Aurélien dans le dénoûment du drame. Amr fils D'Adi pouvait avoir soutenu quelque guerre contre Zénobie; il aura suffi aux auteurs de la légende, pour lui attribuer la catastrophe de Zénobie ou Zebba, que le renversement de la puissance de cette reine ait eu lieu sous son règne." (*M. C. de Perc.*, I., p. 199) Gibbon has well drawn the same conclusion from a vital omission: "So little has been preserved of eastern history before Mahomet,

We return to Jodzeima, the Prince of Hira. His daughter married Adis, the son of Rabia, the Lakhmite king of Yemen, (who, as has been already related, sent his family to Irac, about 205 A. D.) and gave birth to AMR, whom Jodzeima adopted as his successor. Strange and fabulous are the Arab legends of this child. He was carried off by the genii, and after many years, found by a cistern in the desert, with long dishevelled hair and nails like the claws of a bird. During his reign (268-288 A. D.) besides vanquishing Zebba, he gained other conquests. Amongst these was Mesopotamia, for after Zenobia's fall, the Romans loosened their grasp on that country, and it passed into the empire of Persia and the Government of Hira.*

Amr was succeeded by his son IMRUL CAYS I. (288—338 A. D.) who according to certain Arabian authors, was a convert to Christianity; but the fact is improbable. It is not, however, unlikely that Christianity had been introduced among his *subjects* before the beginning of the fourth century.†

It was in this reign that Sapor II. of Persia, visited some of the tribes of Central and Northern Arabia, with severe reprisals for ravages committed during his minority. The brunt of his fury fell upon the Bani Iyâd, Bani Bakr, and other families of Meccan origin. To prevent similar incursions the king caused a deep trench to be dug from the Persian Gulph along the frontier of Irac, and though it formed but a feeble obstacle to Arab insurgents, yet three centuries later, on the Moslem conquest, the remains of the *Khandaq-Sabâr* or "Trench of Sapor" were still visible near Cadesiya.

After two or three successions NOMAN I. reached the throne (390—418 A. D.) Under his auspices Hira became prosperous and powerful, and acquired the appellation *Hirat al Nomân*, contracted by the Syrians, Greeks and Romans into *Hirta*,

Yezdegird, king of Persia, entrusted the education of his son, Bahrâm Gour, to Nomân, who built for his use, a salu-

that the modern Persians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious to their nation. " (*Decline and Fall*, chapter X.) But Mahometans look with coldness and indifference upon any conquest before the time of Islam, their *nationality* dates only from that epoch (*M. de Perc.* II., p. 21.—*Price's Essay* as above, p. 121, *et seq.*)

* This result of the struggle may have given that turn to the legend which connects the fall of Zenobia with the princes of Hira. (*M. C. de Perc.* II., p. 46.)

† M. C. de Perceval mentions on the authority of de Lequeu (Oriens Christ. II. 1078.) that some Roman captives brought to Babylonia, introduced Christianity there about 271 A. D. But even apart from such cause, in the ordinary course of diffusion, it is probable that Christianity had reached across the desert by that period. The Government of Hira, however, was addicted to idolatry for some time after.

brrious site, the famous palace of Khawarnac. The Greek architect imprudently divulged, that if a certain stone, known to him alone, were removed, the edifice would fall to the ground: Nomân resolved that the secret should perish with him, and the unfortunate Sinnimâr was precipitated from one of the lofty bastions and dashed to pieces.*

Under Nomân Christianity made rapid progress. It was about the year 410 A. D., that Simeon the Stylites retired to the top of a hill to the east of Antioch, and by a life of wonderful austerity, and the fame of miraculous power, attracted multitudes to his presence. Irac and Arabia heard the rumour of his virtues: many Arabs joined the throng of his admirers and became well disposed to Christianity. Nomân, fearing, perhaps, lest enthusiasm for the Syrian monk might engender favor for the Roman Government, forbade his subjects under pain of death to visit the desert sanctuary. But the monarch saw a dream by night, in which Simeon appeared to chide him, and caused two of his disciples to administer a severe castigation for his ungodly conduct. The prince awoke, smarting under the effects of the visionary chastisement, and made haste not only to withdraw the prohibition, but to allow the erection of churches, and to welcome the ministration of eccle-iastics. This narrative is said to have been received by a Roman General from the mouth of Nomân himself, who added that, but for the dread of the Persian monarch, he would not hesitate to become a Christian.† It was agreed by all that Nomân abandoned idolatry, and it is affirmed by some that he embraced Christianity. There is, at any rate, good ground for believing that, dissatisfied with the world, and anxious to pass the rest of his days in quiet devotion, he abdicated the Government, and about 418 A. D., disappeared.‡

* Hence "to receive the reward of Sinnimâr," is a proverbial expression for being treated ungratefully.

† This was the period when Yezdegird distinguished himself by the persecution of Christianity, 416, A. D.

‡ The Poet Adî has made allusion to this incident in the following verses, addressed as an admonition to Nomân V. his pupil, and a descendant of this prince:—

لَدِيرِ رَبِّ الْخَوَارِنَقِ إِذْ أَشْرَفَ يَوْمًا وَلِلدِّي تَفَكُّرِ
سِرِّ مَالِهِ وَكَثْرَةِ مَا يَمْلِكُ وَالْبَحْرِ مَعْرِفَةِ وَالسَّيْرِ
وَأَرْسَوِي قَبْلَهُ وَقَالَ وَ مَا فَعَلَا حَيَّ إِلَهِي الْمَنَاسِ يَسْمِرُ

"Reflect upon the Lord of Khawarnac, (for reflection leadeth to wisdom;) how when one day he looked abroad from on high:—

"His heart was entranced by the view of his wealth, of the multitude of his possessions, of the river that flowed before him, and of the palace of Sedir:—

"But suddenly his heart smote him, and he said, "what is there to be envied in the living (possessor of all these things,) seeing that he hastened unto the dead?"

Sedir was another famous country palace, which Nomân built for himself (*M. C de Perc.* II, p. 59.)

To Nomân succeeded MUNDZIR I. (418—462 A. D.) who finished the education of the famous Bahram, and aided in gaining for him the Persian Crown. The persecution of Christianity, persevered in by Bahram, re-kindled hostilities with the Roman Empire. The Romans besieged Nisibis; while Mundzir, with a cloud of Arabs, threatened Syria and even Antioch. The churches were filled with suppliants to avert the coming vengeance, and in effect, a panic is said to have seized the Arab troops: they turned their arms against each other, and precipitated themselves into the Euphrates.* This occurred in the early years of Mundzir's reign. In 422 A. D. a lasting peace was concluded, and we hear little more of him from the Greek and Latin historians, whose incidental notices of the Arabs are confined to the wars between the two Empires.

Towards the end of the fifth century, hostilities again broke out between Persia and Constantinople, and we find Nomân III., during his short reign 498—593 A. D., almost constantly engaged, with various fortune, in warfare with the Roman troops. But about the beginning of the sixth century, an irruption of Arabs, independent alike of the Roman and of the Persian rule, carried terror and devastation throughout Syria. These were the Bani Bakr, and other central tribes, who under the guidance of the Kinda-ite chief *Hârith*, son of Amir al Macsûr (of whom there will be further mention hereafter) threw themselves into western Syria: but having in 502 A. D. concluded a treaty with the Roman Emperor, they turned their arms against the kingdom of Hîra, defeated the troops sent to oppose them, and plundered the country all around. The panic and confusion were so great, that Hârith seized possession of the city and the Government; but after a time retired with his Arab hordes to their native deserts,†

After a short interregnum, IMRULCAYS III. 505—513 A. D.) became fixed in the Government of Hîra. In a previous incursion into Arabia, he had carried off the famous Ma-al-Samâ, or "water of the skies," so termed from her unrivalled beauty;

* Cf. Gibbon, Ch. XXXII. These facts are of course gathered from the Greek and Latin authorities alone.

† Joshua the Stylite, a contemporary historian, calls these invaders *Thalabites*. Their leader is also called by Theophanes, Aretas surnamed *Thalabanes*, Ο τῆς Θαλαβανῆς or son of the *Thalabites*. The Arab historians tell us that the invaders were Bakrites, which corresponds with the title given them by the Greek writers, as including the great branch of the descendants of *Thâlaba*, son of Ocâba. It is remarkable that Hârith's mother was descended from Thâlaba, though his father was of the tribe of Kinda. The *matronymic* of the Greek historian thus wonderfully coincides with the facts given us by the Arabs; and the coincidence imparts a credibility to the whole narrative.

and she bore him a son and successor, named Mundzir.* But the seizure of this lady gave rise to serious hostilities with Central Arabia, which were at last put a stop to by the marriage of Mundzir to Hind, daughter of Hârith, the marauding chief noticed above.

The early part of the reign of MUNDZIR III. (513—562 A. D.), was full of trouble. It was at this time that the communist principles of the impostor Mazdak, adopted and enforced by the sovereign Cobâd, were rife in Persia, and threatened the social system throughout the land with an utter disorganization. Mundzir rejected the abominable doctrine; and in the year 518 A. D. his domains were assigned to the Arab, Hârith. But principles so abhorrent from human nature could not long hold their ground. The impostor carried his arrogance to the pitch of demanding the Queen of Persia: her son, the future Kesra (*Chosroes*) Anushirvan, boiled with indignation at the request; but he repressed his anger, and bided his time for revenge. The socialists † redoubled their efforts, and Cobâd at last seeing his throne in danger, abandoned the seat to his son. Kesra was not long in beheading Mazdak, and in one morning 1,000,000 of his followers are said to have expiated the social enormity with their lives.

Mundzir, aided by Kesra, expelled Hârith from Hira, and pursued him with slaughter into Arabia. He re-entered upon the Government in 523 A. D. His reign was thenceforward one of prosperity, and he attained a power unknown to any of his predecessors.

Abul Feda asserts, and Christian historians generally believe, that Mundzir III. was a convert to Christianity: but the conclusion is contradicted by other evidence. In the beginning of his reign he may have made enquiries into our faith; but there is every reason to believe that, like the generality of Arabs in

* He is called by the Greek historians Ἀλαγονδαρος ὁ Σκιρκης, or *Mundzir the descendant of Shakkka*. M. C. de Perceval, by an ingenious and apparently sound deduction, corrects by means of this title, a confusion in the chronology of the Arab historians themselves. Some of those, misguided by the similarity of name, make *Nomân I.* to be the son of Shakkka; whereas that lady must have been the wife of his son Mundzir I., and mother of his grandson Nomân II., who was the ancestor of our Mundzir in the text. Mundzir I. had a second wife, Hind; and to distinguish the posterity of the other, they were styled the "branch of Shakkka." But had Shakkka been the wife of the first Mundzir's father, the title would have been meaningless, as applying to the whole of his descendants. The phrase quoted above, and preserved by the Greeks from the Arab currency of the day, thus ingeniously applied serves to correct the later Arab authorities. (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II., p. 77.)

† They appear to have coalesced with the *Manicheans*. Indeed, the Greeks call both by the latter name: and the Arabs both by the term *Zendâica*. The 42nd chapter of *Gibbon's Decline and Fall* may be consulted for the incidents of this period.

his day, he remained a Pagan ; and towards the end of his life, he alternately protected and persecuted the Christians.

Eutychian doctrine was at this time supported by the Emperor Anastasius, and caused dissension in the church. Severus, the Patriarch of Antioch, shortly after the accession of Mundzir, sent two bishops to gain him over to his side. The prince listened to their arguments, but having adroitly entrapped them into the confession that angels could not die, he drew the deduction that much less could the divine nature be subject to death, and caused his reverend guests to retire in confusion. The story is probably founded on fact, and illustrates the opposing heterodoxies that were gradually paving the way for Islam.

Another deputation deserves special notice. Two Grecian Generals having fallen, by the chance of war, into the hands of the king of Hira, the Emperor Justin sent an ambassador named Abraham, with the Bishop Simcon, to demand their deliverance. Not finding Mundzir at his capital, they set out, on the 20th January 524, for his camp, which they reached ten days' journey to the south of Hira. Their mission was successful. It was during this visit that Mundzir received the letter noticed above from the Jewish prince of Yemen, Dzu Nowás, giving tidings of the butchery of the Christians in Nowás, and inviting him to follow his example. After causing the letter to be read aloud to the army, in which there were a very great number of Christians, Mundzir is said to have thus addressed them :—" *See ye not, how your fellow Christians are treated elsewhere ? Why will not ye renounce the religion of Jesus ? Think ye that I will treat you more favourably than other princes, who have proscribed them ?*" From amid the ranks, a soldier boldly replied, "*We were Christians before we were thy subjects. No one dares make us renounce our faith : if pushed to defend ourselves, the arm and the sword of each of us are as good as those of any other.*" Daunted by such boldness, Mundzir continued to the Christians their liberty ; but it is sufficiently evident that he was not a Christian himself.*

Soon after the death of Hârith, the influence of the tribe of Hinda, which had been the representative of the Himyar dynasty in Central Arabia, waned and expired. The Abyssinian invaders (525 A. D.) were regarded with aversion by the Arabs, and the allegiance hitherto tendered to their predecessors was transferred to the house of Hîra, or rather to Persia,

* It is however somewhat suspicious that this so critical a scene for the Christians, should have been enacted just as the embassy happened to be there. It may be exaggerated, but even its invention would have been, in the highest degree, improbable had Mundzir been a Christian.

of which it was the vassal.* This important change, which occurred about 530 A. D., enabled Mundzir, with less apprehension from the south, and with a greater reserve of allies, to prosecute his Parthian warfare against Syria. Sudden as a thunder-storm, his troops would darken some fated spot, and sweeping in their train terror and devastation, captivity and death, they would as suddenly disappear, scorning the pursuit of the Roman army, which could find no sign of their enemy but in his ravages. For thirty years, with some intervals of truce, these hostilities were waged, either against the Romans or their allies, the Arab dynasty of Ghassân.† It was in this period that Belisarius so distinguished himself in repelling the inroads of Kesra, which reached even to Antioch,‡ and in preserving the Roman frontier. Mundzir was at last killed (562 A. D.) in a campaign against Hārith V., of the Ghassân line§

*It was through the exercise of the influence thus acquired, that Mundzir III. put a stop to the desolating war (the war of *Baḥā*), which had long raged between the Bakar and Taghlib tribes, who, as pledges of peace, sent to the court of Hīra each eighty young men, who were yearly changed. These formed the corps of the Rahān and were regarded as the flower of Arab chivalry. The greater part, if not the whole of the Māaddite tribes (or those of Meccan origin) submitted themselves to Hīra.

† In these lengthened campaigns, the private disputes of their respective vassals not unfrequently embroiled the Persian and Roman Governments, or were at least the ostensible cause of war. The following is an example :—"Unpractised in the art of violating treaties, he (the Persian King) secretly excited his bold and subtle vassal Almondar. That prince of the Saracens, who resided at Hīra, had not been included in the general peace, and still waged an obscure war against his rival Arethas, the chief of the tribe of Ghassân, and confederate of the empire. The subject of their dispute was an extensive sheep-walk in the desert to the south of Palmyra. An immemorial tribute for the license of pasture appeared to arrest the rights of Almondar, while the Ghassânide appealed to the Latin name of *Strata*, a paved road, as an unquestionable evidence of the sovereignty and labours of the Romans. The two monarchs supported the cause of their respective vassals; and the Persian Arab, without expecting the event of a slow and doubtful arbitration, enriched his flying camp with the spoil and captives of Syria." (*Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, ch. XLII. — *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II., p. 98)

‡ In 528 A. D. Mundzir appeared in the vicinity of Antioch, and burnt the suburbs of Chalcis (Kinasrīn). By the time the Roman troops were put in motion, he had regained the desert with a multitude of captives (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II. p. 93.) This is not to be confounded with the invasion of Syria, and sack of Antioch by Chosroes in 540 A. D. (*Gibbon*, ch. XLII.)

§ An incident in one of these Syrian campaigns throws light on the religious practices of the northern Arabs. In the year 541 A. D., Belisarius having convoked a council of war, two Roman officers, in command of Syrian garrisons, declined to follow the army to Nisibis, on the plea that their absence would leave Syria and Phenicia exposed to the attacks of Mundzir. Belisarius argued that as the summer solstice was at hand, when the Arabs devoted two months to the practices of their religion without resorting to arms, there was no cause for apprehension, and he promised to let them go when that period was expired. These were the months of Meccan pilgrimage: and we hence learn that Mundzir and the majority of his Arabs followed the religion of the Hejāz. The period also coincides singularly with *M. C. de Perceval's* system for calculating the Meccan calendar.

In another place Procopius loosely states, that Mundzir having made prisoner, a son of the Ghassânide prince, immolated him to Venus. By Venus he may possibly have meant Lāt or Ozza.

AMR III. (562—574 A. D.) was not slow in avenging the death of his father, by a fierce attack upon the Ghassânide kingdom. Shortly after his succession, a peace was concluded between Persia and the Roman Empire. But Amr, dissatisfied with the stoppage of a pension received by his father, sent an embassy of complaint to Constantinople, and was so mortified by the mode of its reception, that he again overran Syria with his armies. He also waged bloody wars with the Bani Tay and Bani Tamim (tribes of Central Arabia); the latter of whom had murdered his brother. He met with his death, A. D. 574, in a singular mode, highly illustrative of Arab manners. He had sworn in his pride that his own mother should be served by the mother of the haughtiest Arab in the land. Accordingly, at an appointed festival, the mother of Amr, a warrior-poet of the Bani Taghlib, was invited into the tent of the prince's mother, who sought to entrap her into the apparently insignificant act of handing her a dish. But the proud spirit of the Arab lady spurned the office; and resenting the affront, she screamed loudly to her tribe. Her son started at the call, and springing up struck the prince dead upon the spot. It was in the eighth year of this king's reign that Mahomet was born.

Henceforth Hîra seems to have declined, and there is an uncertainty about some of the successions to its sovereignty. In 580 A. D., MUNDZIR IV. was raised to the throne. Jealous of his brothers, or anticipating the success of the Romans, he had gone over to them, and repaired to Constantinople with his suite; but, subsequently, he changed sides and joined Hormuzd the Persian monarch, who conferred on him the Crown of Hîra. He fell, finally, as a captive into the hands of the Romans, and for his defection was banished to Sicily.*

NOMAN V. ABU CABUS succeeded Amr (583—605 A. D.) He was brought up by Adi, one of the most renowned of the city poets † whose history bears upon that of Hîra. His remote ancestor Ayûb (Job,) of the Bani Tamim (a Bedouin tribe, of Meccan origin,) having committed murder, fled to the court of Hîra, and being received with distinction, settled there. The sixth in descent from him was the poet Adi, whose grandfather and father (Zeid) both held offices of trust at Hîra. ‡ Adi and his father were both charged with the

*This is the account of the Greek historians; the Arabs make him perish in a battle with the Ghassânide army.

† The city poets were regarded as inferior to the free poets of the desert.

‡ His grandfather was Secretary to Nomân III., and his father Director of the Post. On the death of Nomân IV., his father was placed by the people in temporary charge of the Government.

education of the young Nomân. In process of time (575 A. D.) Adi received, at the court of Persia, the post of Arabic Secretary to the Monarch. In 581 he was despatched by the court of Persia on a pacific embassy to Constantinople, and commissioned with a rich present for the Emperor Tiberius. He travelled back by the imperial relays of horses, and by a route calculated to convey the largest idea of the power and resources of the Roman Empire. On his return to Medâin or Ctesiphon, he sought and obtained leave of absence to visit Hira, where he was received by the king and the people with triumphant acclamation. It was on this occasion, that on a Maundy Thursday, he met at the church of Tûma, *Hind*, the grand-daughter of the reigning prince Mundzir IV., and daughter of his own pupil, the future Nomân V. The damsel partook of the Sacrament there: Adi caught a glimpse, and was enamoured of her. His passion was reciprocated, and though she was scarce eleven years old, they were united in marriage.

These facts show that both Adi and Hind professed the Christian faith. It is agreed by all that Nomân V. was likewise of the same religion; and by some, his conversion is attributed to the instruction of his preceptor Adi.*

It was by Adi's influence at the court of Persia, that Nomân V. was chosen from amongst his brethern to be the king of Hira. But that influence procured him enemies. He was misrepresented to Nomân, who, forgetful of all he owed to his preceptor and patron, deceitfully invited him to Hira, cast him into

* It is said, that he was won over from idolatry to Christianity thus: the prince and his preceptor chanced in their walks to pass by a cemetery situated between the city and the river. Adi said, "*Dost thou know what the inhabitants of these tombs say? This is their language.*"

إيا ركب المغبون علي الأرض مجدون * مثل انتم حبيبا و
كما نحن تكونون *

رب ركب قد انا خوا حولنا * يشربون الخمر بالماء الزلال *

ثم اصحوا لعب الدمر بهم * وكذلك الدمر حال بعد حال *

"Oh ye Company of travellers hasting along upon the earth and labouring!

Like you, *we* lived: and like us, *ye* too shall die!

Many a company have made their camels kneel down around us;—

And as they halted quaffed wine mingled with the limpid stream;—

The morning passed away, and lo! they had become the sport of time:—

Even thus is time, but one state following upon another.—*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II., p. 143.

Nomân was deeply moved by the solemn warning conveyed in these touching lines and embraced the Christian faith.

Others say that Simeon the bishop of Hira, delivered him from a demon by which he had been possessed: and that thenceforward he became a Christian.

Under any circumstances it is agreed that he was converted before his accession to the throne.

prison, and, notwithstanding the endeavours of the king of Persia, put him to death. His widow, Hind, retired to a convent, which was thenceforward called by her name (*Dâyr Hind*.) She survived to see Hira fall into the hands of the Moslem army; and, to crown the strange vicissitudes of her life, the Mahometan commander of Irâc, the warlike Mughîra, son of Shôba, repaired to the convent in the year 661 A.D., and demanded the hand of the princess, then about ninety years of age, in marriage. "If it were my youth or my beauty," she replied, "that dictated the proposal, I should not have refused; but your desire is only that you may say *"the kingdom of Nomân and his daughter have passed into my hands."* Is not that your thought?" Mughîra confessed that it was, and she scorned the union. Soon after the interview she died.

Hira no longer retained the prestige of victory over the Central Arabs. The troops of Nomân were discomfited by the Bani Yarbò, (a tribe of the Bani Tamîm,) from whom his court wished to take the post of *Ridâfa* or Lieutenantcy, and give it to another branch.* The two sons of Nomân were captured on the occasion, but generously released by the Bani Yarbò, who appear to have retained their privilege.

Nomân V. is famous in the annals of Arabia, chiefly because his reign approached close to Islam, and he was the patron of several renowned poets who celebrated his name.† At length Zeid, the son of the unfortunate Adi, procured his disgrace at the Persian court, in revenge for the murder of his father. Zeid praised the beauties of Hira to the king of Persia, who readily adopted his suggestion, that some of their lovely faces might adorn his harem. An embassy was accordingly despatched to Nomân, who, surprised by the demand, expressed aloud his wonder, that the monarch of Persia was not satisfied with the *antelope* beauties of his own land. The term was equivocal, and Nomân was represented to have spoken of the females of Persia as *cows*. The wrath of Kesra fell upon his ungallant vassal, and he fled from Hira. After vainly wandering among the Arab tribes, and leaving his arms in the custody of Hânî, a chief of the Bani Bakr, he in despair delivered

* The *Ridâf* took his place at the right hand of the king, rode behind him, &c. The office was established by Mundzir III. (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. 11., p. 102)

† His name has descended in many ways. His partiality for the flower called the *anemone*, procured for it that name: for it was called *Shacâick an-nomân*, النعمان شقائق. so also a town built by him on the right bank of the Tigris, between Wasit and Baghdad, was called *Nomâniya*, (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. 11. p. 156).

himself up to the king of Persia. The unfortunate prince was made to pass between two long rows of lovely Persian girls splendidly attired, and each taunted him with the question, whether *she* was a Persian *cow*. He was cast into prison, and there died or was murdered. Thus ended the LAKHMITÉ DYNASTY, in the year 605 A. D., having lasted the venerable space of 327 years.

An Arab of the tribe of Tay, who had rendered service in action to the king of Persia, was raised by him, but within circumscribed limits, to the Government of Hîra. Meanwhile Kesra demanded of Hânî the arms and property which Nomân had deposited with him. The Bani Bakr resented the claim, and indignant at the murder of Nomân, they arrayed themselves in opposition, and carried pillage and confusion into the Persian provinces. The king vainly endeavoured to interpose an obstacle, by granting to Cays, one of the Bakrite chiefs, a jagir around *Obolla*, on the right bank of the Tigris. But, notwithstanding the efforts and hospitality of Cays, the depredations still continued, and Kesra resolved on inflicting a signal retribution upon his rebellious vassals. All the influence of Hîra was given to swell with Arab allies, the innumerable Persian army, which was to crush the Bani Bakr. But the word of alarm had been given, and rapidly as it passed from clan to clan, amongst the ramifications of that great tribe, the Arabs flocked to the rendezvous in the valley of Dzu Câr. The ranks were about to close, when the iron-hearted Hantzala, who had by acclamation been chosen Commander, with his own hand severed the girths of the camels on which were seated his wife and the other women of the tribe; and thus abandoned them, in case of defeat, to certain captivity. The Arabs fought with desperate bravery, and the Persian army was completely routed. This defeat, ominous of the fate of Persia, took place A. D. 611. A few months previous, Mahomet, now forty years of age, had entered on his prophetic career.

Iyas, the Arab Governor of Hîra, was shortly after deposed in disgrace; and Hîra governed thereafter by a Persian grandee called Zâdiya, fell into the rank of a common satrapy of Persia, and thus continued till it was swallowed up in the Mahometan empire.

From the victory of Dzu Câr, the Bani Bakr continued independent. The other tribes of Central Arabia, who had hitherto been held in vassalship to the Persian king, through his Arab representative at Hîra, now spurned the patronage of a foreign satrap, and regarded with contempt the power of a nation

torn by discord, and paralysed by a succession of kings, so rapid and ceaseless, as to be incapable of continuous government. The warrior prophet of Arabia was now rising to view as the paramount chief in Arabia, and the central and western tribes, between 628 and 631 A. D., joyfully transferred their allegiance, from a foreign and decrepit power, to a native and vigorous government. But the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, who professed Christianity, continued for some years longer to hold to Persia, and recognize its authority.

We now turn to the kingdom of the GHASSANITE Arabs, situated on the western side of the Syrian desert. The fortunes of Odenathus and Zenobia have been already traced. After their fall, the Romans would appear to have recognized as Kings or Phylarchs of the Syrian Arabs, the chiefs of the Bani Salîh, (a Codhâte tribe, which as has been mentioned, migrated to Syria,) or of the Tonûkhites, who came westward from Hîra.

It has been related above how a great body of the Azdites emigrated from Yemen about 120 A. D. They halted in the Hejâz, on their northward progress; but after a lengthened residence in the valley of Batn Marr, not far from Mecca, the land became too strait for them, and again, in the beginning of the third century, they pursued their northward journey. It was now that they received the appellation of *Ghassan*, from their long residence by the way, near a fountain of that name. At last, during the dynasty of Odenath, they emerged on the plains of Bosra, near the country of Balcâa. The Bani Salîh, who inhabited the vicinage, allowed them, by direction of the Roman authorities, to settle, but demanded tribute, which, after an unsuccessful struggle, the proud Ghassânites consented to pay. But they paid unwillingly, and bided there time. About the close of the third century, an altercation arose between one of their chiefs and the tax-gatherer of the Bani Salîh, the latter was killed; both tribes took up arms, and the Ghassânite party were completely victorious. The Roman authorities took little interest in this struggle. They needed a barrier between Syria and the Persian frontier, but they were indifferent whether it should be composed of the Bani Salîh, or of the Bani Ghassân. When the latter accordingly agreed to be their faithful allies, no difficulty was found in acknowledging their chief THALABA, the son of Amr, as the Phylarch or King of the Ghassânities. It was stipulated that, in case of need, the Arab should aid the Emperor with 20,000

men, while the Emperor guaranteed to succour his allies if attacked by an army 40 000 strong.*

About the year 300 A. D., the Government passed into the hands of another THÁLABA,† the fifth in descent from Amr Mozaikia, and progenitor of the famous Ghassânide Dynasty. The history of this line is not so certain as that of Hîra. Here there was no fixed seat of Government; each prince made choice of his own, or spent his life in the camp. The continuous evidence arising out of a settled capital being here deficient, we find much confusion in the number, succession, and names of the kings; while the presence of several subordinate or independent dynasties, on the borders of Arabia, which it is not always easy to distinguish from Ghassânides, introduces another element of uncertainty.

The elevation of Thálaba caused much jealousy and discontent, and two branches of the Ghassân tribe, descended from *Aws and Khazraj* (grandsons of Amr Mozaikia,) separated from their brethren, and returned southwards. They settled at Yathreb or Medina, where they will be found at a subsequent part of our story. On the first rise of Islam, they were still Pagans, and worshipped idols; a fact which seems to disprove the Arab account, that the Bani Ghassân professed Christianity and built monasteries in the middle of our second century. It is indeed *possible* that the Aws and Khazraj relapsed into idolatry after quitting Syria; but is more probable that the whole Ghassân tribes were then Pagan, and did not embrace Christianity till Constantine brought many political inducements to bear upon their conversion.

The discontent of the Ghassânites was speedily quelled by the success of HARITH, the son of Thálaba (303—330 A. D.) in his predatory excursions. It is supposed that Christianity was adopted by the tribe under his successor JABALA (330—360 A. D.)‡

During the next reign,—that of HARITH II. (360—373 A. D.)

* These are the accounts of the Arab writers

† *Arethas* or *Hārith* is a very frequent name of the Ghassân princes; but there is no ground for holding that it was a title common to *all* the Syrian Phylarchs. Several of the Ghassânite Kings called *Jabala*, are also styled *Harith*; and it is possible that they took this surname (which signifies a *lion*,) in opposition to that of Mundzir (a *dog*), borne by many of their rivals, the Kings of Hîra. (*M. C. de Perc* vol. ii. p. 210).

‡ This would be the period when politically its introduction was most probable. But there is no direct proof. Sozomenes asserts that an Arab Prince *Zacome* (called by Lequien *Zaracome*,) having obtained a son through the prayers of a monk, was with his whole tribe converted to Christianity; but it is difficult to identify any such prince in the Ghassân line. The nearest approach M. C. de Perceval can make is in the name of *Arcom*, a grandson of THÁLABA.

is thought to have occurred the ill-fated expedition of Julian against Persia. We learn from Roman history, that the Ghassânite allies, discontented with the stoppage of the accustomed subsidies, took advantage of the reverses of the imperial army, harassed its retreat, and cut up its rear guard.*

Hârith was succeeded by his widow MAVIA (373—380 A. D.) who turned her arms against the Romans, and devastated Phœnicia and Palestine. She defeated the troops sent against her; but consented to peace on condition that Moses, a man renowned for his miracles, should be sent as the Bishop of her nation. He was drawn from his solitude, and consecrated accordingly; and it is said that he destroyed the remains of idolatry among the Ghassânites. Mâvia gave her daughter in marriage to the Count Victor, and by her subsidy of Arab horse, contributed essentially to the defence of Constantinople against the Goths.† During the succeeding century little is known of the Ghassânite history, but an imperfect and sometimes confused list of names, and some warlike passages with the Kings of Hîra.

We pass on to JABALA III. called also HARITH IV.,) 495—529 A. D. He belonged to another branch of the house of Thâlaba, and many historians commence the Ghassân succession from him. He is styled *Al Akbar* the Great or Elder,) as the first of three famous Hâriths who illustrated the fortunes of the dynasty. His wife *Mâria Dsât al Curtain* ('Maria of the earrings,') belonged to the Yemen tribe of Kinda, and her sister was married to the Kindaite prince, *Hajor Akil Al Morar*. It is not certain how this alliance was contracted; but we find Hârith at war with the Kinda tribe, whose chief, *Amr Al Macshr*, son of Hojr, he killed in battle. Hârith perished in an encounter with Mundzir III., of Hîra. Strange stories are related of the carings of his wife, which are proverbial for inestimable value.‡ According to some she presented them either before, or upon, her adoption of Christianity, to the temple at Mecca: according to others, they remained in possession of her descendants, and were worn by Jabala VI.,

* See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, ch. xxiv. But the name of "*Malch Rodasaces*, the renowned Emir of the tribe Ghassân," it is not possible to connect with any in the Ghassânite line.

† This is from the Grecian historians, Theophanes and Ammianus. M. C. de Perceval shows that the Arabs appear to have confounded *Mâria* with *Maria*, a princess who lived about a century later:—another specimen of the critical skill of our Arab historians.

‡ Thus, — ماربي ر لى بقري Each, they say, was the size of a pigeon's egg.

when in 637 A. D., he visited Mecca to do homage to Omar.

The Roman historians notice about this time, two Phylarchs, who must have been distinct from the Bani Ghassân. One called *Abo Charib* (Abu Carib received the chieftainship of the Arabs of Palestine, in exchange for a country washed by the Red Sea.* He assisted the Romans against the rebel Samaritans, and received in return 20,000 prisoners, whom he sold into Persia and Abyssinia. Cays, a Kindite prince, is also mentioned as having received an Arab Government from Justinian, about the year 536.†

HÂRITH V., surnamed *the lame* (530—572 A. D.) is styled with satisfactory accuracy by Procopius. "Arethas, son of Gabala" (Jabala III.) He is celebrated for the honors showered upon him by Justinian, who, for the doubtful aid afforded against the Persians, conferred upon him the title of *king*‡ and even the rank of Patrician. In 531 A. D., he contributed to the defeat of Belisarius, by his "treacherous or cowardly desertion" at the battle of Callinicus.§ Ten years later, he assisted Belisarius in an inroad upon Mesopotamia, and created a diversion in the ambitious plans of Chosroes: but again he acted treacherously, and secured for himself the sole booty of a rich tract of country, while, by false advices, he kept the Romans long waiting his return under a pestilential sun.|| The Arab historians are silent as to these exploits, but they relate an expedition against the Jews of Tayma and Khaibar.

The wars of this prince with Hira have already been related, under the reigns of Mundzir III, and Amr III. Hârith repaired, A. D., 562, to Constantinople, to complain of the hostilities of Amr, after the conclusion of peace, and to procure the recognition of his son Hârith, as his successor. It was towards the end of the reign of Hârith the lame, that Mahomet was born

* It is described as bounded by Palestine in the north, by the country of the *Mtaddentians* on the south, stretching ten days' journey to the east, and producing only palms (*Procopius*).

† Malala and Theophanes refer to Hârith as having been in hostility with the Roman commander of Phœnicia and obliged to quit the province, and exile himself in the desert. During some such interregnum, the Princes here referred to may have reigned: or Palestine may have formed a phylarchy, separate from that of the Bani Ghassân. It seems difficult to believe that Abocharab, the Chief of Palestine, could have been the Hârith al Araf of the Arabs. (*M. C. de Perceval*, vol. ii, p. 237, Note 3.)

‡ Hitherto the title had been *Phylarch*.

§ See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, chap. xii.

|| *Ibid.*, chap. xlii.

OF HARITH THE LESS (572—587 A. D.) little is related, but that he obtained a victory over Mundzir III., at Ayn Obâgh : and indeed the kingdom of the Ghassânites does not henceforth occupy any distinguished place in the pages of history. The successor of this prince, AMR IV., ABU SHAMMIR (587—597 A. D.) has been rendered illustrious by his patronage of the Arab poets. It was in his reign that Hassân Abu Thâbit, the famous poet of Islam and friend of Mahomet, first appeared at the Ghassânide court, where he met his fellow poets, Nâbigha and Alcama, and began to enjoy the favour of a dynasty, several of whose members visited him with peculiar honors.

From 600 to 630 A. D., the chief ruler of the Ghassânites was HARITH VII., son of Abu Shammir, whose residence appears to have been sometimes at Jabia, sometimes at Ammân (*Philadelphus*, the capital of Balcâa. In 629 A. D., Mahomet addressed to him a summons to join Islam, which he contemptuously refused ; and shortly after he died.† Contemporaneously with Harith, and, probably, subordinate to him, there reigned at Palmyra AYHAM the son of Jabala ; and there existed other inferior Governments, such as that of SHURAHBIL, son of Jabala IV., at Maâb, and Muta, in Arabia Petrea.‡

Meanwhile the prestige of the Ghassânide rule had departed. The inroads of the Persians, in the reign of Phocas, and in the early years of that of Heraclius, had given it a shock,

* At the end of the 5th century, the rule of the chief branch of the Ghassânites extended over Jaulân and Haurân, as the following verses by Nâbigha Dhobiâni on the death of Noman VI. (597—600 A. D.) prove.

يكي حارث الجولان من نقد ربه * و حوران منه خاشع مفاذل
Jaulân (*Gaulonitis*, or the *Go'an* of Deut. chap. iv. 43 ; Joshua, chap. xx., 1 Chron. chap. vi) is the high mountainous country, east of the lake of Tiberias. Haurân (*Auranitis*) is adjacent to it.

At this time there was, apparently, a division of the kingdom ; for we find Hojr II. and Amr V, two grandsons of Harith the Lame, ruling over the Arabs of Palestine as far as Ayla on the Red Sea, (590—615 A. D.) Thus Hassan Ibn Thabit writes :—

* من يفر الومر لو يا منه من قبل بعد عمر و حجر
ملا من جبل الثلج الي حانبي ايله من مهد و جد *

" Who shall deceive time, or feel secure from its attack henceforth, after Amr and Hojr, the two princes who ruled bondmen and free, from the snow-capt hills, to the boundaries of Ayla."—*C. de Perc.* p. 249.

" The mountains of snow" are likely the high ranges of Tiberias. This branch was probably overthrown in the destructive war again kindled between Persia and the West, in the first steps of which Chosroes overran Syria, plundered Antioch, Damascus, and Jerusalem, and carried his ravages even to the borders of Egypt.

† *Wâkidi*, p. 50

‡ See also the account of an embassy from Mahomet to certain rulers in Amman. (*Wâkidi*, p. 304)

from which it never recovered ; and it is remarked even by a Mahometan writer, that the decadence of the race of Ghassân, was preparing the way for the glories of the Arabian Prophet.*

The last king of the race was JABALA VI., son of Ayham 630—637 A. D. The poet Hassân always spoke of this prince, with affection, and with gratitude : and, although, on embracing Islam, he discontinued his visits to the Ghassânide court, Jabala still continued to honor him by marks of his friendship. During Abu Bakr's Caliphate, this prince took an active, but always unfortunate part, in opposing the inroads of the Moslem armies, and he shared in the humiliation of the mournful day of Yarmuk. When Heraclius abandoned Syria he went over to Islam and Omar ; but his faith in the new prophet was neither deep nor lasting. On a fancied insult he recanted, and retired to Constantinople where his family and his name long survived.†

Of the rest of the world, Arabia maintained a singular independence of mind and institution. Egypt, Syria, Persia, as well as the Abyssinian kingdom of Axum, adjoined on Arabia, or were severed from it only by narrow inlets of the ocean ; yet they exercised but little influence upon the social and political fortunes of its inhabitants, who had no sympathy with their manners and their language ; while the hospitable deserts of the Peninsula never permitted the successful encroachment of foreign arms. But the dynasties of Hîra, and the Ghassânides were native to Arabia, and composed of materials which blended with the Arab mind, and struck an impression upon it. Both in warlike and social relations, there was with them a close connection. It was through them the Arabs communicated with the external world and derived their ideas of Europe as well as of Asia. Hîra was besides, ever since, the fall of the Himyar line, the paramount power in Central Arabia, whose supremacy was acknowledged by all. To this and to the permanence and extent of its capital, was owing to the superior *political* influence which it enjoyed, in comparison with the Ghassânite kingdom. But the latter though inferior to the court of Hîra in magnificence and stability, possessed an important *social* power, especially over the Western Arabs. It lay near Hejaz, and there was a frequent interchange of civility, both from casual visits, and the regular expeditions of the mercantile caravans. It is in this quarter, therefore, we

* *Thadlebi. Tabacât al mulûk. (M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II, p. 2.)*

† See *Wâhidî, p. 51 : and M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II, p. 257.*

must chiefly look for the external influence which moulded the opinion of Mecca and Medina.*

Leaving now the outskirts of Arabia, we proceed to sketch the history of the chief tribes who occupied the centre of the Peninsula, and to trace the origin and rise of Mecca and Medina.

The traditional history of Mecca, and of the line from which the Corcish descended, goes back further than that of the Bedouin tribes. Their fixed habitation in the valley of Mecca strengthened and perpetuated local tradition, which, with a mixture of fable and fact, ascends to a century before the Christian era; while the accounts of the other tribes do not, in general, commence more than two centuries before the birth of Mahomet.

The founding of Mecca, by Abraham and Ishmael, is so clearly a legendary fiction, that we should not advert to it at all, except to enquire in what facts or popular notions it took its rise. The outline of the legend, filled up as usual, with rich circumstantial colouring, is as follows:—The wandering Hagar reaches the valley of Mecca; in despair she hastes to and fro from the little hill of Marwa to that of Safa, seeking for water. Ishmael lies wailing on the ground, but lo! as he passionately kicks around, a fountain bubbles forth beneath his feet; it is the well of Zamzam. A tribe of Amalekites are tempted by the fountain to the spot, and among them the youthful Ishmael grows up. On the eminence in the vicinity, Abraham, in fulfilment of the divine behest, was about to offer up his son, when his arm was stayed, and a vicarious sacrifice was prescribed. The youth was married to an Amalekite wife, but during the absence of her husband, she proved inhospitable to his father, who arrived as a guest; and by the monition of Abraham, he put her away, and married another. Two Yemen tribes, the *Jorhom* and *Cathra*, about this time arrived in the vicinity: the wicked Amalekites, who vainly opposed their settlement, were expelled by a plague of ants: and it was

* It is hence in the same direction, we must seek for the impression of Christianity, received by the Western Arabs. We have no very satisfactory intimation as to the peculiar phases of Christianity exhibited by Hira, and by the Ghassanites, respectively. The former, being independent of Constantinople, would be more likely to embrace and retain the Nestorian doctrines popular in the East. The Government of Ghassân was under Roman influence, and would, probably, embrace the Sectarian principles, whether Eutychian, Arian, or Orthodox, enforced by the Emperor of the day; and thus these would eventually influence Western Arabia. But there is nothing to us more remarkable than the gross ignorance of some of the leading features of Christianity, which, notwithstanding all their means of information, is displayed by Mahomet and his early followers.

with the daughter of the Jorhom Chief, that Ishmael celebrated his second nuptials. On a subsequent visit, Abraham, assisted by his son, proceeded to erect the Kaába, and to reconstitute the ancient rites of pilgrimage on the sacred spot. After Ishmael and his son Nâbit (*Nebaioth*) the management of the temple devolved on Modâdh, the Jorhom Chief, who held the imposts of the Northern or Upper part of Mecca, while Samayda, the Catûra Chief, held the Southern. But a quarrel arose between the two tribes, and the Jorhom, assisted by the descendants of Ishmael (*Mustariba*, i.e., half-caste Arabs,) expelled the Catûra, who joined, and were lost amongst the Amalekites. From this point which the juxtaposition with Ishmael would make at least 2,000 years anterior to Mahomet, to Adnân, who lived a little before the Christian era, the legend is blank: and although the ready pen of the traditionists has supplied a list of Mahomet's progenitors to fill up the space, yet Mahomet himself never traced his pedigree higher than Adnân,* and declared all who went further back guilty of fabrication and falsehood.

Even in the time of Adnân, we find ourselves encompassed with legend and with doubt Bakht-nassar, or Nebuchadnezzar,

* "Beyond Adnân," said Mahomet, "none but the Lord knoweth and the genealogists lie" كذب النسابة (*Wâkidi*, p. 9) Yet Wâkidi, as well as other biographers, gives a list of some forty names between Adnân and Ishmael. The manner in which these genealogies have been got up has been explained in a former paper. An anecdote regarding the Tadmorites Rabbins, similar to that quoted from Tabari, is given by Wâkidi (p. 9) who also furnishes other intimations that such like lists have been supplied from Jewish sources; thus Abu Abdallah, the Secretary of Wâkidi, writes:—

و لم أر بينهم اختلافاً أن معد من أولاد قيدر بن إسماعيل و
هذا الاختلاف نرى نسبة يدل على أنه لم يحفظ و إنما أخذ
ذلك من أصل الكتاب و ترجموه لهم فاختلوا فيه ولو صح
ذلك لكان رسول الله أعلم الناس به فالمر عندنا علي الانتهاء إلى معد بن
معدان ثم إسماعيل عماره ذلك إلى إسماعيل ابن إبراهيم *

"And I have met with no difference of opinion in respect of Mâdd being of the children of 'aydar, son of Ishmael; but this discrepancy in the genealogy between them, gives proof that the particulars of the descent have not been preserved but have been taken from the Jews, and translated by them to the Arabs, and thus they differ in (their several versions of) this genealogy; and if this genealogy had been really a correct one, then the prophet of the Lord had been better acquainted with it than any other. So my conclusion is that the genealogical details end with Adnân, and that we must hold back from anything beyond that till we reach Ishmael son of Abraham." (*Wâkidi*, p. 9.)

This is clear admission that up to Adnân, Mahomet's genealogy is native and Arabic; but beyond that it has been borrowed from the Jews.

the traditionists say, attacked Arabia, and having routed Adnān and the Jorhomites, devastated Mecca, and carried off to Babylon a multitude of captives. But providence watched over Adnān's son, Máadd, whom, by the command of the Lord, Eremia and Abrakhia (Jeremiah and Baruch,) carried off and nurtured safely in the land of Harran. But between Mahomet and Adnān, there is an ascertained interval of but eighteen generations, and by careful calculation, the birth of Adnān cannot be assigned to an earlier date than 130 B. C.,* while the ravages of Nebuchadnezzar's army occurred 577 B. C. Thus, even in such comparatively modern events, does legend condemn the limitations of chronology.

After the expulsion of the Bani Catūra, the Jorhomites remained supreme at Mecca, and a list of their kings is given for nine generations, (*i. e.*, from about one century B. C. to nearly the end of the second century A. D.)† During this period in which (according to the fond conceit of the Moslems,) the Jorhomites *usurped* the Ishmaelite privileges of the Kaaba, the following successions took place among the Coreishite ancestry.

ADNAN (born 130 B. C.) begot two sons, *Máadd* and *Akk*. The descendants of *Akk* moved to the south of Jidda, and mingled with the Yemenites.

MAADD‡ (born 97 B. C.) had four grandsons, *Modhar*, *Rabia*, *Iyád*, and *Anmār*,—all distinguished by a most prolific progeny, which was destined to play a conspicuous part in various quarters of the Peninsula. Of the two last, the posterity spread from Yemen to Irac. From *Rabia* sprang several notable tribes, *viz.*, the *Bani Abd al Cays*, who eventually passed over to Bahrein, on the Persian Gulph; the *Ansa*§ who to this day overspread Arabia: the *Bani Námir ibn Cásir*, who settled

* This is the calculation of M. C. de Perceval. The dates of the more immediate progenitors of Mahomet are calculated at their ascertained ages. Beyond that, there being no other data, the length of each generation is reckoned at the average period of thirty-three years.

† In arranging the chronology of these kings, tradition displays the most inimitable confusion. The first in the list is the father-in-law of Ishmael, while the daughter of the *ninth* is given in marriage to Máadd (about 50 B. C.) Again two generations later, the *last* of the dynasty is made coeval with *Fikr Coreish*, who lived in the middle of the third century! This last, however, is a clear historical date, or at least is the likeliest to be so; and in calculating back therefrom, M. C. de Perceval arrives at the conclusion, that the *first* Jorhomite prince was coeval with Adnān, the earliest known ancestor of the Coreish. This is a very satisfactory coincidence, as traditional reminiscence would be likely enough to bring down the ancestral lines, both of the Jorhom and Coreish, from the same period.

‡ A tradition in Wáskidi makes Máadd to be coeval with our Saviour (p. 9) This is probably a matter of calculation, and not of *bona fide* tradition: but it is quite possible that Máadd may have been alive when our Saviour was born.

§ These are the *Ans* of Bukharát.

in Mesopotamia; and finally the *Bani Bakr* and *Bani Taghlib*, son of Wâil, with their numerous branches, whose wars, famous in the annals of Arabia, will be alluded to hereafter.

MODHAR (born 31 B. C.) had two sons, *Eldys* and *Aylân*, the father of *Cays*. From the latter descended the powerful tribes of the *Bani Adwan*, *Ghatafan Suleim*, *Hawazin* and *Thakîf*.

The descendants of ELIYAS, (born about the Christian era,) are from their Codhâite mother, termed the *Bani Khinaif*; one of them Tâbikha, was progenitor of the *Bani Mosaina*, and of the *Bani Tamim*, famous in the history of Najd.

Another son, MUDRIKA (born 35 A. D.) was the father of *Khozaima* and *Hodsail*. The latter was the ancestor of the *Bani Hodsail*, distinguished in the annals, both of war and of poetry, and as we learn from Burkhart, still occupying under the same name the environs of Mecca.*

KHOZAIMA (born 68 A. D.) begat *Asad* and *Kinâna*. The *Bani Asad* retired to Najd, but were subsequently expelled by Yemen tribes, and returned to the Hejâz, where they bore a prominent part in opposing the arms of Mahomet.

KINANA (born 101 A. D.) had six sons, each of whom became the chief of a numerous family. Among them was *Abd Monât*, the father of Bakr, and through him, of the *Bani Dâil*, *Laith* and *Dhamra*. But the most illustrious of his sons was NADHR (born 134 A. D.) the grandfather of FIHR (born 200 A. D.) surnamed *Coreish*,† and the ancestor, at the distance of eight generations, of the famous *Cussai* (born 400 A. D.)

Up to the era of Nadhr, or of his son Malik, the Jorhomites retained their supremacy. But towards the end of the second century, the Azdite immigration, of which we have repeatedly spoken, took place, and a horde of Azdite adventurers settled at Batn Marr, a valley near Mecca. The Jorhomites, jealous of these neighbours, endeavoured to expel them, but were

* *Travels in Arabia*, vol. 1., pp. 63—66.

† NADHR is sometimes styled *Coreish*, but it is more frequently FIHR, or his son MALIK, to whom the appellation is first accorded. See *Wâkidi*, p. 124.—*Tâbari*, p. 40, where a variety of origins are given for this name. The likeliest is the meaning *noble*; but it also possible that the *Coreish*, by the illustration of what was simply a proper name, may have conferred upon it that meaning. Others say that Nadhr had a guide called by that name, and as his mercantile caravan approached, it used to be saluted as the "Caravan of *Coreish*," and thus the appellation passed to him. Again it is derived from a metaphorical resemblance to a fish called *Coreish*, which eats up all others; or to *cursh*, a high-bred camel. Others refer it to a root which signifies *to trade* (*M. C. de Perceval*, vol. 1., p. 229). *Wâkidi* (p. 12.) had a theory that the name was first given to Cussai, who gathered together the descendants of Fihr. Sprenger adopts this notion, and makes Cussai the first real personage in the line, and Fihr a myth: but this seems an excess of scepticism. (*Life of Mohammad*, p. 19). See also traditions in *Tâbari*, pp. 41, 42, in favour of Cussai as the first called by the name *Coreish*.

worsted in the attempt. Meanwhile, the Máaddite tribes (or ancestors of the Coreish,) were engaged in a similar, but more successful struggle, with a body of Codháite adventurers, who were endeavouring to establish themselves between Mecca and Táif. The Codháites, feeling that they could not maintain the contest, retired, as we have before noticed, towards Syria and Bahrein.

Meanwhile a party of the Azdites the (Ghassân, Aws, and Khazraj) quitted Batn Marr; but they left behind them a portion of their colony, thence styled the *Bani Khozáa*, (the 'remnant,') under the command of *Amr*, son of *Lohai*, and great-grandson of *Amr Mozaikia*.† With the Khozáa, the Meccan families of Bakr (son of Abd Monat,) and the Bani Iyâd combined; and falling upon the Jorhomites, slaughtered and expelled them from the Tihâma. Modhâd, the last king of the Jorhom dynasty, at his departure, or previously (foreseeing as they say, that his people would be overthrown for their wickedness) buried in the vicinity of the Kaaba, and by the well Zamzam (by this time choked up) two gazelles of gold, with swords and suits of armour.‡ These events occurred about 206 A. D.

It would seem that the Bani Iyâd then contended with the other Máaddite tribes, for the charge of the Kaaba, now vacated by the Jorhomites; but that they were worsted in the struggle, and emigrated towards Irac where, as we have seen, they took part in the establishment of the kingdom of Hîra.

But the descendants of Máadd were destined to be still excluded from the administration of the Kaaba and of Mecca: for about 207 A. D., it was seized upon by their allies, the Khozáa, whose chief, Amr, and his descendants held the Govern-

* That is, the Bani Máadd, or families descended from the son of Adnân. The term Bani prefixed to any of Mahomet's ancestors, as Bani Adnân, Bani Nisâr, Bani Fihîr, is of course extensive in proportion to the remoteness of the name with which it is coupled. Thus the *Bani Modhar* include the branches of Howâzin and Ghatafan; but do not include those of Bakr and Taghlib; while the *Bani Nisra* (father of Modhar,) include both. The *Bani Fihîr* again (being lower down) include neither, but are confined to the Coreish. In speaking of the ancestry of Mahomet, and the tribes related to him by blood, it is convenient to style them the *Bani Madda*, a comprehensive title including all.

† One would expect no doubt to exist on the filiation of so important a tribe. Nevertheless, it is held by a few that the Khozáa are of the Máaddite stock; but the great body of writers give them the origin assigned in the text, which is also supported by the following verses of Hassân Ibn Thâbit, who thus traces a common origin between his own tribe (the Khazraj of Medina,) and the Khozáa.—

و لدا مولنا بطن مر نخوس * خزامة نامني بطن كراكر

"And when we sojourned at Batn Marr, the Khozáa, with their families, separating from us, remained behind."—(*M. C. de Perceval*, vol. I., p. 217.)

‡ These were the ornaments and armour subsequently dug up by Abd al Muttaliba, Mahomet's grandfather.

ment of the country for upwards of two centuries. Still three important offices were secured by the Máaddite tribes. *First*, the NASI, or commutation of the holy months, and intercalation of the year, was held by a descendant of Kinána. *Second*, the IJAZA, or signal and arrangements for the departure of the pilgrims from Mount Arafat and Miná, exercised by the *Bani Sâfa*, descendants of Tabikha, son of Elyâs. *Third*, the IFADHA or heading the procession from Muzdalifa, enjoyed by the *Bani Adwân*.†

The position of parties remained in this state till the beginning of the fifth century, by which time the Coreish had advanced, in numbers and power, so as to rival their Khozáite rulers. It was reserved for CUSSAI, the fifth in ascent from Mahomet, to assert the real or imaginary right of his tribe to the guardianship of the Kaaba, and the command of Mecca. The outline of his romantic story is as follows:—

KILAB (born 365 A. D.) the sixth in descent from Fihir Coreish, died, leaving two sons, *Zohra* and *Zeid* (born A. D. 400: the former grown up, the latter a suckling. His widow married a man of the Codháite tribe Odzra, and followed him with little Zeid, to her new home in the highlands, south of Syria, where she gave birth to another son called Rizáh. When Zeid grew up, he was named CUSSAI, because of the separation from his father's house; but at last, learning the noble rank of his ancestry, he resolved to return to Mecca, and travelled thither with a company of the Odzra pilgrims. At Mecca he was recognized by his brother Zohra, and at once received into the position his birth entitled him to hold.‡

* The tale explaining how this happened is at the best doubtful. The *Bani Iyâd*, as they quitted the country, resolved to do all the mischief they could, by removing the black stone from the Kaaba, and burying it secretly. A Khozáite female alone witnessed where it was put, and the Khozáites agreed to restore it, only on condition that the Kaaba was made over to them; with the Kaaba, the temporal power followed also. No such unlikely tale as this is required. The Khozáa were evidently at this period more powerful than the Meccan tribes. To them the chief merit of driving out the Jorhomites was due, and they naturally succeeded to their place. (Cnf. *M. de Sacy, Mem. sur Arabes avant Mahomet*, pp. 66—67).

† *Vide, Tabari*, p. 72, *M. C. de Perceval*, vol. I., pp. 220-240; vol. II., p. 262—*Sprenger*, p. 6, note ii and p. 7, note iv. The Nasi or intercalary system *M. C. de Perceval* traces from the beginning of the fifth century, or about thirty years before Cussai's accession to power. The new mode of calculating the era might originate then, but not the faculty of transposing the months, which was probably of old standing.

‡ *Tabari*, p. 26 et seq.—*Wâkidi*, p. 113. *Sprenger* treats this as a fictitious story, framed to cover Cussai's foreign extraction, and "greedily adopted by Mahometan authors," to save the Ishmaelite lineage of their Prophet. (p. 18.) This view is ingenious, but surrounded with insuperable difficulties.

1. The story is evidently not of late growth, but grounded on ancient and pre-Islamitic tradition.

2. Considering the attention given by the Arabs to genealogical details, it

Cussai was a man of commanding person, and of an energetic and ambitious mind. He was treated with great distinction by Holeil, the Khozâite King, who gave him his daughter Hobba in marriage, and permitted him, or his wife, to assume the immediate management of the Kaaba, and, perhaps, some of the functions of the Government. On the death of Holeil, Cussai, who had now four adult sons, and had rapidly advanced in wealth and influence, perceived his opportunity, and having canvassed among the Coreish for support, bound them together in a secret league. He also wrote to his brother Rizâh to come to his aid at the ensuing pilgrimage, with an armed band of the Bani Odzra; for even then the Khozâa are said to have outnumbered the Coreish.*

Cussai opened his clandestine measures, by the violent assertion of his claim to the right of dismissing the assembled Arab tribes from Minâ, when the ceremonies of the pilgrimage were finished. From remote times, this had been the office of the Bani Sûfa (a distant branch collateral with the Coreish,) who repressed the impatient multitude, took precedence in flinging the stones at Minâ, and marshalled the dispersion of the assembly, their own tribe taking the lead.

On the present occasion the Bani Sûfa, stationed on the eminence of Ackaba, in the defile of Minâ, were on the point of giving the usual command, when Cussai stepped forth and claimed the privilege. It was disputed; weapons were drawn and after a sharp encounter, in which Rizâh, with 300 of the Bani Odzra, rushed to the succour of Cussai, the Sûfa yielded their office, with the victory to their opponent.

The Khozâa looked on with jealousy at this usurpation of prescriptive right, and began to entertain suspicions, lest Cus-

appears incredible that the story should have been foisted into currency without some foundation.

3. The only remaining supposition would be, that Cussai was not the little Zeid taken to the highlands of Syra, by Kilâb's widow. But there would be not only the testimony of the widow, and of her second husband, and of their acquaintance among the Bani Odzra, to establish this fact, but also the family recognition of relatives. Zohra, though blind (not necessarily from old age) recognized his brother's voice. To those who have noted how personal peculiarities are often handed down from father to son, this will not appear impossible, though Dr. Sprenger rejects the idea.

4. Cussai had many enemies among the Khozâa, Bani Bakr and Bani Sûfa, and there were numerous other Coreishite branches, who would not have failed to seize upon and perpetuate any story casting doubt upon Cussai's Coreishite origin. Yet we do not observe in any quarter the shadow of a traditional suspicion; because, (as we believe,) Cussai was actually received on good grounds and by common consent, as the veritable son of Kilâb. Zohra and Cussai are said to have been both poets.

* Tabri, p. 29.

sai should seek to snatch from them also their hereditary title to the supremacy over the Hejâz. They prepared to resist and associated with themselves the Bani Bakr, their old allies, in the expulsion of the Jorhomites. The Coreish rallied round Cussai, who was again supported by Rizâh and his comrades, and a second, but more general and bloody action, ensued. The field remained uncertain, for the carnage was so great, that the combatants mutually called for a truce, and surrendered the decision of their claims into the hands of Amr, an aged sage. The umpire, though of Bani Bakr descent, affirmed the assumptions of Cussai: yielded to him the guardianship of the Kaaba, and the Government of Mecca; and still more strongly to mark the justice of his position, decreed the price of blood for all men killed on his side, while the dead on the other side were to pass unavenged by fine.*

Thus, about the middle of the fifth century (or perhaps 440 A. D.) the command of Mecca passed into the hands of Cussai. The first act of his authority, after the Khozâa and Bani Bakr had evacuated Mecca, and the Oizra allies had been dismissed, was to bring within the valley of the Kaaba the whole of his kinsmen of Coreish descent, many of whom had previously lived in the mountain glens surrounding Mecca.† The town was laid out anew, and to each family was allotted a separate quarter, which was held with such tenacity, that the same partition was still extant in the time of the Mahometan historians. So large an influx of inhabitants, joined to the regular distribution of the land, swelled the city far beyond its previous bounds; and the site of the new habitations trenched

* This is the most received account. There are other narratives which it may be interesting to mention, though they more or less contradict that given in the text. *First.* Hôleil the Khozaite king, openly held that Cussai was the best entitled to succeed him; and therefore left to him, by will, the inheritance of his power. *Second.* Hôleil gave up the care of the Kaaba, with its keys, to his daughter Hobba, Cussai's wife; and appointed a man called Ghubshân (some say he was his son) to assist her. Cussai made him drunk, and purchased from him the command, for a skin of wine and some camels; but the Khozâa rose up against Cussai, when he began to exercise his privileges, whereupon he sent for aid to his brother Rizâh, &c. Wâckidi says (p. 111) that this occurred at a time when Ghubshân was enraged at the Meccans for withholding the customary cesses at the season of pilgrimage, and that after the bargain (as above,) he vacated Mecca in favor of Cussai. A third statement is, that the Khozâa were attacked by a deadly pestilence, which nearly extirpated them, and that they resolved to evacuate Mecca, selling, or otherwise disposing of their houses there. All these accounts will be found in *Tabari*, pp. 27-32, and *Wâckidi*, pp. 11 ½ and 12.

† *Tabari*, p. 29. But some (as the *Bani Muhârib* and *Bani Hârith* descendants of Fihir Coreish,) still preferred their semi-nomad life *outside* of Mecca, and were thence styled قريش الطوامر in contradistinction to the قريش البطح those of the vale of Mecca. (*Wâckidi*, p. 12½.)

upon the acacias and brushwood of the valley, * which the superstition of the place had invested with so peculiar a sanctity, that the people feared to remove them. Cussai, superior to such scruples, seized a hatchet; and the people following his example, the trees were soon removed. From effecting this re-union of his clan, Cussai was called *Mujammi*, or the "Gatherer." †

The next civic work of Cussai was to build a Council House, or Town Hall, called *Dar-al-Nadwa*, having its porch opening towards the Kaaba, near which it stood ‡ Here all political movements were discussed, and social ceremonies solemnized

In the Town Hall, the girls first assumed the dress of womanhood, and their marriages were celebrated, from thence all caravans set forth; and thither the traveller, on returning from his journey, first bent his steps. When war was resolved upon, it was there that the banner *Liwā* was mounted by Cussai himself, or by one of his sons. By assuming the Presidency in the Hall of Council, Cussai rivetted his authority as the Sheikh of Mecca and Governor of the country; "and his ordinances were obeyed, and venerated as one does the "observances of religion both before and after his death." §

* *ولان كبر الشجر العماء و السلام* (Wackidi p. 124).

† *جمع*. According to some, as we have seen, he was also called *Coreish*. But the received doctrine refers that title many generations back. Weil conjectures that Cussai was the first Coreish, and that it was not till after Mahomet's death that the appellation (the bearers of which were held by the Prophet to be the noblest Arabs, and the best entitled to the Government,) was extended higher and wider in order to take in Omar and Abu Bakr, whose collateral branches separated from the main line above Cussai. The limiting of the title to the descendants of Cussai, is denounced by the Sunnies as a Shiaite heresy. Weil looks upon this as strengthening his theory, but we confess the charge of Shia fabrication appears to us a very likely one. They first endeavoured to limit the title, in order to throw suspicion upon the early Caliphs and the house of Omeyya. Again, supposing the existence of the motive imagined by Weil, why should the clumsy expedient have been adopted of going back to Fihr or Nadhr, three or four generations earlier than Kâh, the common ancestor, both of Mahomet, and the three first Caliphs? It is possible (but we think not probable) that the term Coreish was introduced first in the time of Cussai. But if so, it was then used to denominate the tribes he drew together, and thus the whole of the descendants of Fihr (See *Weil's Mohammed*, p. 4, note xv.) This conclusion would correspond with the tradition that before the time of Cussai, the Coreish were termed the Banu Nadhr. *Wackidi*, p. 124).

‡ He is said also to have rebuilt the Kaaba, as the Jorhom had done before, and to have placed the images Hobal, Isâf, and Nâila, in it (See *M. C. de Perceval*, vol. I., p. 249—*Sprenger*, p. 20.) But the authority seems doubtful. From his being said to have rebuilt the Kaaba, has arisen the opinion adopted by Sprenger, that Cussai founded both the Kaaba and Mecca; an opinion which appears to contradict both probability and tradition.

§ *Vide Tabari*, p. 32 et. seq.—*Wackidi*, p. 12 et. seq.

Besides these civil offices, Cussai possessed the chief religious dignities connected with the Meccan worship. The *Hijāba* gave him the keys and the control of the Kaaba. The *Sicāya*, or giving of drink to the pilgrims; and the *Rifada*, or providing them with victuals, were his sole prerogatives; and in the eyes of the generous Arabs, invested his name with a peculiar lustre. During the pilgrimage, leathern cisterns were established at Mecca, at Minā, and at Arafat;* and he stimulated the hospitality of the inhabitants to subscribe annually an ample fund, which was expended by himself in the gratuitous distribution of food to the pilgrims.

He did not assume the minor offices of marshalling the processions on the ceremonial tour to Arafat, (though it was ostensibly for one of those offices he first drew the sword,) nor the post of *Nisa*, or commutation of holy months;† but being the paramount authority, these duties would be executed in strict subordination to his will. "Thus," writes Tabari, "he maintained the Arabs in the performance of all the prescriptive rites of the pilgrimage; and that because he believed them in his heart to form a religion which it behoved him not to alter."‡

The religious observances thus perpetuated by Cussai, were in substance the same as in the time of Mahomet, and (with some alterations) as we find practised in the present day. The grand centre of the religion was the Kaaba; to visit which, kiss the black stone, and make seven circuits round the sacred edifice, was at all times regarded as a holy privilege. The LITTLE pilgrimage (*Omra* or *Hajj al Asghar*), which involved these acts, and the right of hastily passing to and fro seven times between the little hills of Safa and Marwa, close by the Kaaba, might be performed with merit at any season; but especially in the sacred month of Rajab, which formed a break in the middle of the eight secular months. Before entering the sacred territory, the votary assumed the pilgrim garb (*ihram*.) and at the conclusion of the ceremonies shaved his head, and pared his nails.

* In the palmy days of Islam, stone aqueducts and ponds took the place of this more primitive fashion. (Cnf. *Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia*, pp. 59 and 267 — and *Ali Bey*, vol. II., p. 68.) The giving of water to the inhabitants of Mecca from wells without the town, is stated as the origin of the custom of Sicāya: (*M. C. de Perceval*, vol. I., p. 239). The custom, however, appears rather to have been originally connected with the well Zamzam, the source of Mecca's ancient prosperity. But according to tradition, we must suppose this famous well to have been at this period filled up, as Abd al Motallib was the first to open it after its neglect.

† *M. C. de Perceval*, vol. I., p. 240 — *Tabari*, pp. 34 and 72.

‡ *Tabari*, p. 34.

The GREAT pilgrimage (*Hajj al Akbar*,) involved all the ceremonies of the little pilgrimage, but it could be performed only in the holy month Dzul Hijja ; and it concluded with the additional rite of repairing to Arafat (a small granite hill in a mountain country, some eighteen miles east of Mecca,*) on the 9th of the month ; returning that night to Mozdalifa ; and next morning (10th) proceeding to Minâ (midway between Arafat and Mecca,) where the two succeeding days were spent ; each pilgrim repeatedly casting small stones at certain objects, and concluding the pilgrimage by the sacrifice of some victim, a camel, a sheep, or a kid.

At what remote period the country about Mecca began to be regarded as inviolable (Haram,) we have no means of judging ; but the institution of the four sacred months appears to have formed an ancient, and perhaps, original part of the system. These were three consecutive months, *vis.*, the last two, and the first of each year (*Dzul Cçada*, *Dzul Hijja*, and *Moharram*) and the seventh (*Rajah*). During them, by unanimous consent, war was suspended, hostile feelings suppressed, and an universal amnesty reigned over Arabia. Pilgrims from every quarter were then free to repair to Mecca ; and fairs throughout the land were thronged by those whom merchandize, or the contests of poetry, brought together.

There is reason for supposing that the Meccan year was originally a lunar one, and continued so till the beginning of the fifth century, when, in imitation of the Jews, it was turned, by the interjection of a month, at the close of every third year, (*Nisâ*,) into a luni-solar period.† If by this change, it was

* For descriptions of the hill of Arafat and adjoining plain, See *Burkhardt's Arabia*, p. 266, and *Al-Bey*. Vol. II., p. 67.

† The question has been well discussed by M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 242 *et seq.*—and in the *Journal Asiatique*, Avril, 1843, p. 342, where the same author has given a "Memoire sur le Calendrier Arabe avant l'islamisme." It is assumed that the months (as in other rude nations) were originally purely lunar, and that thus the month of pilgrimage came (as it now does in the Moslem calendar,) eleven days earlier every year, and in thirty-three years performed a complete revolution of these seasons. It is supposed that the inconvenience of providing for the influx of pilgrims at all seasons, led to the idea of fixing the month of pilgrimage, when it came round to October or autumn, invariably to that part of the year by a system of intercalation. Tradition notes the series of *Nâsi* officers who performed the duty. The first of these was Sarîr, a man closely connected with the Coreish, and whose genealogy would make him sixty or seventy years of age at the close of the fourth century ; so that (if we trust to tradition,) the origin of intercalation could not have been much later than the beginning of the fifth century. The Arab historians are not agreed upon the nature of the intercalation practised at Mecca. Some say seven months were interposed every nineteen years ; others nine months every twenty-four years ; but, (1.) These are evidently *supposed* systems, formed on calculation to give a true solar year, and the first having

intended to make the season of pilgrimage correspond invariably with the autumn, when a supply of food for the vast multitude would be easily procurable, that object was defeated by the still remaining imperfection of the cycle; for the year being yet shorter by one day and a fraction than the real year, each recurring season accelerated the time of pilgrimage: so that, when after two centuries, intercalation was prohibited by Mahomet (A. D. 631,) the days of pilgrimage had moved from October, gradually backward to March.

Coupled with this, and styled by the same name (*Nisâ*), was the privilege of commuting the last of the three sacred months for the one succeeding it, (Safar,) in which case Moharram became secular, and Safar sacred. It is probable that this innovation was introduced by Cussai, who wished, by abridging the long three months' cessation of hostilities, to humour the warlike Arabs, as well as to obtain for himself the power of holding

been introduced by the Jews only about the end of the fourth century, was not likely to have been so immediately adopted at Mecca; and (II.) neither system would answer the likely requirement of bringing the month of pilgrimage in two centuries from autumn round to spring. Other Arab writers say that a month was interjected at the close of every third year; and this is the system recognized by M. C. de Perceval, apparently on good grounds; for (1) it exactly corresponds to the revolution of the pilgrimage from autumn to spring in two centuries, as is clearly shown in the chronological table attached to his Vol. I., and it also corresponds with the fact of the pilgrimage month having, in 541 A. D., fallen at the summer solstice, when Belisarius on that account refused to let his Syrian allies leave him. (See above, note §, p. 28.) (2) It was the system previously tried by the Jews, who intercalated similarly a month at the close of every third year, called *Ve-adar*, or the second Adar; and there is *a priori* every likelihood that the practice was borrowed from the Jews. (3) The tradition in favor of this view is more likely than the others to be correct, because it could have originated in no astronomical calculation. (4) Although it would change the months to various seasons, yet it would do so gradually, so that the months might meanwhile acquire and retain names corresponding with the character of the seasons. Such nomenclature probably arose on the months first becoming comparatively fixed, *i. e.*, in the beginning of the fifth century, and thus the names *Rabî*, *Jumâda*, *Ramadhân*, signifying respectively *rain* and *verdure*, the *cessation of rain* and *heat*, clung by the months long after they had become misnomers.

M. de Sacy's view that intercalation was practiced at Medîna, while a purely lunar calculation prevailed at Mecca, is clearly opposed to the fact, that a common system of calculation obtained over the whole Peninsula, the time of pilgrimage being one and undisputed. (*Mém. sur Arabes avant Mahomet*, pp. 123—143.)

An important corollary from M. de Perceval's conclusion is, that all calculations up to the end of Mahomet's life must be made in luni-solar years, and not in lunar years, involving a yearly difference of ten days. It will also explain certain discrepancies in Mahomet's life, some historians calculating by the luni-solar year in force in the period under narration; others adjusting such periods by the application of the lunar year subsequently adopted. Thus some make their Prophet to have lived sixty-three or sixty-three and a half years, others sixty-five; the one possibly being luni-solar, the other lunar years.

Moharram either sacred or secular, as might best suit his purposes.*

In reviewing this account of Mecca and its religion, the origin of the temple and of the worship, demands our attention. The Mahometans, as we have seen, attribute them to Abraham and Ishmael, and connect a part of their ceremonial with biblical legends; but their traditional narrative we have already concluded to be a mere fable, devoid of probability and of consistency.† Farther considerations will strengthen the con-

* The third successor from Saîr (who first held the office of Nâsi) was Hodzeifa the First who, in addition to the intercalation, *commuted* one sacred month for another. This may very well bring the system of *commutation* under Cussai, as supposed by M. C. de Perceval. Besides exchanging Moharram for Safar (hence called the "*two Safars*,") some say the power existed of commuting the isolated sacred month (Rajab) for the one succeeding it, Shâbân; whence they were called the "two Shâbâns." When this was done, it became lawful to war in Moharram or Rajab; and Safar or Shâbân acquired the sacredness of the months in the stead of which they were placed. (Cnf. Sprenger, p. 7. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 249—*Journal Asiatique*, Avril 1843, p. 350.) It appears, however, to us more likely that the system of commutation was an ancient one, more remote, probably, than that of intercalation; but it had perhaps fallen out of use, and Cussai may have brought it into practice more prominently than before. (See note †, p. 44 of this Art.)

† M. C. de Perceval rejects the Ishmaelite traditions, but still holds them mythically to shadow forth actual facts. Thus, although Nebuchadnezzar's invasion was in 577 B. C., and Adnân, who is said to have been routed by him, could not have lived earlier than 100 B. C., "Yet," says he, "this is not a sufficient reason for banishing the legend into the domain of fable. It may contain some traits of real facts, as well as many ancient traditions, modified and arranged in modern times."

"The posterity of Ishmael, vanquished and nearly destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar II., as prophesied by Jeremiah, then long after reviving and multiplying through some branches that escaped the sword, appears to me to be personified under Adnân and Mâadd,—names pertaining to a comparatively recent epoch, and employed by anticipation."

"In truth, the distance which separates Mâadd and Adnân from Nebuchadnezzar, and the breach in the continuity of the chain (between Adnân and Ishmael,) might at first sight make one doubt whether Adnân were really of Ishmaelite issue. But opinion is so unanimous with regard to that descent, that not to admit its truth would be an excess of scepticism. The Arabs of the Hejâz and Najd, have always (?) regarded Ishmael as their ancestor. This conviction, the source of their respect for the memory of Abraham, is too general and too deep, not to repose on a real foundation. In fine, Mahomet, who gloried in his Ishmaelite origin, was never contradicted on that point by his enemies, the Jews."

"I accept, then, the legend interpreted in this sense, that at a time more or less posterior to Nebuchadnezzar II., some feeble relics of the race of Ishmael, designated under the collective and anticipative denomination of Mâadd, and preserved, it may be, amongst the Israelites, appeared in the country of Mecca, occupied then by the Jorhomites:—(that in the sequel, Mâadd, son of Adnân (not now in the collective, but probably individual sense,) one of the descendants of Ishmael, united himself, by marriage, with the tribe of Jorhom, and became the progenitor of a numerous population, which subsequently, covered the Hejâz and Najd."

"Here occurs a singular approximation of two distant events. This establishment of Mâadd on the territory of Mecca, and his marriage with the Jorhom princess, are an exact repetition of what is reported of Ishmael his ancestor. In this double set of facts, Ishmael is undoubtedly a myth; Mâadd is probably a reality." (M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 183—Cnf. also note †, page 41 of this Article.)

viction that Mecca and its rites cannot possibly claim an Abrahamic origin.

First.—There is not the slightest trace of anything Abrahamic in the essential elements of the superstition. To kiss the black stone, to make the circuit of the Kaaba, and perform the other observances at Mecca and the vale of Arafat, to keep the sacred months, and to hallow the sacred territory, have no conceivable connection with Abraham, or with the ideas and principles which his descendants would be likely to inherit from him. The rites were either strictly local, or connected with the system of idolatry prevailing in the south of the Peninsula, and originated in causes foreign to the country chiefly occupied by Abraham's race.

Second.—A very high antiquity must be assigned to the main features of the religion of Mecca. Although Herodotus does not refer to the Kaaba, yet he names as one of the chief Arab divinities ALILAT; and this is strong evidence of the worship, at that early period, of *Allat*, a Meccan idol.* He makes likewise a distant allusion to their veneration for stones.† Diodorus Siculus, who wrote about half a century before our era, in describing that part of Arabia washed by the Red Sea, uses the following language:—"There is, in this country, a temple greatly revered by all the Arabs."‡ These words can hardly refer to anything but the holy house of Mecca, for we know of no other which ever commanded the homage of all Arabia. Early *historical* tradition gives no trace of its first construction; some assert that the Amalekites rebuilt it, and retained it for a time under their charge;§ all agree that it

* 'Ονομαζοῦσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον, 'Οροτάλ. τὴν δὲ 'Ουρανίην Ἀλλίλατ. (*Herod.* III., 8.) The identification generally held between *Orotal* and *Allahu Tadda*, appears to us to be too remote and fanciful for adoption; but Cf *C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 174, and *Rosenmüller's Geog.*, Vol. III., p. 294; with *Pococke's Specimen*, p. 110. For 'Οροτάλ there are the various readings 'Ουροτάλτ, and 'Οροταλτ.

† Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστιν ἀνθρώπων ὁμοία τοῖσι μάλιστα, ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτὰν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, τῶν βουλομένων τα πῖστα ποιεῖσθαι, ἄλλον ἀνὴρ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἵστω, λίθῳ ὃς εἶ τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοῖς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἑκατέρου κροκνδα, αἰεῖφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένων λίθου ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦτο δὲ ποίεω, ἐπικαλεῖ τὸν τε Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν 'Ουρανίην. (*Herod.* loc. cit.) Thus the hands of the contracting parties were first cut with a sharp stone, and the blood was then rubbed upon seven stones placed in the midst, and at the same time the divinities were invoked. There is here a close blending of the stones with religious worship.

‡ *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 174, and authorities there cited.

§ See the authorities quoted by Springer, p. 15.

was in existence under the Jorhom dynasty,* (about the time of the Christian era,) and that having been injured by a flood of rain, it was by them repaired. It was again repaired by Cussai.

From time immemorial, tradition represents Mecca as the scene of a yearly pilgrimage from *all* quarters of Arabia: from Yemen, Hadhramaut, and the shores of the Persian Gulph, and from the deserts of Syria and the remote environs of Hira and Mesopotamia. Thus the circuit of its veneration might be described by a radius of a thousand miles, interrupted only by the interposition of the sea. So universal an homage must have had its beginnings in a very remote age; and a similar antiquity must be ascribed to the essential concomitants of the worship, the Kaaba, with its black stone, the sacred limits, and the holy months. The origin of a superstition, thus ancient and universal, may naturally be looked for in the country itself, and not in any foreign source.

Third. The native systems of Arabia were Sabeanism, idolatry and *stone worship*, all closely connected with the religion of Mecca.

There is reason for believing that Sabeanism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies, was the earliest form of departure in Arabia, from the pure adoration of the deity. The book of Job, and many historical notices and certain early names in the Himyar dynasty, imply the prevalence of the system.† As late as the fourth century, we have seen that sacrifices were

* That the Bani Jorhom must have had a hand either in the construction or repair of the Kaaba, Zahair in his *Mollaaca* testifies:—

ناقصت بالبيت الذي طاف حوله * رجال بثوه من قبلى وجرهم

"I swear by that house which is encircled by the Coreish and Jorhom, who built it." (*Sir W. Jones*, Vol. X., p. 356—*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. III. p. 352.)

It will also be remembered that when the Jorhomites were expelled (about 200 A. D.) the black stone is said to have been secreted by the Bani Iyâd, and produced by the Khozâa, so that according to this, the worship of the Kaaba must then have been of ancient standing.

† The name of *Abd Shams*, "servant" or "votary of the sun," occurs in the Himyar dynasty about the eighth century B. C.; and again in the fourth century. One of these is said to have restored *Ain Shams* or Heliopolis, (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 52) but the tradition probably originated in the name. The stars worshipped by the various tribes, are specified by M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 349; and *Pocock's Specimen*, p. 4. Mâhomet represents the people of Saba as worshipping the sun in the days of Solomon (*Sura XXVII.*, v. 25.) *Isâf* and *Nâtîia*, whose statues were worshipped at Mecca, are said to have been the son and daughter of *Dhib* and *Shanîl*, i. e., the constellations of the *Wolf* and *Canopus*: and were thus probably connected with the adoration of these heavenly bodies. (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 199.) See also in *Salé's Preliminary Discourse*, a notice of the constellations worshipped by the Arabs, (pp. 19 and 20) in *Sura xiii.*, 19, is an evident allusion to the adoration of *All Shîra* or *Sirius*.

offered in Yemen to the sun, moon and stars.* The seven circuits of the Kaaba were, probably, emblematical of the revolutions of the planetary bodies; and it is remarkable that a similar rite was practised at the other idol fanes in Arabia.†

Mahomet is said to have held that *Amr, son of Lohai* (the first Khozâite king, A. D. 200, was the earliest who dared to change the pure "religion of Ishmael," and set up idols brought from Syria. But this is a mere Moslem conceit; for the practice of idolatry thickly overspread the whole Peninsula, from a much more remote period; and we have authentic records of ancient shrines scattered from Yemen to Dûma, and Hîra, most of them subordinate to the Kaaba, and some having rites resembling those of Mecca.‡ A system thus widely diffused, and thoroughly organized, cannot but have existed in Arabia long before the time of Amir Ibn Lohai, and may well be regarded as of indigenous growth.

The most singular feature in the feticism of Arabia, was the adoration paid to unshapen stones. The Mahometans hold, that the general practice arose out of the Kaaba worship. "The adoration of stones among the Ishmaelites," says Ibn Ishâc, "originated in the practice of carrying a stone from "the scared enclosure of Mecca, when they went a journey, "out of reverence to the Kaaba; and whithersoever they "went, they set it up, and made circuits round about it as was "done to the Kaaba; till at the last they worshipped every "goodly stone they saw, and forgot their religion, and changed

* See above, page 14. of this article.

† *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 270.—*Hishâmî*, p. 27, *Sprenger's Mohammed*, p. 6. "Shahrastany informs us that there was an opinion among the Arabs, that the walking round the Kaaba and other ceremonies, were symbolical of the motion of the planets, and of other astronomical facts." In a note (1) authority is given for considering the Arabs to be worshippers of the sun, moon and stars; the constellations adored by each tribe being specified.

‡ *Hishâmî*, p. 27, 28, where the various shrines and their localities and adherent tribes are specified: also *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I, pp. 113, 198, 223 and 269; and *Sprenger*, p. 78. For idolatry at Hîra consult *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II, pp. 19, 100 and 132; at *Medîna Wâckidi* 268½ and many subsequent passages: *Hishâmî*, p. 153, and *M. C. de Perceval*, II, 649, and 688. There was a temple of Monât at Medîna at *Mushallal*, *Cudeid* towards the sea. But it is needless to specify farther. As to the ceremonies, even the inviolability of the holy territory did not want its counterpart. We read of a *Haram* or sacred temple and enclosure instituted in the fifth century for the Bani Ghatafan in imitation of that Mecca. We have no farther particulars to enable us to judge whether it was a simple imitation, or aspired to any independent origin. It was destroyed by Zahair, the Yemen ruler of the B. Taghlib, about the middle of that century. (*M. C. de Perceval*, II, p. 263.) See also the account of the Kaaba of Najrân formed on the model of that of Mecca, I, p. 160.

"the faith of Abraham and Ishmael, and worshipped images."* This tendency to lapidolatri was undoubtedly prevalent throughout Arabia, but it is much more probable that it *occasioned* the superstition of the Kaaba and its black stone, than that it took its rise in that superstition.

Thus the religion of Mecca, in its essential points is connected with forms of superstition strictly native to Arabia, and the natural conclusion is, that it grew out of them. The process may be thus imagined. Mecca owed its origin and importance to its convenient position, midway between Yemen and Petra. From very remote times, the merchandise of the east and south passed through Arabia, and the vale of Mecca lay upon the usual western route. The plentiful supply of good water attracted the caravans; † it became a halting-place, and then an entrepôt of commerce; a mercantile population, with the conveniences of traffic, grew up in the vicinity, and eventually a change of carriage took place there; the merchandise being conveyed to the north and to the south on different sets of camels. The carrier's hire, the frontier customs, the dues of protection ‡ and the profits of direct traffic, added capital to the city, which probably rivalled, though in a more simple and primitive style, the opulence and the extent of Petra, Jerash or Philadelphia. § The earliest inhabitants were (like the Catara,

* *Hishâmi*, p. 27; *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I, p. 197. Hishâmi notices a large stone worshipped by Banî Malkan, at which they used to sacrifice animals. Compare also the notice of stones given above from Herodotus.

† From Burkhhardt's account it appears that the level of the well of Zamzam continues the same even when there is the greatest draught upon its waters. This he ascertained by comparing the length of the rope required for the bucket in the morning, and again in the evening. The Turks regard this as a miracle, for the expenditure of water must be very great, as it is used not only by the multitudes of pilgrims, but by every family of Mecca, for drinking and ablution, though not for culinary purposes. He learned from one who had descended to repair the masonry, "that the water was *flowing* at the bottom, and that the water is therefore supplied by a subterraneous rivulet. The water is heavy in its taste, and sometimes in its colour resembles milk, but it is *perfectly sweet* and differs very much from that of the brackish wells dispersed over the town. When first drawn up, it is slightly tepid, resembling in this respect many other fountains in the Hejaz (*Travels in Arabia*, p. 144. See also the *Travels of Ali Bey*, Vol. II., p. 81.) The latter makes the surface water fifty-six feet below the mouth of the well: he agrees with Burkhhardt as to temperature, but states that the water is "rather brackish and heavy, but very limpid. . . . It is wholesome, nevertheless, and so abundant, that at the period of the pilgrimage, though there were thousands of pitchers full drawn, its level was not sensibly diminished." The authorities of Sale (*Preliminary Discourse*, p. 4), who made the water unwholesome and unfit for use, are evidently incorrect.

‡ See *Sprenger's Mohammed*, p. 14.

§ The only remains in the way of buildings of Mecca, besides the Kaaba, consisted of the well Zamzam, which when the city decayed, was neglected and choked up. It was discovered and *cleared out* by Mahomet's grandfather, who recognized the

Jorhom and Khozáa, though long anterior to them,) natives of Yemen, and the incessant traffic maintained a constant intercourse between them and their mother-country. From Yemen, no doubt, they brought with them, or subsequently received, Sabeanism, stone worship, and idolatry; and these they connected with the well of Zamzam, the source of their prosperity, near which they erected their fane, with it symbolical Sabeanism, and mysterious black stone. Local rites were superadded; but it was Yemen, the cradle of the Arabs, which furnished the normal elements of the institution. The mercantile eminence of Mecca, to which the Bedouins of Central Arabia were lured with their camels by the profits of the carrying trade, by degrees imparted a national character to the local superstition, till at last it became the religion of Arabia. When the southern trade deserted this channel, though the mercantile prestige of Mecca vanished, and its opulence decayed, yet the Kaaba still continued the national temple of the Peninsula. The contingent population betook themselves to the desert; and the native tribe (the ancestry of the Coreish) were overridden by such southern immigrants as the Jorhom and Khozáa dynasties; till at last Cussai arose to vindicate the honour, and re-establish the influence of the house of Mecca.

But according to this theory, how shall we account for the traditions current among the Arabs, that the temple and its rites were indebted for their origin to Abraham and Ishmael? This was no Moslem fiction, but the popular opinion of the Meccans before Islam. Otherwise, it could not have been referred to in the *Coran*, as an acknowledged fact; nor would the names of certain spots around the Kaaba have been connected, as we know them to have been, with Abraham and with Ishmael.*

traces of it. Its foundations and masonry must have been of great solidity and excellent structure, and it is no doubt a remnant of the works which once adorned Mecca in its primeval prosperity.

*Dr. Sprenger attributes the Abrahamic doctrine to the religious enquirers who preceded Mahomet, and adds that these traditions were "neither ancient nor general among the Pagan Arabs;" but it appears to us undoubted that such traditions were universally received in the time of Mahomet, as the names then in use *Macám Ibrahim*, *Macám Ismâ'il*, &c., prove; and as they could not have gained so general a currency suddenly, the legends must be regarded as of ancient date, even in Mahomet's time. Dr. Sprenger thus argues:—"we find no connexion between the tenets of Moses, and those of the Haramities; and though biblical names are very frequent among the Mussulmans, we do not find one instance of their occurrence among the Pagans of the Hejâz before Mohammed." (*Life*, p. 103.) But these reasons do not affect our theory: for (1), we hold that the religion of the Kaaba

The reply to the above question has been anticipated in a former paper.* It was there shown that the Yemenite Arabs early commingled very extensively with the Abrahamic tribes, and reason was seen for believing that, at a remote period, a branch descended from Abraham, and probably from Ishmael, settled at Mecca, and became allied with the Yemenite race. The Nabathean, or any other mercantile nation of this stock, attracted to Mecca by its gainful position, would bring along with it the Abrahamic legends, which intercourse with the Jews had tended to revive and perpetuate. The mingled race of Abraham and of Cahtân would require a modification of the Meccan religion, corresponding with their double descent: and this was naturally accomplished by grafting the Abrahamic legends upon the indigenous worship, and by rites of sacrifice or ceremony, perhaps now for the first time introduced, and associated with the memory of Abraham.

The Jews themselves were also largely settled in Northern Arabia, where they had considerable political influence. There were extensive colonies of them about Medina and Kheibar, in Wadi al Cora, and on the shores of the Aelantic Gulph; and they maintained a constant and friendly intercourse with Mecca and the Arab tribes, who looked with respect and veneration upon their religion and their holy books† When

was instituted by the *Pagans themselves*; the Abrahamic tradition being simply super-imposed, and (2), it was super-imposed not by Jews or Israelites, but by Abrahamic tribes of (probably) Ishmaelitic descent, who had a very different nomenclature from that of the Jews, as is evident from Genesis. On the other hand, the affinity of Arabic with Hebrew, proves something common in origin, and (as has been before shown) renders probable the existence of Abrahamic tradition among the Arabs.

* See Article on the Ahorigines of Arabia. No. xxxvii.

† The early history of Arabia gives ample proof of this. When Mahomet took Kheibar, he questioned its unfortunate Jewish chiefs as to "the utensils which they used to lend to the people of Mecca." (*Wâkidi*, p. 122.) Again the unbelieving Coreish consult the Jews as to whether their own religion is not better than Mahomet's, and are assured that it is. (*Hishâmî*, pp. 194 and 285—*Sura IV. v. 49.* and *Sales' note*.) Mahomet's early career shows much deference and veneration for the Jews; and he professed to follow their Scriptures and *true* doctrine, even to the end of his life.

In the list of Jorhom Kings we find the remarkable name of ABD AL MASHI, (76—106 A. D.), or "*servant of the Messiah*."

M. C. de Perceval concludes that the title is a Christian one; that its bearer lived, therefore, after the Christian era, and that Jesus Christ was then *one of the divinities of the Hejds*. But neither fact appears deducible from the name. It is hardly credible that at so early a period any Arab Prince assumed that title as a Christian one, it is incomparably more probable that it was of Jewish or Abrahamic origin, and was assumed at the time when the expectation of a Messiah was rife;—if, indeed, the name be not a mere traditional fiction. The legend, that the image of Jesus and the Virgin was sculptured on a pillar of the Kaaba,

once the loose conception of Abraham and Ishmael, superimposed upon the Meccan superstition, had received the stamp of native currency, it will easily be conceived that even purely Jewish tradition would be eagerly welcomed and unscrupulously adopted.* By a summary and procrustean adjustment, the legends of Palestine became those of the Hejâz. The holy precincts of the Kaaba were the scene of Hagar's distress, and it was the sacred well Zamzam that brought her relief. It was Abraham and Ishmael who built the Meccan Temple, placed in it the black stone, and established for all mankind the pilgrimage to Arafat. In imitation of him it was that stones were flung: and sacrifices were offered at Minâ in remembrance of the vicarious sacrifice in the stead of his son Ishmael. And thus, although the indigenous rites may have been little, if at all, altered by the adoption of the Abrahamic legends, they came to be viewed in a totally different light, and to be connected, in the Arab imagination, with something of the purity of Abraham, the Friend of God. The gulph between the most gross idolatry and the purest theism was bridged over; and upon this common ground Mahomet, taking his stand, sounded forth his more spiritual system, in accents to which all Arabia could respond. The rites of the

and adored by the Arabs, is not an early or a well-supported one, and in itself is improbable. Christianity never found much favor at Mecca, and Mahomet was singularly ignorant, in many important respects, regarding it.

* It is to this source we trace the Arab doctrine of a Supreme Being, to whom their gods and idols were subordinate. The title of *Allah Tadda*, THE MOST HIGH GOD, was commonly used before Mahomet, to designate this conception. But in some tribes, the idea had become so materialized, that a portion of their native offerings was assigned to the Great God, just as a portion was allotted to their idols. (*M. C. de Percival*, Vol. I, p. 113 — *Sales' Preliminary Discourse*, p. 18.) The notion of a Supreme Divinity, represented by no sensible symbol, is clearly not cognate with any of the indigenous forms of Arab superstition. It was borrowed directly from the Jews, or some other Abrahamic race, among whom contract with the Jews had preserved or revived the knowledge of the "God of Abraham."

Familiarity with the Abrahamic races also introduced the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection from the dead; but these were held with many fantastic ideas of Arab growth. Revenge pictured the murdered soul as a bird chirping for retribution upon the murderer; and a camel was allowed to starve at the grave of his master, that he might be ready at the resurrection again to carry him upon his back!

A vast variety of Scriptural language and terminology was also in common use, or at least its meaning understood. Faith, repentance, divine wrath, the devil and his angels, the heavenly host, Gabriel, messenger of the Lord,—are but a specimen of ideas and expressions, which, acquired from a Jewish source, were either current or ready for adoption. So were the stories of the fall of man, the flood, the destruction of the cities of the plain, &c., &c.,—so that there was an extensive substratum of crude ideas and unwrought knowledge bordering upon the dominion of the spiritual, ready to the hand of Mahomet,

Kaaba were retained by him, but emasculated of every idolatrous tendency; and they still hang, a strange unmeaning shroud, around the living theism of Islam.

We must now enumerate the chief tribes in other quarters of the Peninsula, with as much brevity as the occasional complication of the subject will permit.

The earliest historical notices of Central Arabia do not ascend beyond the middle of the fourth century of our era, that is to say, about six generations, or two hundred years, before the birth of Mahomet.

The BANI MADHIJ, a Cahlânite tribe, which afterwards settled in Najrân, issued, about the era above specified, from amongst the teeming population of Yemen, and made an incursion upon the Tihâma. The Mâaddite tribes (of Meccan origin) rallied under AMIR, son of Tzarib, and repulsed the invaders. Amir, who was then elected the Ruler (Hakam) of the combined tribes, belonged to the branch of *Adwân*, which, as we have seen, possessed the office of heading the pilgrim procession, in the vale of Muzdalifa. This important tribe soon fell into decay and lost its importance.* From the period of this contest, we have no farther accounts of Central Arabia for another century, when we find a king of Yemen visiting Najd, and receiving the homage of its tribes. It has been noticed in the sketch of Yemen, that the Himyarite Kings held a sort of feudal supremacy over the central tribes. Ever and anon the Arabs rebelled, but having no general head to rally around, they as often relapsed into their state of vassalage.

In the middle of the fifth century, HOJR AKIL AL MORAR, chief of the *Kinda* (a powerful tribe of Cahlânite descent, which, issuing from Yemen, seated itself in Central Arabia,) was con-

* The uncircumcised males of the tribe at that period are given at the extravagant number of forty to sixty thousand, which would imply a population of from two to four hundred thousand. But this is absurd, the more especially as Adwân, the progenitor of the tribe, was not born more than 200 years before. It illustrates, however, the important position, that tribes, when on the ascendant, rapidly increased, by associating, under the same banner and title with themselves, other struggling tribes, attracted by the prestige of their power, and the hopes of plunder. It is thus that we must account for the extensiveness of the hordes which, in the fifth century, represented the *Bani Bakr*; *Bani Taghlib*; *Bani Hawdsin*; *Bani Ghatafan*; *Bani Sulaim*, &c., none of whose nominal progenitors was born much before 200 A. D.

Where respectable descent was wanting, a good tribe was often adopted; or endeavour was made to fabricate a claim to a good pedigree. See instances in *Wâchidi*, p. 227—*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II. p. 491.

Burkhardt found the Bani Adwân still inhabiting the country between Jidda and Taif: they used to muster 1,000 matchlocks, but were nearly exterminated by Mahommed Ali Pasha. "They were an ancient and noble tribe," he adds, "unequalled in the Hejaz, and intimate with the Sharifs of Mecca," (*Travels in Arabia*, p. 240.)

stituted by his uterine brother Amr, King of Yemen, the ruler of all the tribes descended from Máadd. The most distinguished of these were the descendants of BAKR * and TAGHLIB, sons of Wail, who with their various sub-divisions, were located in Yemâma, Bahrein, Najd, and the Tihâma. Hojr waged a successful war with Hira, and conquered from it a part of Bahrein, claimed by the Bani Bakr. He enjoyed the title of king, and ruled from 460 to 480 A. D.

To him succeeded his son AMR AL MACSUR (480—495 A. D. , but he failed in retaining the Máaddite tribes under his allegiance, which was recognized for the most part only by his own race, the Bani Kinda. The claims of Yemen to a feudal tax were pressed with too great harshness, and twice, upon the plains of Sullân † (481 A. D.) and Khazâz (492 A. D.), the Kindaite ruler, supported by the troops of Yemen, was repulsed by the Arabs.‡ Amr al Mac-sur was killed in a battle fought against Hârith V. § of the Ghassân dynasty.

The Bakr and Taghlib tribes, rejoicing in the independence secured in these battles by their victorious arms, chose KOLEIB (490—494 A. D.), chief of the Bani Taghlib, to be their ruler.¶ But Koleib was haughty and overbearing, and he wantonly killed the milch camel of Basûs, a female relative of his wife, who was of Bani Bakr lineage. This, and other acts of indignity, roused the vengeance of the Bani Bakr, who slew Koleib. The two tribes were now marshalled one against the other; and the struggle, famous under the name of the *war of Basûs* (so called after the injured female, last long, with various success, and was not finally extinguished for forty years.

Meanwhile the Máaddite tribes, weary of the prevailing anarchy, returned to their Himyarite allegiance, and placed themselves under the rule of the Kindaite Prince HARITH, (495—524 A. D.), son of Amr al Macsur.

This is the Hârith, whose invasion of Syira and temporary conquest of Hira, have been recounted before.¶ His strange career was closed by defeat and death, about 524 A. D. His

* This tribe must be distinguished from the Bani Bakr, descendants of a grandson of Kinâna, who assisted in the expulsions of the Jorhomites from Mecca.

† *Sullân* lay to the south of the Hedjâa, and the east of Najd, towards Yamâma.

‡ Some verses of Zohair, a poet of the Bani Kailb, and the Yemenite Governor of the Bani Bakr and Taghlib, are preserved, with reference to these actions, in which he himself was engaged.

§ This prince, it will be remembered, was the son of Mária Dzul Curtain, (Maria of the earrings,) sister of Amr al Macsur's mother.

¶ They awarded him one of the signs of sovereignty, viz., a fourth part of the booty. Mahomet secured a fifth.

¶ See page 25.

sons succeeded him, but by imprudence and disunion, they soon divested themselves of their hereditary influence. The Bani Taghlib, as partizans of one brother, vanquished the Bani Bakr, the supporters of another, in the celebrated action of *Kulab the First*, (526 A. D.); and the Bani Bakr, after their defeat, sought for protection under the supremacy of the Kings of Hira.

The dynasty of Himyar had now sunk under the invading force of the Abyssinians (525 A. D.): and the African rulers of Yemen, failing to command the respect or obedience which prescriptive right had accorded to the time-honored lineage of Cahtân, the tribes of Central Arabia one by one transferred their allegiance to the Court of Hira. In the year 534 A. D., the Bani Taghlib followed the Bani Bakr in this course; and peace was enforced between the two tribes, by Mundzir III., Prince of Hira, whose common authority they owned. The amnesty was proclaimed at Mecca; a treaty was recorded and signed; and eighty youths of either tribe were sent as hostages to Hira, and renewed year by year. The Bani Bakr continued to live about Yamâma and the shores of the Persian Gulph, but the Bani Taghlib migrated to Mesopotamia. It was subsequent to this that Amr III. of Hira was slain by a Taghlib warrior-poet, Amr ibn Colthum,* for a supposed insult offered to his mother. Thenceforward the Bani Taghlib were the enemies of Hira, and to escape the vengeance of Amr's successor, they removed to Syria. But on the opening of Islam, we find them again in Mesopotamia, professing the Christian faith.† In 632 A. D., they attached themselves to the false prophetess Seja, and after a prolonged struggle, submitted to the Moslem yoke. The Bani Bakr, as we have seen, continued faithful to Hira to the last, and in 511 A. D., they gloriously avenged the murder of Nomân V. by the Persian king, in the battle of Dzu Câr, and achieved independence for themselves. A portion of them (the Bani Hanîfa) had embraced Christianity, but the whole tribe seems voluntarily to have submitted to Islam, during the life-time of Mahomet. ‡

* This Amr is famous for his *Modillacat*, or "suspended poem," which was recited at the fair of Oodiz. His tribe doted on it; and it used to be repeated even by the children long after his death.

† They sent a deputation to Mahomet, the members of which wore golden crosses. They were allowed to maintain, unchanged, their profession of Christianity, but not to baptize their children, or bring them up as Christians; a fatal concession!

‡ Some of the most famous of the Arab poets belong to the Bakr and Taghlib tribes, and their poems have rendered famous the war of Basûs, and the long train of hostilities which followed. Thus there are ascribed poems of the class *Modillacat* to *Tarafa*, *Harith ibn Liiliza*, and *Marmân al Ashâ*, all of the Bakr tribe, and to Amr ibn Colthum, of the Bani Taghlib.

We must now go back and take a glance at the fortunes of the house of Kinda. We left the sons of Hārith at variance among themselves. They were pursued with relentless hate by Mundzir III. of Hīra (526—530 A. D.), in whose breast the injuries inflicted by Hārith in his invasion still rankled. Crushed by such persecutions, the illustrious dynasty of Akil al Morār was soon all but exterminated; and there survived only an insignificant branch, which continued to rule for half a century longer, over a part of Bahrein. The history of this period is enlivened by the romantic tale of IMRUL CAYS, the brother of Hārith, who united in his person the two princely Arab qualities of poetry and heroism. In the noble attempt of raising troops to revenge the death of his father, Amr al Macsur, he repaired as a suppliant to every friendly tribe in Arabia; and his chequered career,—now received with distinction, or heading a victorious band,—again routed, and hunted as a wild beast over the deserts by the enmity of Hīra,—ends at the last in his seeking for succour at the Court of Constantinople. He died on his way back (540 A. D.) and his touching poem, ranked among the *Moālatat*, contains many beautiful allusions to his melancholy history.*

The chieftainship of the Kindite tribe devolved on a junior branch of the family, which resided in Hadhramaut, and assisted towards the expulsion of the Abyssinians and restoration of the house of Himyar. On the first appearance of Islam, we find CAYS ruling over the Bani Kinda there, and his son *Al Ashāth* with the whole clan, joined Mahomet, A. D. 631 †

Another set of tribes, the descendants of Cays Aylan ‡ of the Meccan stock, now demand our attention: they are divided

* An interesting coincidence may here be observed between Arab history and the Grecian writers. Procopius and Nonnosus mention an embassy to Abyssinia from Justinian, A. D. 531, the object of which was to endeavour, through the Yemnite Viceroy of the Abyssinian King, to reinstate a prince called CAYS, in the command of the *Kindinians* and *Mānddenians*, and give him troops to fight against the Persians. Here we identify Imrul Cays, whom the Greeks sought to restore to his Arab chieftainship, and aid against the Persian vassal of Hīra. Other coincidences of names may be traced in *M. C. de Perceval*. Vol. II., p. 316.

The Arabs tell us that when Imrul Cays went to Constantinople, he left his daughter *etc.*, with Samuel the Jew, in his fort of Ablak, near to Tayma, in Northern Arabia. This noble Jew was attacked by the Ghassanide king, Hārith the Lame, who demanded the deposit, and threatened to slay the son of Samuel before him, if he refused. The Jew was immovable, and the "*faith of Samuel*" has hence become proverbial among the Arabs.

Arab writers say that the Emperor of Constantinople, jealous at the reports of the intimacy of Imrul Cays with his daughter, gave him a tunic which, like that of Hercules, consumed his body. He died in fact of ulcers. The legend shows to how late a date (540 A. D.) *fiction* mingles with Arabian history.

† See *Wāḥidī*, p. 64 and *Hishāmī*, 426; where their embassy is described.

‡ The patriarchs, Ghatafan and Hawāzin, were contemporaries of Fīhr Coreish (born A. D. 200). Their ancestor Aylān was the grandson of Modhar, who was the grandson of Māadd.

to two great branches, the GHATAFAN and the KHASAFA, connected, but at some distance, with the Coreish. The chief families of the Ghatafan were the *Bani Dzobidn* and the *Bani Abs*: those of the Khasafa were the *Badi Sulaim* (who lived near Mecca, and with whom Mahomet was put out to nurse) and the *Hawâzin*: the latter again were sub-divided into the *Thackif* who inhabited Tâif, and the *Bani Amir* ibn Sâssâa. Excepting the Bani Thackif, these were all of nomad habits; and their range of pasturage extended over the portions of Najd and its mountain chain adjoining on the Hejâz, from Kheibar and Wadi al Cora to the parallel of Mecca.

Our earliest notices of these tribes commence in the middle of the sixth century, when, after the fall of the Kindaite dynasty, we find the "king" of the Bani Abs in command of the whole of the Bani Ghatafan, and also of the Hawâzin. He formed an alliance with Nomân IV. of Hîra, who took his daughter in marriage; but his eldest son, in returning from his convoy, was murdered, and the marriage presents plundered by a branch of the Hawâzin. Hostilities arose, the Absite prince was assassinated (A. D. 567), and thenceforward the Bani Hawâzin secured their independence.

The Bani Abs, ready for revenge, were diverted by a fresh cause of offence in another quarter. Cays, their chief, in a marauding expedition, had plundered from the Bani Tamîr a horse of matchless speed, called Dâhis. Hodzeifa, chief of the Dzobiân (their sister tribe), vaunted his horse Ghabra as superior, and a wager and match were the result. The Dzobiân party, by an ignoble stratagem, checked the steed of Cays, and Ghabra first reached the goal. A fierce dispute arose as to the palm of victory, and the disposal of the stakes. Arab pride and revenge soon kindled into warfare, and such was the origin (568 A. D. of the disastrous war of Dâhis, which for forty years embroiled and wasted the tribes of Ghatafan and Hawâzin.* For some time hostilities raged with various success; at last a truce was concluded, and the Bani Abs delivered a number of their children as hostages into the hands of the Bani Dzobiân, but Hodzeifa treacherously slew the innocent pledges of his foe, and (A. D. 576) the war was rekindled afresh. In the battle of *Habâa*, the Bani were victorious,

* This war is very famous in Arab history and poesy, which delights to expatiate on all the attendant circumstances. The detailed account given by M. C. de Perceval is highly illustrative of the fiery pride of Arab chivalry. The history and parentage of the ill-starred Dâhis is traced with a curious minuteness, which would be found in few nation but Arabia. The expression *أشأم من داحى*—*More illomened than Dâhis*, became proverbial.

and Hodzeifa.* with his brothers, expiated his treachery with thier lives. But the bloody revenge of the Absites overshoot the mark. So extensive was their slaughter of the Dzobiân chiefs, that the other Ghatafan clans conspired to crush the murderous tribe. The Bani Abs, alarmed at the combination, forsook their usual haunts, wandered forth to seek an asylum, which, after many repulses from various tribes, they found with the Bani Amir, a Hawâzin tribe.

But meanwhile the Bani Amir had become embroiled in hostilities with an independent tribe the *Bani Tamîm* (of Meccan origin, who occupied the north-eastern desert of Najd, from the confines of Syria to Yemâma); and had vanquished them in the notable battle of Rahrahân (578 A. D.) The Tamîm now coalesced with the Dzobiân, and, instigated by a common enmity, sought to humble the Bani Amir along with their refugees, the Bani Abs. Fearful of the issue of so unequal a combat, the two latter tribes retired to a strong mountain called Jabala, where, behind a steep and narrow gorge, they awaited the attack. The Bani Tamîm and Dzobiân came blindly forward, their opponents rushed forth, and though inferior in numbers, put them completely to rout. Such was the decisive battle of *Sheb Jabala*, fought in 579 A. D. †

The fortunate connexion of the Bani Abs with the Bani Amir continued for many years. At last the seeds of mutual dissatisfaction having been sown, the Absites separated themselves, and began to long for peace with their Dzobiânite brethren. After many difficulties, and the exercise by several distinguished men, of a most magnanimous devotion to the public good, ‡ a con-

* The only brother who escaped was Hian, father of Ueina, chief of the Fezâra (a Dzobiânite tribe), who becomes famous in the time of Mahomet.

† Amir ibn Tofsail, chief of the Bani Amir, in Mahomet's time, was born on the rocky crest of Jabala, whither the females had been for safety removed, just as the victory was secured. The Mahometan writers place this engagement at an earlier date, some in the year of Mahomet's birth, others as far back as 533 A. D. In refuting this erroneous calculation, M. C. de Perceval has the following remarks of general applicability, "En général dans toute l'histoire antéislamique, les Arabes ont exagéré l'antiquité des faits, comme la durée de la vie des personnages" (Vol II., p 484).

‡ Thus *Zohair* ibn Abu Solima, a contemporary poet of the Mozeina, celebrates the magnanimity of Hârith and Hârim, two Dzobiânite chiefs, who charged themselves with supplying 3,000 camels required in payment of the bloodshed in this long war. After the negotiations had been interrupted by a perfidious murder, Hârith brought 100 camels (the full fine or price of blood,) along with his own son, to the father of the murdered person, and said, *choose between the blood (of my son) and the milk (of the camels)*. The man choose the camels, and the negotiations went on. There were many other famous poets during the war of Dâhi's; and none more so than the warrior *Antara*, whose feats have been transmitted to modern Arabs in the apocryphal but charming "Romance of Antara." His *Mollâra* is still extant. *Labid*, the satirist of the Bani Amir stock; and *Alâbigha* Dzobiâni (so styled from his tribe,) are also worthy of mention as distinguished poets.

clusive peace was effected, A. D. 609 ; and the war of *Dâhis* came to an end.

The Bani Abs and Dzobiân now united, together with the Bani Ashjâ, another Ghatafan tribe, against the Bani Amir and other Hawâzin clans ; and a long continued warfare, marked as usual by assassinations and petty engagements, but distinguished by no general action, prevailed between them, till the rise of Mahomet's power.

The following is the sequel of the Bani Tamîm's history. After the battle of Sheb Jabala, they fell out with their neighbours, the Bani Bakr (Wâil,) who, in a year of famine, trespassed on their pastures ; and several battles, but without any important issue, were fought between them, in 604 A. D., and the following years. In 609, the Persian Governor of a neighbouring fortress, to punish the Bani Tamîm for the plunder of a Yemenite caravan, enticed into his castle and slew a great number of their tribe. Thus crippled and disgraced, they retired to Colayb, on the confines of Yemen, where they were attacked by the combined forces of the Bani Kinda, the Bani Hârith of Najrân, and some Kodhâaite tribes ; but they repulsed them in a glorious action, called *Colayb the second*, fought A. D. 612. Inspired by this success, they returned to their former country, and again entered into hostilities with the Bani Bakr. From 615 to 630 A. D., several battles occurred but in the latter year both parties sent embassies to Mahomet. The Bani Bakr, meanwhile, foreseeing that under the new faith their mutual enmities would be crushed, resolved to have a last passage of arms with their foes. The battle of Shaitain (end of 630 A. D.) was a bloody and fatal one to the Bani Tamîm, and they repaired to Mahomet, denouncing the Bani Bakr, and imploring his maledictions against them. But the Prophet declined, by such a proceeding, to alienate a hopeful adherent, and shortly after received the allegiance of the Bani Bakr, as well as of the Tamîm.

Two independent tribes, more or less Christian, deserve a separate notice. These were the Bani Tay, and Bani Hârith, both descended from Chalân, and collateral, therefore, with the Bani Kinda.

The BANI TAY emigrated from Yemen into Najd, probably in the third century of our era ; and moving northwards, seated themselves by the mountains of *Ajd* and *Salma*, and the town of *Tayma*. The influence of their Jewish neighbours in that quarter, led some of them to adopt Judaism ; others went over to Christianity ; and the remainder adhered to their ancient paganism, and erected between their two hills, a temple to the

divinity *Fuls*. We know little of this tribe till the beginning of the seventh century, when we find its two branches, *Ghauth* and *Jadila*, arrayed against each other, on account of the disputed restitution of a camel. After some engagements, (which are termed the war of *Fasâd*, or discord,) the *Jadila* emigrated to the Bani Kalb al Dûma, and thence to Kinnasrin (Chalcis) in Syria. They sojourned long there; but at last, after the dissensions with their sister tribe had continued twenty-five years, peace was restored, and they returned to their former seat. In 632 A. D., the whole tribe embraced Islam. The two famous chieftains, Hâtim Tay, and Zeid al Kheil, belonged to the Bani Ghauth. The former is supposed to have died between 610 and 620 A. D., the latter embraced Islam, and his name was changed by Mahomet from Zeid al Kheil (*i. e.*, famous for his horses,) to Zeid al Khair (*the Beneficent*.)

The BANI HARITH were a clan descended from the Cahlanite stock of the *Bani Madhij*. They must have emigrated from Yemen at a very early date, as they were seated in *Najran* (between Yemen and Najd,) when the Azdites, about 120 A. D., moved northwards; and they skirmished with them. We find that the Bani Harith were settled in the persuasion of Christianity in the time of Mahomet. Baronius refers their conversion, but with little probability, to the Mission of Constantius to the Himyar court, already noticed as having occurred A. D. 343. The Arabs attribute it to the unwearied labours, and miraculous powers of a Missionary called *Fermiyûn*, and his convert, the martyr *Abdallah*; * and M. C. de Perceval, as well as Assemani, concludes that Christianity was generally adopted in Najrân about the close of the fifth century. Under the reign of Dzu Nowâs, we have recounted how that cruel prince, in his endeavours to impose Judaism upon its people, perpetrated an inhuman and treacherous massacre of the Christians. Nevertheless, the Bani Harith steadfastly held to their faith, and were prosperously and peaceably advancing under episcopal supervision, when Mahomet summoned them to Islam,

* See the story told at length in Hishami, where some of the miracles are mentioned, such as the overthrow of a large tree worshipped by the people (pp. 10—13). The Martyr, Abdallah ibn Thâmir, is known to the Church under the name of Arethas, son of Caleb; probably his Arab name (Hârith ibn Kâh) before baptism. The king of Najrân resorted to every expedient to kill this convert, cast him from precipices, and plunged him into deep waters, but his life was proof against every attempt, till at last, by Abdallah's own direction, the king confessed the unity of the Deity: and then a blow inflicted on the martyr's head, immediately proved fatal! Others again say that Abdallah escaped, and that he was one of the martyrs of Dzu Nowâs (Cnf. *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 129, and *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, end of chap. XI. II., note f.)

One of their Bishops, *Abul Hâritha*, was in the deputation which (A. D. 630) was sent by this tribe to the Prophet. *Coss*, the famous orator, whom the youthful Mahomet heard at the fair of Ocâtz, was likewise a Bishop of Najîân.*

It remains to conclude this sketch of the Arab tribes, by a notice of YATHREB or MEDINA.

According to the Arab legend, the whole of this part of Arabia belonged, originally, to the *Amalekites*, (in whom we recognize the Abrahamic races of other than Israelitish descent;) but it was invaded by the Jews, and Yathreb, so called after an Amalekite chief,) passed, like Kheibar and other neighbouring places, into their hands. Wild legends, adapted from the Jewish Scriptures, profess to explain the cause of the Jewish invasion; the times of Moses, of Joshua, of Samuel, and of David, are with equal assurance and equal probability stated by different traditionists. We need not go so far back. The inroads of Nebuchadnezzar, and his sack of Jerusalem; the attack of Pompey, sixty-four years before the Christian era, and of Titus, seventy years after it; and the bloody retribution inflicted upon the Jews by Hadrian, 136 A. D., are some of the later causes which, we know, dispersed the Jews, and drove a portion into Arabia.† Such fugitive Jews were the Bani Nadhîr, the Coraitza, their neighbours the Caynôcâa, &c., who, finding Yathreb to be peopled by a weak race of Codhâte and other Bedouin tribes, incapable of offering much resistance, settled there, and built for themselves large and fortified houses.‡

About the year 300 A. D. the clans of the Aws and Khazraj alighted at the same settlement, and were admitted by alliance, to share in the territory. At first weak and inferior to the Jews, these tribes began, at length, to grow in numbers;§ and as they encroached upon the rich fields and date plantations of the Jews, disputes and enmity sprang up between them. The new-comers, headed by MALIK, son of Ajlân,|| chief of

* Sprenger, p. 38 - *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 159.

† See also the Jewish settlement in Mount Seir, which ejected the Amalekites. 1. *Chron.* iv., 42, 43.

‡ These houses were capable of resisting the attack of troops; they were called *otâm*.

§ Of the numerous tribes into which they were soon divided, the names of *Aws Mond*, and *Taym Allât*, are significant of the keeping up of the same idolatrous worship as that of the Mâaddite tribes. Mahomet changed their names into *Aws Allak* and *Taym Allak*.

|| See *Wâchidi*, p. 287.

the Khazraj, sought and obtained succour from their Syrian brethren (the Bani Ghassân); and craftily enticed the principal Jewish chiefs into an enclosed tent, where they were massacred. The simple Jews were again beguiled into security by a treacherous peace, and while attending a feast given by their wily foes, a second butchery took place, in which they lost the whole of their chief men. Thus, about the close of the fifth century, the Aws and Khazraj became masters of Yathreb, and ejected the Jews from such of their holdings as they chose.

It was shortly after these events that Yathreb was unexpectedly attacked by a Prince called Abu Karib; but whether to punish the Aws and Khazraj for their attack upon the Jews, or for what other cause, is not very apparent*. The invader sent for the four chief personages† of the Awsites; and they, expecting to be invested with the command of Yathreb, repaired to his camp at Ohod,‡ where they were massacred, with the exception of one who escaped to his defenced house, and there defied the attacks of the treacherous Prince. This was OHAIHA, who became chief of the Bani Aws, as Mâlik was of the Khazraj. Abu Karib prosecuted his attack, destroyed some of the date plantations, and brought this archery to bear upon the fortified houses, in which the stumps of the arrows then shot, were still visible in the early days of Islam§. At last, falling sick, or despairing of success, he made peace with

* The poetical remains give the invader only the title of *Abu Karib*. The historians or traditionists will have it that it was *Abu Karib Tribban Asad*, King of Yemen, who flourished in the beginning of the third century, or nearly 200 years before the era of this expedition. We have seen, under the sketch of Yemen that this incursion must have occurred about the reign of Dzu Nowâs, and as he was so bigoted a Jew, its object was perhaps to punish the Aws and Khazraj for their cruel and treacherous attacks upon the Jews. This, however, is only a conjecture, as the native authorities do not hint at it; excepting by one tradition, which makes Dzu Nowâs to have embraced Judaism in consequence of a visit to Yathreb — another assertion is that the *Ghufayn*, or head of the Jews, was the cousin and representative of the king whose authority the Hejâz recognized, but the precise meaning of this is not clear. Procopius mentions an *Αβραχάρβος* who was at this time master of the northern Hejâz, and offered the sovereignty of it to Justinian (See p. 36). The name and date afford some presumption of identity.

† Among these were the 'three Zeids,' chiefs of the Awsites, and all bearing that appellation.

‡ He pitched below the hill of Ohod, where he dug a well; but its water did not agree with him. It was long after known as "the Iabba's well." (Vide *Journal Asiatique*, Nov 1838, p. 439.)

§ There is a paper worthy of perusal on Ohaiha, by M. Perron, in the *Journal Asiatique*, November 1838, p. 443. One of the Houses at Medina was so harried with the arrows then shot into it, that it received and retained the name of *Al Ashdi*, "the hairy." It belonged to the Bani Adi, and was situated near the spot where Mahomet afterwards built his mosque.

the Aws and Khazraj, and departed. As he left, he made over the provisions and baggage of his camp to a woman, who had supplied him with sweet water from Yathreb; she thus became the richest female in her tribe, and (which seems almost incredible,) continued such until the rise of Islam.*

The Aws and Khazraj, thus established in power, did not long remain on terms of amity with each other. The fifth century had not yet expired, when disputes arose on the relative dignity of Ohaiha and Mâlik, and on the amount of blood-fine to be paid for the murder of an adherent of the latter. Battles were fought, and for twenty or thirty years, a constant enmity prevailed.† At last (520—525 A. D.) the father (according to some the grandfather) of Hassân the poet, being elected umpire, decided in favor of the Awsites, though himself a Khazrajite; and to prevent farther dispute, paid the disputed portion of the fine.‡

The peace thus secured, continued for a long series of years. But in 583 A. D., hostilities again broke out. The ostensible cause was the murder of a Khazrajite, or of a Jew under Khazrajite protection. At first the hostilities were unimportant, and confined to clubs and lam-poons.§ By and bye they became more serious; the Bani Khazraj defeated their opponents, and slew one of their chiefs,

* See *Journal Asiatique*, loc. cit., p. 447—*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II., p. 656. The latter suggests with probability that, instead of the rise of Islam, the *birth* of the Prophet of Islam is meant. It is strange how the expedition is throughout confounded with that of Tibbân Asad, and yet all the names of the Medina actors, as well as the incidents, the memory and marks of which were still fresh, when Mahomet went to Medina, manifestly require a date at least two centuries later than that Prince. The reason assigned for the departure of the invader, is the same as in that of the ancient invasion, *i. e.*, that two Rabbins informed him that Medina would be the refuge of a great Prophet, &c. It is curious that neither the annals of Medina nor of Mecca throw any satisfactory light on this later invasion; though Abu Carib, if a King of Yemen, must have passed by Mecca to get to Medina. As the event occurred within three quarters of a century before the birth of Mahomet, the confusion and uncertainty cannot but affect our confidence in the ancient history of the Hejâz altogether.

† It was during this period, that Ohaiha, who had gained much riches and power by merchandise, planned an attack upon the Bani Najjâr, a Khazraj family, to which his wife *Solma* belonged. Solma gave secret intimation to her parents, and Ohaiha found them prepared for his attack. He afterwards divorced her, and then she married Hâshim, and became the great grandmother of Mahomet. (*Wâkidi*, p. 14.)

‡ One of the conditions of this peace was *security of domicile*, which even in war was never to be violated. Every murder within a private enclosure was to bear the usual blood-fine. Mahomet did not much respect this right.

§ Amr, a Khazrajite, repaired at this period to Hira, and obtained from that Court (the supremacy of which was now acknowledged in the Hejâz) the title of Prince, in order to put a stop to this discord; but the attempt was unsuccessful. The mode in which the satirists abused each other was peculiar. Thus Hassân addressed amorous poetry to the sister of Cays, extolling her beauty; and Cays similarly sang in praise of the daughter of Hassân's wife. A similar practice was one of the charges brought against Kâb, the Jew, who was assassinated by Mahomet's orders.

Surweid ibn Sdmī,* and expelled an Awsite tribe from the city. Bloody encounters occurred, and either party looked for succour to the Jews, but they remained neuter; and the Khazrajites, to secure their neutrality, took forty of their children as hostages. But animated by a rare barbarity, the most of the Khazraj chiefs murdered their hostages,† and thus decided the Jews of the Corcitzā and Nadhir tribes, to side at once with the Awsites, and to receive with open arms their expelled tribe. Both sides now prepared vigorously for a decisive battle. The Bani Aws sought for aid from the Coreish at Mecca, but they declined to war against the Khazrajites;‡ they gained, however, reinforcements from two Ghassānite tribes, from the Mozeina,§ and from their Jewish allies, the Corcitzā and Nadhir. The Bani Khazraj were supported by the Joheina|| (a Codhāaite tribe) and the Bani Ashjā (a branch of the Ghatafan), and by the Jewish stock of Caynocāa. Thus, in the year 615 A. D.,¶ was fought the memorable action of Bóáth.** At first the Awsites were struck with terror, and fled towards the valley of Oraidh.†† But their chief *Hodhuir* al Ketaib, in indignant despair, pierced himself and fell:§§ and at this sight the Bani Aws, impelled by shame, returned to the charge with such determination, that they dispersed the Khazraj and their allies with great slaughter; and refrained from the carnage only on their cry for mercy. But they burned down some of their date plantations, and were with difficulty restrained from razing to the ground their fortified houses.

* This man had a conversation with Mahomet at Mecca, when he was canvassing there publicly for his faith, and he is said to have died a Moslem. *Hishāmī*, p. 141.—*Tabarī*, 158.—*Wākidī*, p. 287½). He was killed by a Codhāaite and his son (who with the murderer, both became Mussulmans, took the opportunity of revenging his father's death, by a blow, while both he and his victim were together, side by side, at Ohod. It was proved, and Mahomet put him to death as the slayer of a believer, at the gate of the mosque at Caba.

† Abdallah ibn Ohey, afterwards Mahomet's great opponent at Medina, rejected with horror the proposal to murder his hostages, and persuaded several other chiefs to do likewise. He was dissatisfied with the conduct of his tribe, and took no part in their subsequent proceedings, nor in the battle of Bóáth.

‡ Mahomet took occasion to address this embassy, and presented to them the claims of his religion, but with little success.

§ See this tribe noticed in Burkhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, p. 458, as living N. E. of Medina. They were a Bani Modhar tribe, somewhat distant from the Coreish.

|| This tribe is also noticed by Burkhardt as inhabiting the vicinity of Yenbo, and being able to furnish good matchlock men. (*Notes on the Bedouins*, p. 229.)

¶ See *Wākidī*, p. 296, where the era is given as six years prior to the Hegira.

** Bóáth was situated in the possessions of the Bani Corcitzā.

†† This spot is mentioned by Burkhardt as one hour's walk N.-E. of Medina in the direction of Ohod. (*Travels*, p. 458.)

§§ *Wākidī*, p. 296, *Al Ketaib* was an honorary title of supremacy.

The Khazraj were humbled and enfeebled, but not reconciled. No open engagement after this occurred: but numerous assassinations from time to time gave token of the existing ill-blood. Wearied with the dissensions, both parties were about to choose Abdullah ibn Obey as their chief or king, when the advent of Mahomet produced an unexpected change in the social relations of Medina.

A survey, thus extensive and detailed, of the Peninsula and its border states, was requisite for forming a judgment of the relations in which Arabia stood towards her coming prophet.

The first peculiarity, which upon review attracts attention, is the sub-division of the Arabs into innumerable independent bodies, all governed by the same code of honor and morals, exhibiting the same manners, and speaking, for the most part, the same language, but possessed of no cohesive principle; restless and generally at war, each with some other tribe; and even where united by blood or by interest, ever ready, at the most insignificant cause, to separate, as by an atomic repulsiveness, and abandon themselves to an implacable hostility. These qualities made Arabia to exhibit, like a kaleidoscope, an ever varying scene of combination and repulsion, and had hitherto rendered abortive every attempt at a general union. The Kinda Government, though backed by a powerful dynasty, fell to pieces after a brief duration, and neither the Himyar Sovereigns, nor after them, the Court of Hîra, could effect more than the casual recognition of a general species of feudal supremacy. The freedom of Arabia from foreign conquest, was owing, not only to the difficulties of its parched and pathless wilds, but to the interminable number of independent clans, and the absence of any head or chief power, which might be made the object of subjugation. The problem had yet to be determined, by what force these tribes could be drawn to one common centre; and it was solved by Mahomet, who invented a religio-political system, from elements,—common to all Arabia, and set it in motion by the inducement,—irresistible by an Arab—of endless war and plunder.

The prospects of Ante-Mahometan Arabia were equally unfavourable to the hope of religious movement or national regeneration. The substratum of Arab faith was a deep-rooted idolatry, which for many centuries had stood proof, with no sensible effect, against the most zealous attempts at evangelization from Egypt and from Syria. Several causes increased the insensibility with which the Arabs listened to the Gospel.

A dense fringe of hostile Judaism neutralized upon the northern frontier the efforts of Christian propagandism, and afforded shelter to Central Arabia. The connexions of the Jews extended far southwards, and were met at the opposite extremity of the Peninsula by the Judaism of Yemen, which was long protected by the Government of the land, and even at times sought itself to proselytize the tribes of Arabia.

But worse than this, the idolatry of Mecca had formed a compromise with Judaism, and had admitted enough of its semi-Scriptural legends, and perhaps of its tenets also, to steal the national mind against any Christian appeal. Simple idolatry is comparatively powerless against the attacks of reason and the Gospel, but when welded together with some principles of truth, it becomes far more impervious to human agency. The authority of Abraham for the worship of the Kaaba, and the precious legacy of his divinely inculcated rites, would be a triumphant reply to the invitations either of Judaism or of Christianity. But the Christianity of the seventh century was itself decrepit and corrupt. It was disabled by contending schisms, and had substituted the puerilities of debasing superstition, for the pure and expansive evangelism of the early ages. What could then be hoped from such an agent?

The state of Northern Arabia, which had been long the battle-field of Persia and the Empire, was peculiarly unfavourable to Christian effort. Alternately swept by the armies of Chosroes, and of Constantinople, of Hira, and of the Ghassânides, the Syrian frontier presented little opportunity for the advance of peaceful Christianity.

The vagrant habits of the Nomads themselves eluded the steadfast importunity of Missionary endeavour; while their haughty spirit and revengeful code, equally refused to brook the humble and forgiving precepts of Christian morality. Not that a nominal adhesion to Christianity, as to any other religion, might not be obtained without participation in its spirit, or subjection to its inner requirements: but such a formal submission could have resulted alone from the political supremacy of a Christian power, not from the spiritual suasion of a religious agency. Let us look, then, to the external political inducements which bore upon Arabia.

To the *north*, we find that Egypt and Syria, representing the Roman Empire, exercised but a remote and foreign influence upon Arabian affairs, and even that was continually neutralized by the victories and antagonism of Persia. The weight of Constantinople, if ever brought to bear directly upon the affairs of Arabia, was but lightly felt, and passed transiently

off.* The kingdom of Ghassân, upon the borders of Syria, was indeed at once Arab and Christian, but it yielded to Hîra the palm of supremacy, and never exercised any important bearing on the affairs of Central Arabia.

If we turn to the *North-east*, we observe, it is true, that the Christian aspect had improved by the conversion of the Hîra Court, and many of its subordinate tribes; and the influence of Hîra permeated Arabia. But Hîra itself was the vassal of Persia; and its native dynasty having lately fallen, had been replaced by a Satrap from the Court of Persia, which was a strong opponent of Christianity. The relations of Pagan Persia with the Arabs were uninterrupted, intimate, and effective, and entirely counter-balanced those of the Christian West.

To the *South*, Christianity had met with an important loss. The prestige of a monarchy—though an Abyssinian one—was gone: and in its room had arisen a Persian Satrapy, under the shadow of which the old Himyar idolatry, and once royal Judaism, flourished apace.† On the *East* there was indeed the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, but it was divided from Arabia by the Red Sea, and the negro race would not, even in

* The most prominent instance of Roman interference is the alleged appointment of Othman abu al Herweith, as king of Mecca: but the account appears to be very apocryphal. At any rate, the authority of Othman was but short-lived. (See *Sprenger*, p. 44.) There are very few other allusions to Roman influence in Arab concerns. The Emperor made a treaty with the marauder Hârith, the Kindaite chief: but it was because of his invasion of Syria. (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II., p. 290.) Hashim, Mahomet's great-grandfather, concluded a mercantile treaty with the Emperor, (*Wakidi*, p. 13:); and there were no doubt international arrangements on the border for the security of the commerce and regulation of the custom dues. But these influences hardly crossed the boundary; and neither did those connected with the Roman legions at Duma, or the *Equites Saraceni Thamudeni*, referred to above. Occasionally a refugee, such as Imrul Cays, or Mundzir, repaired to the Court of Constantinople; but that court was never able to turn such events to any profitable account in its connexions with Arabia.

† Gibbon thus marks the importance of the fall of the Christian Government of the Abyssinians in Yemen:—

"This narrative, of obscure and remote events, is not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. If a Christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution, which has changed the civil and religious state of the world." (*Decline and Fall*; close of Chapter XLII.)

The conclusion drawn by Gibbon is a very doubtful one. It is questionable whether Mahomet would not himself have looked to the continuance of a Christian power in Yemen, as a contingency the most favorable to his great scheme. There is no point more remarkable in Mahomet's character, than the adroitness with which he at first represented himself as the adherent and supporter of opposing systems, and won over their partizans. It was thus he treated the Christians of Arabia, who at first believed he would secure to them the enjoyment of their Christianity intact; it was thus he treated, and was welcomed by, the Christian king of Abyssinia; and he would no doubt have played the same with any Christian Government in Yemen. It was not from Christianity, but from idolatry and Judaism, that opposition to Mahomet's system emanated.

a more favorable position, have exercised much influence upon the Arab mind.*

Thus the Star of Christianity was not in the ascendant : nay, in some respects, it was waning. There was no hope of a change from the high hand of political supremacy ; while the prevalence of an influential Judaism, and of a rampant national idolatry, rendered the conversion of Arabia, indeed, a doubtful and a distant prospect. During the youth of Mahomet, the aspect of the Peninsula was strongly conservative, and, perhaps, was never at any period more hopeless.

It is a ready failing of the human mind, after the occurrence of an event, to conclude that the event could not otherwise have occurred. Mahomet arose, and aroused the Arabs to a new and a spiritual faith ; the conclusion is immediately drawn, that all Arabia had been fermenting for the change ; that all Arabia was quite prepared to adopt it ; and that the Arabs were on the very point of striking out for themselves the ready path to truth, when Mahomet anticipated them ; but only by a few years at most † To us, calmly reviewing the past, every token of pre-islamite history belies the position. After five centuries of Christian evangelism, we can point to but a sprinkling of Christian converts ; the Bani Hâarith of Najrân ; the Bani Hanîfa of Yemâma : some of the Bani Tay at Tayma ; and hardly any more.‡ Judaism, vastly more powerful, had exhibited a spasmodic effort of proselytism under Dzu Nowâs ; but as an active and vivifying principle, it, too, was now dead. In fine, the surface of the Peninsula was here and there gently rippled by the feeble influences of Christianity ; occasionally, the effects of sterner Judaism would be visible in a deeper and more troubled current : but the flood of idolatry and of Ishmaelite superstition, setting with the surge of an unbroken and unebbing tide towards the Kaaba, gave ample evidence that *they* held in undisputed thralldom the mind of Arabia.

* The connexions of the Arabs with Abyssinia were chiefly mercantile. Tabari says of it : — " Now there was there a just king, called *Al Najashy* (Negus ;) and it was a land with which the Coreish used to do merchandise. They were wont to go thither for commerce, and to find therein plenty of food and protection, and good traffick " (p. 127.)

† Dr. Sprenger goes even farther than this, and supposes that Mahomet was preceded by many of his followers in the discovery and choice of Islam : see references in the notes at pp. 52 and 53 of Article L. in No. XXXVII, of this *Review*, on the sources for the Biography of Mahomet.

‡ The Bani Taghlib and Ghassân, and the Christian tribes near Hîra, were removed from direct influence on Central Arabia, and are not, therefore, here taken into account.

Still, even in this posture of affairs, there existed the elements with which a master-mind might work those marvellous changes, which his wizard wand, alone of all human agencies, can produce. Christianity was known; there were living examples of it in domesticated tribes; its books and many of its doctrines were patent, or at least accessible to all. The tenets of Judaism were even more notorious, and its legends, if not its sacred writings, were familiar throughout the Peninsula. The worship of Mecca was founded upon assumptions believed to be common both to Christianity and Judaism. Here then was ground of truth ready to the enquirer's hand, and inviting scrutiny and cultivation. And no doubt, many an Arab heart, before Mahomet, responded to the casually received truths of Christianity and Judaism:—many an honest Bedouin spirit confessed of the law that it was just and good: many an aspiring intellect, as the eye travelled over the bespangled expanse of the heavens, concluded that the Universe was supported by ONE great being; and in the time of need, many an earnest soul felt the suitability of the Christian sacrifice. Coss, the Bishop of Najrân, was not the first, nor perhaps the most eloquent and earnest of Arab preachers, who sought to turn his fellows from the error of their ways, and reasoned with them of righteousness, truth and the judgment to come.

The MATERIAL for a great change was here; but it required to be wrought: and Mahomet was the WORKMAN. The fabric of Islam no more necessarily resulted from the state of Arabia, than a gorgeous texture necessarily results from the mesh of tiny silken thread; nor the stately ship from the unhewn timber of the forest: nor the splendid palace from unshapen masses of quarried rock. Had Mahomet, stern to his first convictions, followed out the Jewish and Christian systems, and inculcated upon his fellows their simple truths, we should have had a "SAINT MAHOMET,"—perhaps a "MAHOMET THE MARTYR,"—laying the foundation stone of the Arabian Church: but we should not certainly, in his day, have seen Arabia convulsed to its centre, or even any considerable portion of it Christianized. He abandoned his early convictions; for the uncompromising severity of inflexible principle, he substituted the golden prospects of expediency and compromise; and then with consummate skill, he devised a machinery, by the plastic power of which he gradually shaped his material into an harmonious and perfect form. To the Christian, he was as a Christian,—to the Jew, he became as a Jew,—to the

Meccan idolator, as a reformed worshipper of the Kaaba. And thus, by unparalleled art, and a rare supremacy of mind, he persuaded the whole of Arabia, idolator, Jew, and Christian, to follow his steps with docile submission.*

Such a process we style that of *the workman shaping his material*. It was not that of the material shaping its own form, much less moulding the workman himself. It was Mahomet that formed Islam: it was not Islâm, or any pre-existing Moslem spirit, that moulded Mahomet.

* But this effect was not attained until both spiritual and temporal powers had been brought into play against a ceaseless opposition of twenty years; and no sooner had the personal influence of the Prophet been removed by death, than almost the whole of Arabia rose up in rebellion against Islam. The remark is anticipatory, but should not be lost sight of in our estimate of Ante-Mahometan Arabia.

THE HON. JAMES THOMASON.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Directions for Revenue Officers in the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, regarding the Settlement and Collection of the Land Revenue, and the other duties connected therewith. Promulgated under the authority of the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor. Agra, November 1, 1849. Second Edition. Calcutta, 1850.*
2. *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary. October 3, 1853.*
3. *A Sermon preached in St. Paul's Church, Agra, on occasion of the death of the Honorable James Thomason, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. By the Rev. T. V. French, M. A., Late Fellow of University College, Oxford, and Church Missionary in Agra, October 2nd, A. D. MDCCCLIII. Published at the request of the Church Wardens of St. Paul's and of other friends. Agra.*

A GREAT MAN has passed from among us—a man ennobled, not by any one act of transcendent genius, or feat of moral daring, but by the far rarer merit of a long series of distinguished actions, all successfully bearing upon the happiness and well-being of millions of our species. Such an one was JAMES THOMASON, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency.

It is not our intention to give an elaborate biographical notice of the deceased statesman, or to attempt to assign his place in the history of India. The scene of his life is yet close and recent; it admits not of the mellowed tints imparted by distance; and without these, the lineaments of biography are too rugged and harsh to be attractive, too brightly colored to secure the verdict of impartiality. Still, as reviewers of all that concerns the welfare of India, we cannot decline the task of briefly tracing the progress of Mr. Thomason's career, and presenting a hasty sketch of the administration by which he has achieved a name second to none in the array of India's Civil Governors.

James Thomason was born at Shelford, in the vicinity of Cambridge, on the 3rd of May 1804; but he was yet in early childhood, when his father, the Rev. T. Thomason, relinquished his parochial charge of that delightful spot, and devoted himself to ministerial labour in India.

Towards the close of 1808, the Rev. Mr. Thomason arrived in India with his family, but not before he had experienced, at the Sandheads, the fearful perils of shipwreck. The *Travellers* went to pieces on a reef within sight of land, and Mr.

Thomason, with his wife and children, half-naked, drenched, and affrighted, escaped with difficulty and danger, in the ship's boats, to the *Earl of Spencer*, which, providentially, was near at hand.*

The remainder of James Thomason's childhood was passed with his parents in Calcutta. In 1814, at the age of ten, he was sent to England. There he was fortunate in being welcomed, with all the warmth of a parent, by the great and good Mr. Simeon, who had been the constant friend, and frequent guest, of his father and mother at Shelford. The eager affection with which he received his youthful charge, makes us love all the more the venerable Simeon, though one smiles at his almost maternal care and inexperienced anxiety. He assures his father "that flannels will be ready to put on at a moment;" and communicates to his mother the alarm he felt at finding him one day fishing. The sober conclusion to which he comes, that *even after this* he did not repent his charge, is characteristic and amusing:—

Be assured that if I were indeed his father, I could not feel much more for him than I do. He was imprudently fishing by the river side, without hat or coat or waist-coat. Hearing only that he was fishing with little James Farish, I went full of anxiety to find him; and finding him in such a situation, it was almost a dagger to my heart. But no evil occurred. I began to feel how great a matter I had undertaken; but I do not repent, and trust I shall never give you cause to repent.—*Life*, p. 398.

It is curious to observe, that the *enquiring nature* of his mind, which continued to be one of the distinctive characteristics of Mr. Thomason's later days, was that which at this early period first impressed Simeon. "In liveliness and sweetness of disposition," he writes in his first letter, "and in tenderness of spirit, he far exceeds my most sanguine expectations. What ——— said of his inquisitiveness (his *spirit of enquiry* I mean,) "was delightfully verified all along the road Many of "his questions were such as a man, a traveller of sound sense "and judgment, would have asked, and led to explanations "which it was the delight of my heart to give,"† And again, to his mother, (though here the first clause finds no correspondent feature in after-life,—"he is, as you say, a little idle; but very sensible and acute in his questions,"‡

Simeon shortly after put him to a private school at Aspenden, twenty-two miles from Cambridge, where he appears to have remained about four years. At the age of fourteen, he was

* See the account of this event.—*Life of Thomason*, p. 142, and *Life of Simeon*, p. 260.

† *Life of Simon*, p. 394.

‡ *Idem*, p. 397.

transferred for two or three years to the care of Mr. (now Archdeacon) Hodson, at Stansted. In both seminaries, he signalized himself by gaining prizes.

In 1821, when sixteen or seventeen years of age, he went to Hayleybury College. Here we have another characteristic view of the simplicity of Simeon's solicitude, in his anxious and solemn remonstrance at the monthly college report being on one occasion rendered as "regular and correct," instead of "*quite* regular and correct"—the difference turning out to be caused by the neglect of some college formality of no consequence whatever.* Mr. Thomason, in after-life, used to relate this incident with a smile.

At Hayleybury, he distinguished himself by most exemplary assiduity, and carried off many prizes and medals.† In 1822 Simeon writes to his father :—"On the 23rd May, I intend to go to see him receive his last prizes; and on the 1st of June, I hope your mother and I shall sail with him, as I did with you . . . as far as the pilot goes."‡ On the 19th September he landed in India. In June, 1823, he was reported qualified for the public service, but was allowed to continue in the college to prosecute the study of Mahometan Law. In December of the same year, we find him appointed Assistant Register to the Sudder Court at Calcutta. About the same time Simeon writes to his father: "I delight to hear such blessed tidings of my beloved James. Give my kindest love to him. We bear him in sweet remembrance, and most affectionately long for his welfare in every possible way."§

It was, indeed, one of the greatest privileges we can imagine, to have been, in the season of youth, for eight years under the immediate charge of the apostolical Simeon. His simplicity of character, and earnestness of purpose, fitted him eminently to be an influential guide, as well as an attractive pattern, for a young man, while his cheerful temperament, and buoyant spirits, exhibited religion in the most inviting aspect. Whether owing to this influence or not, it is certain that James Thomason was throughout his life guided by the same depth of religious sentiment, and the same catholicity of principle, as animated Simeon.

* *Life of Simeon*, p. 556.

† Among the subjects for which prizes were awarded, the following occur,—some of them repeatedly :—*Mathematics ; Political Economy ; Law ; Classical Literature ; History.*

‡ *Life of Simeon*, p. 562

§ *Idem*, p. 589.

Mr. Thomason remained attached to the Sudder Court, as Assistant Register, till 1826, when we find him appointed to officiate as Judge of the Jungle Mehals. In the same year he submitted to an examination in the College of Fort William as to proficiency in Mahometan Law, which he had been prosecuting more or less since he was reported qualified for service. The examiners pronounced the highest eulogium on the "intense application and extraordinary talent" brought by him to bear upon the subject;* and the Government conferred upon him an honorary grant of 3,000 rupees. In the following year, 13th February 1827, he was obliged, by severe indisposition, to seek a restoration of health in a voyage to England, where he joined his father, then also on a temporary visit at home.

Within two years he returned to India, and in 1829 was re-attached to the Sudder Court, as Deputy Register and Preparer of Reports. Shortly after we find him officiating as Judge and Magistrate of the Suburbs of Calcutta, and Superintendent of the Alipore Jail. In 1830, he was appointed to act as Deputy Secretary to Government in the Territorial department; and in the beginning of 1831, permanently posted to the same office in the Judicial and Revenue departments. While thus in a position most favorable for gaining an insight into the general working of our Government, it may be gathered that his attention was also attracted to the subject of education, for we find him in the same year appointed a member of the General Committee of Public Instruction. He had also devoted himself laboriously to the mastery of the Hindu, as well as the Mahometan sources of Law; and interleaved copies of *Menu* and of the *Hedaya*, with carefully recorded notes of difficult or curious points, attest the intelligence and the

* The following is an extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* of 28th July 1826 :—

"From the studious habits and tried abilities of Mr. Thomason, we were led to expect the display of extraordinary attainments. We assigned, therefore, to that gentleman, the performance of exercises proportionally arduous; and it affords us sincere gratification to state that our estimate, high as it was, of his acquirements, fell short of the reality. When we say that the translations were made with the utmost fidelity, accuracy and despatch, we bear but inadequate testimony to his merits. In the course of three or four hours, Mr. Thomason not only performed what was required of him, but he found leisure also to make judicious annotations on abstruse passages, thereby furnishing satisfactory proof, that to the capacity of consulting original legal authorities, he has added a considerable knowledge of the law itself. Mr. Thomason read a passage of the *Hedaya* in the presence of the law officers of the Sudder Dawanny Adalat, to whom he explained the meaning in the Persian language, and who expressed themselves in the highest degree gratified by the learning and acumen which he displayed."

The report is signed by Macnaghten, Riddell, and Ouseley; and in consequence of it, although the giving of honorary premia had been discontinued by order of the Court of Directors, yet, as it was shown that he had been at the study before the prohibition was made, he received the grant of Rs. 3,000.

assiduity with which he pursued the study.* It is not often that we find a combined attention thus successfully turned at once to Arabic and to Sanscrit literature.

But it is not in the Secretarial bureau alone, or in the private study, that administrative capacity is to be gained. It is not enough that the red tape be ever and anon untied; bundles of correspondence read and digested; and the busy pen daily employed in carefully expressed and nimbly recorded despatches. It is true, that the views of enlightened officers, ably employed in active duty, may thus be thoroughly mastered, and valuable notes and memoranda may be multiplied till the Secretariat shelves groan beneath them. But no study will supply the place of *personal experience*; and so long as an officer has not himself mixed with the people, and come into immediate contact with them, as their District Officer, his opinions cannot, properly speaking, be called *his own*, since they are grounded, not upon personal observation, but upon the reports of others.

It was fortunate, therefore, for himself,—more fortunate for the country at large,—that Mr. Thomason did not long continue in Calcutta. On the 18th of September 1832, he was appointed Magistrate and Collector of Azimgurh, a large and populous district † in the Benares division bordering upon Oudh.

The Vice-President in Council, Sir Charles Metcalfe, had been so impressed with "the marked ability and efficiency" of his official conduct, (for during the absence of Mr. Macnaghten he appears to have had sole charge of the Secretariat,) that with the concurrence of Mr. Ross, he publicly communicated to him, on his departure, "the cordial approbation and thanks of the Government."‡

A small portion of his charge, comprised in one pergunnah, was permanently assessed on the principles of the Bengal Settlement: the remainder stood upon the same unsettled basis as the rest of the North-Western Provinces. The Revenue Survey was about to be introduced into the district; preliminary to that, the boundaries of every village had to be defined, and disputes adjusted; then was to follow the Revenue Settlement and Record of Rights, framed under Regulations

* These copies are now in the library of the College at Agra, to which he bequeathed the greater portion of his books.

† Azimgurh contains 2,516 square miles, and has a population of 16,58,251 souls, so that the number of persons falls at the enormous rate of 657 to the square mile.

‡ Letter from Mr. J. R. Colvin, Deputy Secretary, dated 5th February 1833.

VII. of 1822 and IX. of 1833, on the principles laid down by the great and lamented Robert Merttins Bird. Here was a noble sphere for the acquisition of knowledge and experience; for devising expedients to facilitate the rapid and correct disposal of public business; and for examining how the series of Acts, which issue from the Council Board or the Governor, and of which the upper features are often alone observable from the Secretariat chair, affect the people in the sober realities of every-day life, when, through a variety of intervening media, they at last reach down into actual contact with them. Here, too, were golden opportunities for exercising command, both upon Native and European mind, and for testing the influence possessed over others, in swaying their opinions and actions.

Upon all these objects, the busy mind of Mr. Thomason was ceaselessly engaged. Instructions were drawn up with diligent thoughtfulness, for the guidance of his covenanted assistants in the conduct of the independent charges assigned to each; and as the Settlement drew on, carefully framed rules for the adjustment of disputes and other matters, were laid down for his Tehseeldars and European staff. Upon these, he sought to elicit the suggestions and remarks of his head assistants; such criticisms, both in writing and in personal conference, he was forward to invite, and to take into ready consideration. But an opinion or rule once carefully arrived at, had always been the result of such mature and sound deliberation, that, however much contested, it was rarely abandoned. The general interests of his charge engaged also his constant attention. We find him, for instance, objecting, in his private capacity, to the Legislative Council, against a proposed enactment for investing the Magistrate with power to determine the compensation due, under certain circumstances, by landholders to indigo-planters, and protesting that it would be a stigma upon our judicial system; * again, we meet with an indignant note upon an unjust civil decree passed by a native functionary: and with an elaborate memorandum on the rights of under-tenants, for the support of which he furnishes directions to his assistants. These all display the practised hand of the Secretary, guided by the now practical mind, and closely observing eye, of the Magistrate and Collector.†

His administration of Azimgurh, contained, in fact, the mini-

* Letter dated 5th December 1835.

It is curious to observe, that now, as in after days, his main attention was devoted to the duties of *Collector*, and that he disburdened himself, as much as he possibly could, of all magisterial business.

ature features of his later Government of the North-Western Provinces. He was singularly fortunate in his assistants, and he was not slow in recognizing their merits, and according to them his confidence. It was, indeed, a rare combination of circumstances which brought Robert Montgomery and Henry Carre Tucker under the magisterial authority of James Thomason. The period he spent in this charge was between four and five years; but in that time, he not only made and reported a settlement, which gave satisfaction both to the Government and the people,* but gained more in knowledge of the country, and in the art of governing, than is commonly attained during a life-time. To his residence at Azimghurh he always reverted with delight: and as he visited it in his annual tours, the memory of domestic happiness, and official usefulness, could be traced in the glistening eye, and the mingled sympathies which lighted up his countenance, or cast a shadow across it.

The demands of the State at last broke up the domestic hearth (never again to be permanently re-built) and the friendly social circle of Azimghurh. The District Officer was now ripe for higher employment; and in March 1837, he was, in the most flattering manner, selected by Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Lieut.-Governor, to officiate as Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, in the Judicial and Revenue Departments.† Within a year, however, he was compelled, by severe domestic affliction, to proceed to Europe, from whence he returned in the beginning of 1840. He was shortly after appointed permanently to the post which he had last vacated.

* This Settlement Report was printed in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* in 1837, but we have not had access to it. From a late periodical (*Saunders's Magazine*) we gather, however, that the Sudder Board of Revenue, in reporting the result to the Government, stated "their sense of obligation to Mr. Thomason, who had heartily entered into their views, perfectly comprehended their plans, and carried them into execution with great skill and judgment." The assessment, like that of all the earlier Settlements, was higher than the standard later adopted; but the Record of Rights was very carefully attended to, as well as the interests in subordinate tenures; and the fairness of his proceedings has been justified by the great prosperity of the district, and the increase of cultivation.

† In the letter offering him this appointment, Sir Charles placed three posts at his disposal—a contemplated office of Commissioner or Superintendent of Settlements; an officiating Commissionership in the regular line; the officiating Secretaryship (letter dated 15th February 1837).

In the previous year, (14th May 1836,) Sir Charles had addressed a letter complimenting him highly on his administration of Azimghurh, offering him the contemplated Judgeship of that station, and even desiring to make him at once the Judge, the Magistrate, and the Collector of the zillah. Mr. Thomason, however, preferred to continue simply as Collector, that he might finish his settlement, and, at the same time, expressed his opinion to be now against the combination (which he would seem at some former period to have favored,) of the office of Judge with that of District Officer.

In this Secretariat office, he served in all about two years and a half, and added further to his experience by an intimate official connection with Sir Charles Metcalfe, Mr. Robertson, and Lord Auckland, who for sometime administered the Government of Agra. The busy duties of Secretary did not prevent his turning attention to subjects of general interest. He enquired carefully into the nature and effect of the transit dues in the Saugor territories, and advocated their abolition (a measure which, mainly through his endeavours, was eventually enforced by the Governor-General in 1847) ; while his ability on educational subjects was recognized by his appointment as visitor to superintend the Agra and the Delhi Colleges.

Towards the close of 1841, he was nominated an Extra Member of the Sudder Board of Revenue, and succeeded to the permanent post, in succession to Mr. R. M. Bird. In this responsible position, his versatile mind found no lack of subjects of commanding interest ; and as he journeyed about the land, examining with his own eye the records of the Settlement, which was now on the eve of completion, the present writer well remembers the intuitive glance that singled out the weaker portions of the work, and the sagacity and kindness with which remedies were suggested.

While Mr. Thomason held this post at Allahabad, Lord Ellenborough formed his acquaintance, and recognized his merits. He appointed him a member of the famous Finance Committee ; and soon after (about the close of 1842,) selected him for an office of equal emolument to the one he held, but of greater renown, that of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. In this capacity, he accompanied Lord Ellenborough to the North-West, and finally returned with him to Calcutta. The following year, that nobleman, with full experience of his eminent abilities, nominated him Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces ; and on the 12th December 1843, the Honorable James Thomason assumed the Government.

As Lieut.-Governor, the chief seat of Mr. Thomason's residence was Agra ; but excepting the first year of his appointment, and 1848-49 (when military operations rendered carriage scarce and valuable,) he spent every winter, living under canvass, and marching through some portion of his territories. He also passed at Simla the summer seasons of four years, during which, between the circuit and the hills, Agra did not see much of her chief.*

* Those summers were 1847, 1849, 1850 and 1851. It was his intention to have spent the hot season of 1854 at Nynee Tal, the mountain retreat of Rohilkund and Kemaon.

But it was ill-health on one occasion, and the convenience of proximity to the Governor-General on the other, that led him to Simla; for he rather preferred to remain at Agra, where, besides other advantages, his library and records presented greater facility of reference.

The eight annual progresses accomplished during his administration were so laid out, that most of the districts were, after regular periods, visited no less than three times. The arrangements of the coming march were usually concluded two or three months before its commencement; and so exact were the details, and adhered to with such punctuality, that the time of his arrival at any stage could be depended on by every officer with almost perfect certainty. The progress of the camp might be delayed by inclement weather for one or two days, but the loss would easily be made up by forced marches, and punctuality again restored.

One great secret of Mr. Thomason's successful administration was the improvement of the opportunities afforded by these annual tours. As he rode along, attended by his staff and some of the officers of the district, by the Commissioner of the division, (if sufficiently young and agile for horse exercise) and possibly by some adventurous junior member of the Board of Revenue, you would see a cavalcade approach. It is the Magistrate and Assistant of the new district on which you are entering, followed by the Tehseeldar and a few other officials. After greetings exchanged, for the two parties have not met since the last triennial progress, the officers of the last district take their leave, and the Lieut.-Governor continues his progress. A few miles ahead, the white battlements of a bridge are perceived through the mango-groves; and as the party approaches, they find themselves threading the narrow road-way of a high embankment, pierced here and there with bridges for the drainage of the lovely low-lands, which on either side stretch far away into the distance. Midway is the silvery track of the main stream winding along the centre of the plain, and spanned by many noble arches, which render its passage, formerly a difficult and sometimes dangerous work, now of easy accomplishment at all seasons. The minor works are here and there minutely inspected, and the position and safety of the embankment discussed with the Commissioner and the Engineer of the division, both of whom, as arranged on the previous tour, have given the Magistrate counsel and aid. Arrived at the central bridge, the party descend to the stream; and here, at the motion of the Magistrate, the head mason of the establishment, to whose faithful-

ness and ingenuity the finish and solidity of the structure are mainly due, steps forward. The merits of the building, the causes of early failure, the remedies applied, the chances of future stability or dilapidation, are thoroughly examined. Each of the agents in work, not forgetting the artizan, receives his meed of praise, and is encouraged to future exertion by the approving word and smile of the chief.

The cavalcade passes on to the suburbs of a populous town ; the winding streets of its closely-built wards have already been surveyed and mapped by the Road Engineer, for the Grand Trunk line passes through it, and the Lieut.-Governor thinks that the safety of life and limb, in the swift and constant traffic, requires a wider space and a less crooked course than the bazar presents. The anxious shop-keepers look on with dismay, but the interests of the few must bend to those of the many, and this sharp angle, and that narrow passage, are doomed to crumble before the necessities of the State.

A little onwards is a vacant space : and here a native gentleman, who has lately joined the party, comes forward. On this spot he proposes to build a caravanserai, but he requires some immunities from the Government, which the Magistrate hesitates to recommend. The quick eye of the Lieut.-Governor recognizes the appropriateness of the spot and the advantages of the plan. The privileges are conceded, and the next progress witnesses a spacious and substantial building for the shelter and comfort of the crowding passengers.

The Tehseelce school, filled with eager and intelligent faces, is now visited. The kind and benignant smile removes the awe with which the ruler is regarded ; and the teacher is cheered, and the boys stimulated in their respective tasks, by reasonable advice and hearty encouragement.

Here a newly-erected Tehseeldaree engages attention ; there the police-houses on the Grand Trunk road, which, with the regularity of mile-stones (but only half as frequent), ever and anon strike the eye of the carriage inmate, while they give security and assurance to the foot traveller. Farther on lies a refractory village, lately the scene of uproar and confusion : the record of its rights and liabilities has now been adjusted, and the prosperity shining over its cultivated fields gives assurance to the Lieut.-Governor that satisfaction has been afforded.

The way now winds around ravines, and passes up and down over the high and difficult banks of a deep-lying stream. Here is met the Superintendent of the district roads, a quondam Serjeant, who points out the track he has surveyed under the

Magistrate's orders. The Lieut.-Governor suspects a course of intercepted drainage, and suggests another line, along which the water-shed appears to run. On the next tour the same locality is hardly to be recognized in the wide and gradual descent to the well-bridged river.

The encampment happens to be pitched within a few miles of the Ganges Canal. In the cool of the evening, the party issue forth on elephants and on horse-back, and make for a bridge where a fall and a series of locks are under preparation. The heaps of *kunker* rock, intended to break the descent of the waters, the position and construction of the locks, the character of the masonry, all pass under the narrow inspection of the Lieut.-Governor, who observes perhaps that the neighbouring houses crowd too closely on the allotted margin, and directs the enclosure of a larger space.

The station, a heavily populated cantonment, is reached, of which the drainage has long been a reproach, and the bane of the fine European soldiery there cantoned. The canal now passes in the vicinity: can its agency, or the neighbouring Revenue Survey, be brought to bear upon a remedy? The Station Officers, the Executive Engineer, the Road Engineer, the Canal and the Civil Officers, all meet to discuss the question: a plain is digested, and put in train by the Lieut.-Governor himself.*

The new buildings and improvements in the native city are inspected. The dispensary is visited, and its records examined; the Apprentices are questioned; the Surgeon is encouraged to enlarge his charitable designs, and the Sub-Assistant is stimulated to prosecute with redoubled diligence and kindness his beneficent profession.

Such is but a specimen of the advantages of local inspection and personal supervision, in imparting influence, shape, and precision to the commands of Government, and inspiring the whole subordinate agency with life, intelligence, and energy. The out-of-door labour, however, formed but a trifling fraction of the operations. All reports of the district throughout the past year or two, involving doubtful points, or principles of unusual importance, were reserved for the occasion, and now brought forward to be disposed of, discussed, or reconsidered. Difficult cases, in which the District Officer was embarrassed by perplexities, or weighty matters, in which the Commissioner hesitated to act before knowing the views of his

* A measure, something of this description, was, we believe, set on foot at Cawnpore, but was still uncompleted at the time of Mr. Thomason's decease.

chief, were now submitted for the advice or the decision of the Lieut.-Governor. Further, such points as enquiry or conversation suggested to Mr. Thomason himself as requiring special aid, supervision, or explanation, were brought forward, and the documents bearing on them promptly produced. All these were carefully studied, and the questions discussed, where necessary, with the District Officer and his subordinates, the Commissioner, the Judge, or, as the case might be, with the Executive Engineer or the Civil Surgeon. The results of each important deliberation were generally embodied in a minute, or despatch, by which, while the constituted channels of business were respected, authority was specially conveyed, and provision, where necessary, forthwith made for the prompt execution of the determined line of conduct.

An incidental advantage, but one of peculiar value, was the acquaintance imparted by such intimate converse, with the qualifications and abilities of every officer subordinate to the Government. Mr. Thomason possessed a rare power of discriminating character, and no opportunity was so favorable for exercising it, as to find a man in the midst of his daily work. With unexpected rapidity, the Lieut.-Governor would perceive the weak point of a case or line of procedure ; and the officer, if not thoroughly master of his work, would find himself foiled by one whom he counted upon as a stranger to his business, but who turned out to be more thoroughly acquainted with its details than himself. The earnest worker, and the aspiring subordinate, were recognized and encouraged. The *former* would be incited to prosecute, with redoubled energy, some occupation of his own devising, or for which his chief perceived in him a peculiar aptitude and taste : here the reins would be loosened, and a generous spur given to the willing laborer. To the *latter*, some special sphere of industry or research would be suggested—perhaps, the enquiry into an interesting custom or tenure brought to notice in the circuit : he would be invited probably to embody his investigation when completed, and to state his views and conclusions in a written form ; and the impulse thus given to talent and application, would prove perhaps the starting-point of a useful, if not distinguished career.

At home or in the camp, in the hills or at Agra, the same continuous course of unwearying labour was pursued by Mr. Thomason. The daily influx of reports was usually disposed of promptly upon their receipt. Such despatches as needed

consideration, were reserved for the early hours of the succeeding day, or other leisure time. The rapidity with which these were mastered—no important part of the correspondence, however long or intricate, escaping his keen eye—and the promptitude with which appropriate orders, often involving detailed and extended arrangements, were issued, could not fail to impress every functionary in the vicinity with a profound conviction of his great administrative talent. The most diverse subjects, from a riot to a district survey, from a revenue settlement to the details of a bridge, a jail, or a road, were handled with equal facility. The embryo idea of a useful scheme, perhaps almost unconsciously expressed, would immediately be caught up, and if capable of practical development, fashioned into mature existence. Independently, too, of suggestions from without, there was a creative power within, spontaneously originating new measures and designs, with a fertility of invention that betokened a mind ever restless and active for the good of the Government. Endowed with such powerful and versatile talents, Mr. Thomason yet sought assiduously for the opinion and advice of others wherever available. A great portion of his day was spent in official interviews with officers, civil and military, connected in any way with the advancement of his administration. Social visits and parties of ceremony were equally turned, as occasion offered, to the same great object; and he used to remark, that the busy employment of such opportunities was one of the most important parts of his duty. Though he invited discussion, sought for the views of others, and desired that his own should be subjected to the severest criticism, and although he weighed most dispassionately the arguments adduced from whatever quarter, yet it was seldom, indeed, that he found occasion to alter a conviction or a conclusion once deliberately formed. Whenever he did so, he was forward to make the due acknowledgment; for no man ever grudged less to avow himself indebted to others; and the labors of his subordinates were all the more unsparingly entered upon, because, whatever value they bore, the Lieut.-Governor was the first to perceive and to reward; such generous appreciation, accorded by one who ever exhibited a lively interest in the success and the welfare of his subordinates, elicited from them a grateful response; and he received, in consequence, that ready and devoted service—the fruit of a loving and admiring spirit—which is incomparably more valuable than the forced obedience of fear and constraint.

It is no wonder, that with such powers of discernment, with so great an aptitude for business, with such a command over the services and affections of his subordinate officers, and such complete devotion to his Government, the administration flourished under his hands. No wonder that the indolent were stimulated to exertion, the able and energetic prompted to additional effort, and the careless driven by shame, if not by apprehension, to industry and reform. Praise frequently carried with it a higher reward than promotion, (albeit the two bore ever a close connection); while animadversion and reprimand were often accompanied by a moral stigma, that stung more pungently than actual degradation.

We propose now to examine with more detail some of the chief proceedings by which Mr. Thomason rendered his administration so illustrious.

THE REVENUE DEPARTMENT is that to which his attention was earliest turned, and from which it was never averted. About the time he assumed the Government, the Circular Orders of the Sudder Board of Revenue (for the broad principles, liberal views, and lucid instructions of which, we are mainly indebted to the lamented R. M. Bird,) fell out of print, and their want began to be felt. Instead of issuing a new edition, it occurred to Mr. Thomason to compile a fresh set of directions, which, supplying what was deficient in the Board's rules, should exhibit the whole duty of a Revenue Officer, and the principles on which our system is founded.* The publication consisting originally of three parts, commenced in 1844, and

*In the preface to this work, after referring to the Regulations and Acts of Government in its legislative capacity, and the orders issued in its executive capacity, the rules and constructions of the Sudder Court, of the Revenue Board, the Accountant, and the Civil Auditor, the Lieut.-Governor proceeds:—

“The object of the present work is to collect together, from these different sources, all that bears on the Revenue Administration of the North-West Provinces, to arrange it methodically, and to place it authoritatively before the officers employed in the department, with such additional remarks and directions, as may suffice to explain the mutual relation and dependence of the several parts of the system.”

So, after enumerating the four printed Circulars of the Sudder Board of Revenue, he adds:—

“These orders were clear and succinct, and were found to be of the greatest benefit in facilitating the transaction of public business. They were, however, in their nature, incomplete, for they did not treat systematically the subjects to which they had reference, but were only a digest, under convenient heads, of orders which had from time to time been issued to meet exigencies as they arose. In process of time, also, some of the rules were abrogated or modified. When, therefore, a new edition of these Circular Orders was required, it was evident that extensive additions and modifications would be necessary to adapt them to the existing state of things, and it was ultimately determined to re-construct the whole in the present form, embodying in the work such of the orders as remained in force, or throwing them into the appendices.”—*Directions to Revenue Officers*. Preface, p. 4.

the whole was completed in 1848. Of each part at first were printed "a few trial copies, struck off for *private* circulation, in order" (as it was his constant object,) "to elicit opinions on the important subjects" discussed.* The *Directions to Settlement Officers*, and the *Directions to Collectors*, were eventually published, as conveying, in an authoritative manner, the views and instructions of the Government. They were subsequently re-published together,† with an elaborate introduction (to which Mr. Thomason appended his own name,) descriptive of the "Land Revenue Administration prevalent in the North-Western Provinces of Hindustan." It is there held, that though symptoms of proprietary right may, under Native Governments exist, yet they are seldom recognized, and are really superseded by the right of the State, which, taking all that it can, and leaving no certain profit, deprives the private title of any recognizable, or at any rate of any marketable, value. Our system, by limiting the demand of the Government, has virtually *created* a property in the soil. Various phases of right are found to exist, or have grown up under us. The Government itself; the whole body of the cultivators; a portion of that body; the headman of the village; or a middleman; may, any one of them, possess the exclusive right of managing the township, or some portion of that right. Hence the necessity of not simply fixing the Government demand, but of ascertaining by whom in what capacity, and with what rights and responsibilities, the revenue so limited is to be paid. This cannot be effected by ordinarily constituted courts, for the endless shades of right are not susceptible of any but the most general legislative provision; and each case must be separately enquired into and adjusted by a commission specially endowed with an authority at once judicial and discretionary. Such is the Court of the Settlement Officer. In the treatise which follows this disquisition, the rules to be observed in the formation of settlements are carefully laid down. They differ chiefly from those of the Board in a more elaborate and philosophical definition of the rights of those connected with the soil, and detailed directions for their ascertainment and record.

The second treatise, or the *Directions to Collectors*, embraces all the variety of duty which devolves on that most important, but ill-named, class of functionaries. It opens with

* "Preliminary Notice" to one of the Trial Copies.

† Under the title *Directions to Revenue officers, &c.*, in 1850. See title prefixed to this Article. Several editions of an Urdu translation of both parts separately and of the whole treatise together, have also issued from the press.

general instructions for the employment and considerate treatment of subordinates;* it proceeds to lay down valuable rules for the punctual realization of the revenue, for limiting interference by Government, and thus forcing the people, as much as possible, to self-management; and in case of unavoidable interference, for exercising it so as least to harass, and most to benefit, those concerned.

Of the remaining portion of this invaluable treatise, we shall refer only to the third section, which enforces the system for registration of landed property. A former paper in this *Review*† has ex-

* A witness before the House of Commons has gratuitously asserted, that Mr. Thomason was not particular in treating the natives of this country with consideration. The case adduced in support of the assertion is that of a Tehseeldar, whose sentence of dismissal for the offence of raffling his property is alleged to have been supported by the Government, while a Magistrate and Collector, who had committed a similar crime, was only reprimanded. At the most the case of the Tehseeldar would not prove inconsiderate treatment, but they who ought to know best, have never heard even of the existence of the case. The facts are as follows: It happened that several Tehseeldars were removed from their posts on strong presumption of delinquency, under sanction of the Commissioner, but were reinstated by the Board of Revenue. The Commissioner remonstrated to Government. Mr. Thomason did not interfere with the orders of the Sudder Board, but cautioned them against the inexpediency of forcing back upon a district men in whose character its officers had no confidence, and who had been declared corrupt by two tribunals. The Sudder Board did not much relish the advice. The evidence noticed above was given by a gentleman who was a Member of the Board at the period referred to.

The following extracts show with what care Mr. Thomason inculcated kindness towards the native officials:—

"Every effort should also be used to render the performance of their duties as little as possible burdensome to them. The officer, who keeps them long in attendance at his house, or who requires that they perform their ordinary duties in court in a painful standing position, cannot derive from them that degree of assistance which would otherwise be rendered. He should so dispose his own time, and make his official arrangements, as may conduce to their comfort, and make their work light. The practice of frequently imposing fines for trivial offences cannot be too strongly deprecated. It affords an excuse for dishonesty, and for that cause often fails to have any effect. Errors of judgment should never be so punished and corrupt, or dishonest actions deserve a very different punishment, and cannot be thus either appropriately or beneficially noticed. In cases of neglect or disobedience of orders, the imposition of a fine may be salutary, but it should be moderate in amount—the offence should be undoubted, and generally the first transgression of the kind can more appropriately be noticed by recorded reproof and warning."

And again—

"Great care should be taken to maintain the respectability of the Tehseeldars. They should be selected with discrimination, and after enquiry into the goodness of their character, as well as their official capacity. They should always be received and treated with consideration, and confidentially consulted, as far as conveniently practicable, on all subjects connected with the districts entrusted to their charge. Reproof or censure, when necessary, should be given privately rather than publicly; and so long as they are allowed to retain office, they should be treated with the confidence and respect which is due to their high station. The occasions are very rare, in which the imposition of a fine upon a Tehseelder is advisable or even justifiable"—*Direction to Collectors*, pp. 187—189

His own practice, in a pre-eminent manner, enforced these principles. His courteousness and consideration equalled, if it did not surpass, that of any other officer in any rank, we ever met with; and, excepting this solitary attack, we have never heard the imputation against him either of incivility or harshness.

† See Article IV. in No. XXIV. of the *Calcutta Review*, on the Settlement of the North-Western Provinces.

plained, in considerable detail, the minute record both of proprietary and tenant right, which it was one great object of the revenue settlement to form. The first design of the section is to show in what manner this record can be amended and perpetuated, so as to be constantly correspondent with the daily mutation of possession and of right. The anatomy of the Collector's record-room, and the practical directions for every step, from the papers of the Village Accountant, to the archives of the Collector's office, betray the eye and the hand itself familiar with every operation described. But the most important instructions are those which exhibit how the too frequent defect of record at settlement can now be remedied. For those who possess any acquaintance with the subject, the following paragraphs will show the style and spirit, with which able officers were invited to enter upon an arduous undertaking :—

245. It would be vain to suppose that all which is necessary has already been done. The original record, formed at the time of settlement, was often erroneous and imperfect, and it could not be otherwise. At the time of settlement the system was new and imperfectly organized; the persons selected for the performance were not always the best qualified; and the work was necessarily performed with far more rapidity than was compatible with accuracy. The mass of the people were ignorant, and unable to comprehend the object or nature of the proceedings, or the bearing on their position of the settlement, and they were moreover suspicious of any measures connected with the assessment of their lands. Under these circumstances, it is surprising that so much was done, and well done at the time of settlement. There is far more reason to take courage from the great progress already made, than to despair at the magnitude of what still remains to be done.

246. Let us suppose an intelligent officer appointed to the charge of a district, where he is likely to remain for some years. He is acquainted with the system of registration, and convinced of the importance and practicability of maintaining it. On coming, however, to refer to his settlement records in cases that casually occur, he finds them imperfect or erroneous. He concludes that registers resting on such a basis must be defective, and he determines to apply himself in earnest to the correction of the errors. It is the design of the present treatise to aid him in such an undertaking, and to show that it is not difficult at any time to make a fresh commencement, and to attain that degree of accuracy, which it was designed to ensure at the time of settlement.

247. He will find the necessary powers conferred upon him by a resolution of the Government, dated September 12, 1848, which is given in the Appendix No. XXV. In this resolution are defined the limits within which the powers are to be exercised and the precautions to be observed in the conduct of the investigations. In order to obtain the full support of his superiors in the Revenue Department, it will be necessary for him to show that he is aware of the nature and extent of the work that is before him, and of the method in which it should be performed.

248. His first efforts should be directed to the instruction of his Sudder Omlah, and of both the pergunnah and village officers, in the system of record and registration prescribed by the Government. Great facilities

have been lately afforded for the instruction of all classes of people in the peculiarities of the system, by publishing treatises on the subject in the vernacular language, and by the series of elementary school-books in Urdu and Hindi which are designed to lead the pupils to this very subject, *viz.*, the comprehension of the putwaris' papers. The revenue system, when rightly understood and properly worked, affords the greatest stimulus to the general education of the people. Indeed, it cannot be expected that the registration of rights will ever become perfect, till the people are sufficiently educated to understand it, and to watch over its execution. There is reason, however, to apprehend, that with all the means of information that are now available, a considerable time will elapse before it can be taken for granted that even the higher and better paid class of officers such as Serishtadars, Tehseeldars and Canoongoes, are sufficiently familiar with the system, to enable them to judge whether the record of a mouzah has been accurately formed, or to cause its correction where it may be faulty.

249. When the Collector is satisfied that the agents, whom he is to employ, possess the requisite degree of knowledge, he will endeavor to ascertain through their means how far the existing records are defective. Lists should be prepared of those mouzahs, in which it is most necessary to amend, or wholly to recast the record. Some will probably be found, in which re-measurement of the lands, and the formation of an entirely new misl is urgently required.

250. Several opportunities will occur, when re-measurement and re-casting of the whole records is necessary, and can be enforced, such as the division of an estate, or its being held kham for a balance. These opportunities should be seized, and the remedy applied. There are other cases where disputes of the people, or partial injury to the estate, will render the people willing to re-measure the estate, and re-cast the papers at their own cost. These are likely to be the cases in which such a process is the most necessary. Every effort should be used to carry it on, so as to be least expensive to the people, and so as to expose them to the least annoyance. Pains should also be taken to explain to the people the benefit they will derive from the measure and the uses to which it may be put. The field work should be prosecuted as much as possible in the cold weather, when the Collector can give it his personal superintendence. If he cannot himself be near to control and supervise, a properly qualified subordinate officer should have the duty entrusted to him.

251. It is most probable that he will thus, in the course of a short time, by address and management, be able to correct all the records which most need correction, without any expense whatever to the State. Each such new record will afford, as it were, a fresh start to the entries in the malgoozaree and pergunnah register regarding the mouzahs; and to the whole of the putwaris' papers. The operation will in fact consist in the formation of a new set of putwaris' papers, based on the judicially ascertained state of property in the village at the time, and not deduced from the record of a former year, as is ordinarily the case. The opportunity will not have been lost of instructing the putwaris in the discharge of their duties, and of pointing out to the people how much their welfare depends on themselves understanding the putwaris' accounts, and being careful to ensure their accuracy. If the people do not seem willing at first to re-measure their estates and correct their records at their own expense, it may be necessary to apply to superior authority for permission to aid the work on the part of Government, by charging in the contingent bill, a part or the whole of the expenses in some mouzahs, where the people are the poorest, or the most averse to the proceeding. It has

been found in some districts, that the putwarris may be instructed with little difficulty to measure the land, prepare field maps, and perform all the work of experienced ameens.

The resolution of Government, referred to in the 247th para, as issued on the 12th September 1848, confers upon all Collectors and Deputy Collectors in these provinces, the power of "completing the record of rights in land, which should "have been made at the time of settlement, and to correct "the existing record, whenever it is found at variance with "fact." This involves the exercise, under Regulations VII. of 1822, and IX. of 1833, of a large discretion; and where exercised with the care and caution inculcated by the Lieut.-Governor, there is no reason to believe that results other than the most beneficial have followed. Yet the indiscriminate appointment to the duty of all Collectors and Deputy Collectors, irrespective of their fitness and capacity for it, has led, it may be feared, to the too summary, and sometimes careless exercise of powers, which involve deeply important questions of property and possession.

During the last year of his administration, Mr. Thomason put every effort in force to introduce into his jurisdiction the system so admirably devised and matured in the Punjab, by which village putwaris are enabled, with rude implements, and yet with a degree of scientific accuracy, to survey their boundaries, and protract their fields upon scale. He at once perceived the vast advantages of the scheme in providing a simple and uncostly machinery, by which the records might not only be cured of the defects of the original survey and settlement, but made effectually to keep pace with the busy changes of time. He regarded it also as an important step in native education, and endeavoured to connect it with the system of village schools under Mr. H. S. Reid's care. We have here a fine instance, at the close of his career, of readiness to recognize means contrived by others, and of superiority to prejudice in casting aside the older system, which had grown up under his hands, and heartily and thankfully adopting the new.

There is but one other point in his Revenue Administration to which we shall specifically refer: it is the position of *Talookdars*, that is, of persons claiming one or more villages, or a large tract of villages, in virtue of a superior right by conquest, by submission of the people, or by imperial grant. The claim is frequently contested by the village residents under the title of *Zemindars*, *Biswahdars*, or *Mocuddums*. The utmost variety of opinion has divided the revenue authorities as to which of these parties is best entitled to be acknowledged proprietor. It was

at last ruled, with the concurrence of the Sudder Court, that it is possible for two species of proprietary right, differing essentially in kind, to co-exist in the same village,—that of Talukdar as *superior*, that of Biswahdar or Mocuddum as *inferior*. The law leaves it in the discretion of the executive power to decide with which, among any number of proprietors, the settlement (involving the management of the estate, shall be made. Those who leant to the Talukdar, recognized *him* as either sole zemindar, or as the manager, with the Biswahdars holding dependently of him:—those, again, who leant to the Biswahdars, either installed them in exclusive proprietary right, or acknowledging the title of the superior, set him aside with a money allowance, and concluded all the fiscal arrangements direct with the inferior proprietors. Mr. Thomason belonged to the latter number; and as his earnest spirit never suffered him to indulge in half measures, but led him to follow out his principles to their extreme limit of appliance, it was held by some (who sided with neither of the extreme parties,) that in anxiety to do justice to the claims of the Biswahdars, he was backward to acknowledge the just rights, or fulfil the reasonable expectations, of the Talukdars. This bias may be perceived in his decision, embodied in an elaborate minute recorded early in his government, by which the standard of remuneration to excluded Talukdars was reduced, after the death of incumbents from 22½ per cent. to 10 per cent. upon the Government Jumma.* Similar principles guided him in the settlement of resumed rent-free lands, in which the claims of the resident community, wherever supported by any vestige of proprietary possession, were preferred, to the exclusion of the Maafidars. But in this instance, we have little sympathy with the excluded party, for the former Government in conferring the maafi tenure of lands already occupied, could evidently dispose of its own right alone to the imperial share of the produce, and not of any further interests which remained, or ought to have remained, unaffected by the grant.

Time would fail, if we were to refer in any detail to the excellencies of Mr. Thomason's Revenue Administration—to some of the most striking despatches, for instance, in which he

* The minute is dated the 17th January 1844. The question was long before the Court of Directors whose decision Mr. Thomason awaited, though with full persuasion of the justice of the act, yet with some doubt as to the result. The Court eventually disallowed the reduction during the currency of the settlement, wherever it was not borne out by express stipulation, but decreed that it should thereafter take effect.

It is remarkable that this order arrived only a few weeks after Mr. Thomason's demise.

provided for an equable and moderate assessment ; for an efficient distribution of establishments ; for the convenient adjustment of intermingled boundaries and jurisdiction ; for the due enforcement of the customs revenue (which under him reached an unwonted prosperity) ; for the preparation of district maps, English and vernacular, showing every village boundary ; for perfecting the system of proprietary records, and rendering them accessible to the public ; for the survey and disposal of waste lands ; for the settlement of disputed rights ; for encouraging industry and the investment of capital by the conferment of a good title where none existed ; for the improvement and elevation, in fine, of each branch of that complicated machinery through which the Indian Collector works upon the people. It will readily be imagined from what has been said, that his administration was vigorous and singularly successful ; that while it descended to the minutest detail, it equally grasped the most comprehensive results ; and that not only its current concerns were conducted on a liberal and sagacious policy, but that the provident eye of the Lieut.-Governor, seeing in advance of the present, laid down a mass of enlightened principles—principles which, if duly observed, cannot fail to guide the future enquirer, and to extend the blessings of his administration far beyond the influence of his own immediate acts.*

The Department of PUBLIC WORKS is the next we shall refer to, as peculiarly prominent under Mr. Thomason's Government. Endowed with a taste for mathematics, and with an engineering eye, he assumed a more decided authoritative part in all public works undertaken or proposed, than an unprofessional person would, in general, be warranted to take. Towards the re-modelling of the Department of Public Works, which, instead of the dilatory and feeble machinery of a Board, should give him the prompt counsel and energetic supervision

* For some years he had been engaged upon a "Revenue Code," embracing the principles and procedure enunciated in the *Directions*, and followed in our present system of revenue administration. He had advanced a considerable way upon this work, when he was obliged, by other occupations, to abandon it. It is replete with sound principles, and the dictates of much experience and judgment.

Mr. Thomason's fame, as a Revenue Administrator, was recognized and done homage to, without the bounds of his own Government. He was consulted by the Administrators of other territories, whose condition widely differed from the North Western Provinces ; and from whatever quarter, whether from Arracan, from Madras, or from the Punjab enquiries came, they received the same prompt attention and ingenious solution. Some detailed and careful reasoning, founded upon a reference of this description from Salem, a district in Madras, shows that if he had been spared, he would have gone to that Presidency, ready and able to cope with the difficult revenue questions which perplex the Government.

of an able engineer in immediate connexion at once with himself and with all the works in progress, he wistfully looked as a great onward step, both for the improvement of the country and for relieving the Government of a professional responsibility hardly attaching to its position.* He was not spared to see that change; for even yet it only looms in the distance, though we trust its realization draws speedily near. Deprived of a professional and responsible counsellor, Mr. Thomason did not shrink from assuming the exercise of immediate and independent action wherever necessary. His admirable skill was manifest in the almost intuitive perception of the practicability and usefulness, or otherwise, of any project laid before him. After a deliberate survey of the plans and proposals, he promptly admitted or rejected the scheme. If acknowledged to be useful, and yet perhaps immature and uncertain in its details, directions would be given for further enquiry and development; the papers, if sufficiently important, would be published, and discussion invited;† or the whole project would be thrown into the hands of some one of undoubted capacity, either to work into shape or to carry into effect. To every officer connected with the civil administration of the North-West Provinces, numerous instances will occur of important works brought to a successful issue by such happy management. He particularly watched over the proceedings of the Road and Ferry Fund Committees, and liberally fostered every useful scheme they devised. His own fertile and ceaselessly-working mind found unfrequently itself originated conceptions, which were either at once carried out, or commended to the attention

* In a despatch to the Government of India, dated the 7th June 1847, urging the appointment of a Chief Engineer, with reference to Lord Hardinge's sanction of an unlimited expenditure for the Ganges Canal, Mr. Thomason thus describes his position as Lieut.-Governor:—

"The necessary effect of the present state of things is, that in the superintendence of many public works, the Lieut.-Governor is thrown entirely on his own resources. Works involving much engineering skill are at present under construction in Rohilkhand, in Agra, in Nimar, as well as all over the country, under the Magistrates and Local Committees; and in forming an opinion upon these, the Lieut.-Governor is forced to depend upon his own knowledge, or the casual assistance which personal friends ungrudgingly afford. But he has no fixed responsible adviser to whom he could at all times authoritatively refer, and on whose judgment he could implicitly rely."

We conceive that the strong, but just, statement of the case contained in this address, was effectual in bringing the subject to the favorable notice it is now resulting from a liberal administration.

† By way of illustration we may refer to a *Report on the High Road between Agra and Saugor*, lately issued from the Agra Press, with correspondence regarding a raised, but not metalled, track proposed by Capt. Lake. The Lieut.-Governor's remarks, embodied in the concluding letter from the Agra Government, dated the 25th August 1853, will furnish a specimen of the usual and every-day orders elicited by proposals of this description. The support of the proposed line by tolls, and the necessity of obtaining the co operation of native States, are prominently noticed.

and enquiries of the local officers. Thus, during the past year, he projected two roads, one joining Pilibheet with Agra, by a line running through Bareilly and Budaon, the other uniting the Saugor territories with the Doab, via Kallinjer in the Banda District; so as to open up to fertile but ill accessible tracts, a new and large drain for their commodities.* To the Bombay and Agra road, though cramped by limited resources, he devoted a minute attention; and one of his latest acts was to secure the approval of the Supreme Government to a scheme, by which, at increased expense, it will be rendered greatly more effective. His proposals also regarding the Mirzapore Deccan road were carefully matured, and if carried out, would place it (though at a great expenditure,) almost upon the footing of the Grand Trunk line. He took much interest in the opening of a good approach over the Tewalick range to Dera and Mussoorie, and both by public aid and private suggestion, sought to forward the undertaking. These are mentioned but as specimens: to enumerate all the important works which he originated or materially aided, would swell this article beyond all reasonable bounds.

The Grand Trunk Road, however, demands some special remarks. Its excellent condition is mainly owing to the arrangements for constant supervision enforced by the late Lieut.-Governor. Under his sanction, small bungalows have been erected at short distances for the shelter of the overseers; and without these, frequent visits and effectual control over the native workmen, during the severity of the hot and rainy seasons, would have been impossible. His liberal policy provided a wide margin to the line, both for its own works, and the protection of the landholders from encroachment. Serious difficulty occurs in procuring *kunkur* or metal, from lands owned by private individuals; and here the operations of the engineers were facilitated by his wise and consistent counsels. In widening the road and bridges, in straightening and enlarging its passage through crowded towns and bazars, as well as in various minor arrangements for the accommodation of the trains of waggons and carriages which move upon it, he had of late instituted many marked improvements.

* The second instance here quoted, presents a characteristic example of the mode in which Mr. Thomason treasured up, for years, the embryo of a likely scheme, till the time had arrived for its execution. The idea of the Jubbulpore road through Banda was started by Lieut. Briggs of the Engineer Corps, and communicated to Mr. Thomason in a private note, written in 1848. The public finances, or other considerations, prevented the immediate adoption of the project; but the letter was carefully treasured, and now that obstacles to its completion were removed, was printed and circulated to all the authorities concerned, with a letter inviting suggestions for the promotion of the design.

But the chief advance consists in the admirable protective measures, which enable the thousands of travellers to pass in security along this road, under the guardianship of a regular patrol, stationed at every two miles at police posts.* Encamping grounds for the accommodation of troops marching on the line have also been set aside, and marked off at convenient distances; and store-houses of wood and provisions erected on the spot.† Thus not only the troops themselves march with greater comfort, but the advent of a regiment is not now (what we can recollect it within the last ten or twelve years to have been), a signal to the tehseeldari myrmidons for extortion and oppression, enabling them to levy subsidies of grain, and to fell the cherished trees of the people, under pretence of supplying the troops with fire-wood and provisions. Mr. Robert Montgomery has much of the credit of maturing the scheme, and Lieut.-Colonel Staell, C. B., (one of the most willing of Mr. Thomason's working staff,) has ably carried it out; but both needed the guiding hand of their master.‡ Where the system is worked with any degree of attention, it is hardly possible that oppression of the kind alluded to can again occur.

TO WORKS OF IRRIGATION, where engineering skill is employed, directly to enhance the productive value of the soil,

* One of his late acts was to organize from the Ferry Funds, (which he regarded as legitimately applicable to the guarding of the main roads) a large augmentation of the chowkidari force upon the Grand Trunk line. The despatch containing this order, with detailed instructions regarding the chowkidars, was printed and circulated.

† The encamping grounds, it has been Mr. Thomason's especial care to have set apart in every line by which troops are accustomed to march, and their advantages are patent, as a simple expedient at once for convenience, and for preventing encroachment on private lands and fields. The store-houses, however, can only be put in full operation, where the demand is sufficient to encourage speculators to contract for the requisite supplies.

‡ See *Report of the Arrangements made for the Grand Trunk Road, in the Cawnpore District*, by R. MONTGOMERY, ESQ., C. S., Agra, 1849. Several of Colonel Steel's *Reports on the Progress of the arrangements* have been published, and will show what has been done, as well as the great need that existed for reform.

Although the rules of the Supreme Government have all along been most stringent for the full payment of all carriage, provisions, wood, &c., required by troops, it was notorious that they were in great measure unheeded; and, indeed, so long as good arrangements on the part of the Civil Officers are not in force, one can hardly blame the half-furnished sepoy, jaded by a long and weary march, for carrying off summarily the means of satisfying his hunger. We have seen the stores of wood, the scene of a regular storm, carried away without the thought of payment, to the sad dismay of the unfortunate supplier. The natural consequence was, that the loss fell eventually on the surrounding villages. Such practices are now unknown.

To make the wise rules of the Government of India universally known, both for the warning of the Military and encouragement of the Civil officials, Mr. Thomason compiled, with great care, all the orders and rules bearing on the subject, and published them under the title, *Selected orders, Civil and Military, regarding march of troops, the mode of supplying them with carriage, provisions, &c., published by order of the Honorable Lieut.-Governor, N.-W. P. Agra, 1849.*

the comfort of the people, and their security from the ravages of famine, Mr. Thomason devoted, as it behoved an Indian Governor, an unusual share of his attention. Among his miscellaneous projects, we may allude to the survey of the environs of Delhi, organised with the object of reviving the ancient embankments, of which traces still remain, as well as of procuring a record of archæological interest, regarding the venerable capital of India. His efforts for draining the adjacent extensive swamp of Nujjufgurh, were, in the face of great difficulties unremitting; and though not yet entirely successful, have still received their reward in the rich crops covering the soil, which has been laid bare by the escape of a portion of the waters. The operations in Ajmere have been explained to the public, both of England and of India, in *Colonel Dixon's Sketch of Mairwara*,* a work which owes its origin to the same suggesting mind that aided and forwarded the admirable measures there recorded. In an opposite direction, among the forests of the Rohikhund Terai, and within sight of the snowy Himalayas, the energetic proceedings of Captain Jones for draining the marshy lands of that exuberant but neglected tract, and turning its precious but hitherto wasted streams to the purposes of irrigation, were watched and directed with equal care.†

The Nugeena Canal in Bijnore, and the canals of the Dera Doon, no less than their greater and more important rivals, the Eastern and Western Jumna Canals, engaged his lively interest. He was ever on the watch for suggestions to improve their efficiency; ‡ and it is but within a few months that his advocacy secured the approval of the Governor-General and the Court of Directors to a scheme upon a grand scale for straightening, at an expense of above a lakh and a

* See a review of this work in *Calcutta Review*, No. XXX, Art. IX.

† See *Calcutta Review*, No. IX, Art. III.

‡ A running memorandum, we believe, of the progress of each work in repaying its outlay, was regularly kept up among his private memoranda.

During the past year, Mr. Thomason officially called the attention of Colonel Cautley to some valuable suggestions made privately by him more than five years before. We quote from this despatch, as it is another striking instance of the care with which schemes once started were treasured up, and reserved for the proper opportunity:—

"The project of a new canal from the Song river is a promising one. But there is another project of drawing water from the Buldi river, above the Sunsadurra, which once engaged attention, but has apparently now been lost sight of. The notice of this project is contained in a private note from yourself, dated March 9th, 1848. It has been carefully kept for many years, and is now placed on record to preserve it from oblivion." Colonel Cautley is then requested to have both worked out, and estimates framed, so that the report might be printed, "and remain for execution, when money and agency are forthcoming." His attention is also called to further suggestions made in a pamphlet published also under Mr. Thomason's authority—*Notes and Memoranda on the Water Courses in the Dera Doon*, by Captain Cautley, 1845.

half of rupees, the tortuous course of a portion of the Eastern Jumna Canal, thus greatly adding to its efficiency, and diminishing the cost of its maintenance*.

Regarding these subjects, and, indeed, upon all engineering questions, Mr. Thomason placed a well-deserved and unlimited confidence in Lieut-Colonel Cautley, the Superintendent of Canals in the North-West Provinces, and the director of that great work, the GANGES CANAL, which is the creation of his own genius. If interested in the comparatively puny aqueducts above alluded to, it may well be imagined that this truly imperial undertaking called forth the full tide of the late Lieut-Governor's solicitude. Deeply persuaded of its vast importance, both in adding to the resources of the kingdom, and ameliorating, throughout an immense extent of country, the horror of those famines to which the North-West Provinces, from their uncertain climate, must be constantly liable, he acted upon the principle that all lesser interests may well bend before this object of paramount necessity. It was not that he assisted either in devising or in perfecting any of the engineering details: the merit of originating the grand conception, and of developing its various parts, belongs to Colonel Cautley, and to him alone. But to Mr. Thomason does belong the credit, which of itself would have rendered his administration famous, of grasping the idea in all its largeness and importance, and of representing the object, and advocating the claims of the work in so powerful a manner, (at the time when a stinted expenditure would have starved into insignificance the noble design, and mistaken policy have reduced it to a mere boat-canal,) that the Government were persuaded to remove the restrictions imposed by Lord Ellenborough, the merits of the undertaking were fully recognized, and Colonel Cautley allowed a discretionary command of means, without bound or restriction.

The Ganges Canal is so closely connected with the administration now under review, and its approaching opening invests it with so much present attraction, that our readers will probably not be unwilling to possess a short abstract of its history.

On the 23rd of May 1838, Colonel Cautley submitted to the

* As a first step towards carrying through this great work, the Superintendent was invited to mature the design and to prepare a report upon it, in a popular form, comprehensible by unprofessional readers. Permanency and publicity were given to the result of this suggestion, which will be found printed under the following title—*Notes on the Levels of the Eastern Jumna Canal, explanatory of a Project for completing the Regulation of the Slope of the Canal bed, 1st May 1852, Agra, by Lieut. W. E. Morton, Superintendent of the Eastern Jumna Canals.*

Government of the North-West Provinces, a series of levels taken by him a year or two before, with a view to test the possibility of pouring, for purposes of irrigation, a flood of water from the Ganges below Hurdwar into the Kali Nuddi at Bolundshuhur. Though this was reported to be impracticable, yet the idea of the Ganges Canal had dawned upon his mind; and he solicited authority to carry on his investigations for supplying water to the "Mozuffernugger, Sirdana, and Meerut districts."* The reply, written by Mr. Thomason, under Lord Auckland's authority, states that "His Lordship is not prepared to expect much success in any attempt to draw a canal from the right bank of the Ganges. If, however, the object could be attained, the public benefit would be very great. It appears from Captain Cautley's letter that the question can easily be set at rest, and it is highly desirable that it should be so without delay." The Military Board were accordingly instructed to give Captain Cautley a small establishment to prosecute his enquiries.

In 1840, Mr. Thomason, again at the Secretariat post, expressed to Captain Cautley the Hon'ble Mr. Robertson's gratification at the result of his investigations, which were printed for general information. In 1841, Mr. Robertson recorded an enlightened and elaborate minute respecting the importance of the projected canal, "the practicability of which had, through Captain Cautley's unwearied zeal and talent, been satisfactorily established," and submitted to Lord Auckland repeated addresses, pressing the undertaking upon the Government. In the preparation of these, Mr. Thomason appears to have assisted.

On the 1st September 1841, the Court of Directors, upon a review of the whole question, and guided by the recommendation of the Indian Government, accorded their liberal sanction to the project, estimated at above a million sterling; and Captain Cautley with vigor commenced the work. But a change soon came over the spirit of the Government; for upon the 29th April 1842, Lord Ellenborough, from the

* A little sketch accompanies and illustrates this report, and in it a pencil dotted line, marked in Colonel Cautley's writing, the "*probable direction of head*," to pass by Roorkee, exhibits the singular sagacity of that distinguished Engineer, in seeing, as it were, where other men conjecture and calculate.

It is curious to observe, that in the reply of Government, another object for which the establishment was also granted, is regarded as a much more likely and promising scheme, viz., a proposal to draw off *Rajbuzhas* (or minor water-courses) from the chief rivers in the Upper Doab. These enquiries seem to have originated in a scheme of Captain Debede for irrigating from the Hindun and Kali Nuddi, but it was Colonel John Colvin, C. B., the Superintendent of Canals, preceding Colonel Cautley, who left the idea of a canal from the Ganges as a legacy to his successor.—*Extracts to Col. Cautley's Report on the Central Doab Canal*, 12th May 1840.

military bureau, directed the suspension of existing arrangements, on account of financial and *other* considerations; and, if this were capable of misconstruction, two months later (21st June 1842), he issued positive orders from the Civil department, that pending "a further test to the scientific and financial calculations on which the scheme was based, all further expenditure was to be discontinued." It was represented, however, by the Agra Government, that to close at once all the progressing operations would be to involve the State in a serious loss; and the Governor-General therefore consented (17th September 1842), that existing works might be carried on, but at the paltry expenditure of two lakhs in the year.

Things continued on this unsatisfactory footing till the beginning of 1844, Captain Cautley being obliged, from the want of subordinate agency, to conduct with his own hands the drudgery of surveying levels, and such like work. It was one of Mr. Thomason's early acts as Lieut-Governor to remonstrate strongly (10th February 1844) against this most uneconomical and extravagant misuse of the Director's time and talents:—a waste of directing energy, which no private Company, acting simply for their own benefit, would have incurred. The scanty aid conceded by Lord Ellenborough in reply was given grudgingly, and accompanied by the following strange misconception:—"It is," His Lordship said, "*with the view of making a canal of NAVIGATION, that the project has been sanctioned, and that sums for constructing it have been granted. IRRIGATION is to be a SECONDARY object towards which, after the first object has been effected, the surplus waters are to be applied. His Lordship desires that this may be continually held in view.*" It is well that this nobleman had neutralized these false views, by the appointment, as his lieutenant, of an officer who would not shrink from exposing their fallacy: else the Ganges Canal, for the chief end of its existence, might have sunk into utter inefficiency.

Mr. Thomason perceived the critical position, and addressed himself with determination to do battle for the canal. He visited the works, and after becoming thoroughly acquainted with their state, and the folly of prosecuting them in the present sluggish fashion, he promptly addressed the Governor-General, 11th April 1844, and boldly pleaded the issue whether His Lordship's limit could be justified upon any grounds, either of sound policy, of economy, or of humanity. Hitherto this limit had not done much injury, for in the beginning of a great work, it is long before a sufficient supply of artizans

and laborers can be procured. Now, however, "the fame of the work had spread :ⁿ carpenters, masons, artificers, laborers, had congregated from the most distant quaters—Oudh, Bhutte, Marwara, &c. If the restriction be maintained, these must go away, "and the conductors of the work be discredited." Viewed in a *political* aspect, "the national reputation was pledged to its success." The many thousands assembled at the Hurdwar fair had seen the State "embarked in a gigantic undertaking," to turn the Ganges into the Doab ; and if the Government were baffled in the work, the prestige of our power and credit would be shaken.* Again, the Government was bound by motives of *humanity* not to delay a work certified as an effectual means of saving a great tract of land from famine, yet the present sluggish rate would not complete this work within thirty or forty years to come, during the whole of which period the country would be abandoned to the inroads of drought and all its unmitigated horrors† Mere *economy* demanded loudly that the operations should be expedited, in order that the expense of costly supervision might be saved. The two lakhs now expended were no more than the annual net income received direct from the Jumna Canals. "Hitherto " the Government have advanced nothing towards the Ganges " Canal from the general resources of the State. Notwithstanding the proof daily before their eyes of the benefits arising " from canals, they have just done sufficient to commit themselves to the undertaking, but have shrunk from embarking " in it with that zeal and determination which will bring its " benefits within their reach." The Governor-General, who could lavish his thousands upon the Somnath gates, and "the favorite sweetmeat" of the sepoys, was moved by this potent reasoning to grant the petty subsidy of ONE *lakh more for one year* !

* This was a view which had evidently taken much hold of his mind ; for at the close of the following year, in reply to enquiries from the Court of Directors, he writes :—

"In the face of the whole Hindu population assembled at the great Koomb" (or duodecennial) "Fair, the British nation stood pledged to this great work, gigantic in itself, but invested with peculiar importance in the eyes of our subjects from its connection with their sacred river, and favourite place of pilgrimage."

† Shortly after this despatch, Mr. Thomason addressed the Military Board on another aspect of this question. Sound policy demanded that the works should be substantial and secure, and the superintendence most effective ; for after a canal had once come into full play, and had caused in its vicinity a vast increase of population, corresponding with the increased productiveness of the soil, the failure of water arising from any oversight or blunder of the Engineers, must involve the unsuspecting people in all the horrors of an *artificial* famine. (*Letter dated 21st May, 1844.*) This is a most serious aspect of the case, and proves the urgent necessity of the works being efficiently officered, both as respects the *number* and *qualifications* of the supervisors.

But the masterly State paper, of which we have given a sketch, was to receive a worthier treatment from more discriminating hands. In 1845, Lord Hardinge postponed the more vigorous prosecution of the work, simply from sanatory considerations, in expectation of the report of a committee appointed to investigate the effect of canal irrigation upon the healthiness of the adjacent country. The Sutlej campaign called away Major Baker (who occupied the place of Major Cautley while in England) both from this committee and the canal. But the glorious success of our arms had no sooner freed Lord Hardinge from the cares of the field, than he nobly compensated for all the inaction, illiberality, and error that had preceded.

In March 1847, Lord Hardinge visited the stupendous works of the Solani aqueduct, and having thoroughly entered into all Mr. Thomason's sentiments, shortly after recorded a minute which reflects honor on his Lordship's name. He abandoned navigation except as a subsidiary object, and enunciated the principle that irrigation was the grand design, before which everything must bend; and he declared himself ready to authorize the twenty lakhs a year, named by Major Baker, nay, to sanction "*as large a sum for future years as the Director could expend with a due regard to economy.*"*

The battle was now won. Minor lets and hindrances were easily overcome.† In 1850 the enhanced estimate of above a million and half sterling was cheerfully passed by the Hon'ble Court. And thus, under the liberal policy of the enlightened nobleman now presiding over the Government of India, and under the careful patronage of his Lieut.-Governor, who at every check or difficulty was ready to advocate before his chief the claims of the canal, or to solve perplexities by his own suggestions, the magnificent work has progressed apace till the present day, when, on the verge of completion, the guiding and protecting hand, scarcely now required more, has been suddenly removed. Mr. Thomason was to have been present at the formal opening of the canal in the ensuing spring; but his work was done. And Colonel Cautley cannot but feel that the spirit which imparted life and energy,

* Minute by Lord Hardinge, dated 30th April 1847.

† About the close of 1847, both the Court of Directors and the Governor-General (Lord Hardinge) in view of the mighty proceedings in progress, expressed some hesitation; but it was readily removed by the powerful representations of the Lieut.-Governor. The revised estimate, ungrudgingly passed by the Court of Directors, in their despatch dated the 2nd June 1852, amounts to the enormous sum of Rs 1,55,48,100. Mr. Thomason used, we believe, constantly to keep running accounts of the advancing expenditure among his private memoranda.

and success to his great design, has departed, just as the canal was about to pour in millions of rivulets across the vast plain of the Doab its vivifying flood of luxuriance and plenty.

While Mr. Thomason was only the advocate and helper of the Ganges Canal, he was the originator of the **ENGINEERING COLLEGE AT ROORKEE.**

Mr. Thomason was from the first deeply impressed with the necessity of providing, for the multitude of public works throughout the country, a staff of native engineers, possessing both professional knowledge and experience. In the beginning of 1845, he projected a scheme by which the most advanced pupils of the Agra and Delhi Colleges, or other candidates, might, under the guidance of Lieut. Baird Smith, and amid the works of the Eastern Jumna Canal, add to their theoretical attainments a sound practical acquaintance with engineering. When the details were matured, the Lieut-Governor obtained, but not without repeated appeals, permission to extend, "by way of experiment," the benefits of the proposal to three or four qualified youths.* Upon this was grounded the Notification of the 9th October 1845, constituting "a class of officers, to be denominated *Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers.*" The plan was found to work so well that their number was increased from four to twenty.†

After Lord Hardinge had resolved on the vigorous prosecution of the Ganges Canal, Mr. Thomason at once perceived how this great undertaking might itself prove the nursery of such an engineering body as he longed to raise up from amongst the indigenous materials of the country. He lost no time in developing the idea, and on the 23rd September 1847, laid his proposal before the Supreme Government.‡ He dwelt

* It was in danger of being shelved along with a proposition of the Educational Department in Bengal, for the encouragement of Civil Engineering amongst the natives. But Mr. Thomason vindicated the special claims and advantages of the North Western Provinces as a Civil Engineering School.

† On the 22nd December 1846.

‡ Colonel Cautley had apprehended the same idea so early as 1843, when, applying for a large number of well-educated and skilful artificers, he added that "they will not only be useful in themselves, but will establish a school for the ultimate supply of efficient workmen to the whole line of the canal." What is here proposed for the canal, Mr. Thomason organized for the whole of Hindustan.

The same letter suggests the further idea of workshops, &c., likewise followed out by Mr. Thomason: "We shall require numerous workshops, store-rooms, &c., at Roorkee, which place I intend to establish as the head quarters of the Ganges Canal."—He proceeds to recount the plans of workshops, model-rooms, &c., which his busy and practical mind had already designed.—*Letter dated October 4, 1843.*

at great length on the requirements of the country—surveys, irrigation, application of water power, navigation, roads, bridges, railways—objects for all of which it is impossible to provide European engineering skill. He appealed to the Government to avail themselves of the present opportunity to form a native class :—

The establishment now forming at Roorkee, near the Solani aqueduct on the Ganges Canal, affords peculiar facilities for instructing Civil Engineers. There are large workshops, and extensive and most important structures in course of formation. There are also a library and a model-room. Above all, a number of scientific and experienced Engineer Officers are constantly assembled on the spot, or occasionally resorting thither.

These officers, however, all have their appropriate and engrossing duties to perform, and cannot give time for that careful and systematic instruction which is necessary for the formation of an expert Civil Engineer.

On these accounts the Lieut.-Governor would propose the establishment at Roorkee of an Institution for the education of Civil Engineers, which should be immediately under the direction of the local Government in the Educational Department.

In conformity with this proposal, which was warmly supported by the Governor-General, the College was opened on the 1st of January 1848, for the instruction, both of Natives and of European soldiers, and non-commissioned officers.

In 1851, persuaded of the success of his scheme, and fortified by the support of the Committee upon the system of Public Works,* and of Sir Charles Napier.† Mr. Thomason projected a vast enlargement of the original plan, so as to include not only greater numbers of natives and soldiers, but likewise Commissioned Officers, both of the Royal and Company's services; the establishment of a dépôt and workshop for the repair of surveying and other scientific instruments; ‡ a museum of economic geology, an observatory, a printing establishment, and other appurtenances to render the institution effective. These propositions were printed by His Honor in a brochure and submitted to the Governor-General, who accorded to them his hearty support. On the 2nd June 1852,

* See their Report dated March 5, 1851.

† "The suggestion," writes Mr. Thomason, "of admitting to the College Commissioned Officers of both services, is due to His Excellency, General Sir Charles Napier, in communication with whom the present scheme has been drawn out." Its ground-work is the same as that of the senior department of the Military College at Sandhurst, adapted to the Indian Army.—*Address to the Government of India, dated 28th August 1850.*—See also page 17 of the "*Account of Roorkee.*"

‡ "This is a desideratum of more importance than at first sight might appear, in a country where there are no private establishments in which such instruments might be repaired. Their injury or disorder is now a continual obstacle to the advance of scientific enquiry and tuition.

the Court of Directors communicated their sanction, and the whole scheme is now being carried into effect.

The influence which these establishments will have in the enlightenment of India and development of her resources, in the progress of civilization and scientific enquiry, and in the advancement of the officers and soldiers of our army, cannot be over-estimated ; and the credit of the whole belongs to Mr. Thomason. He naturally regarded the institution with a peculiar interest, and watched over it with a sort of parental pride and solicitude. The extensive quadrangle,* now being erected to complete the enlarged design, was to have been opened by him at the close of the following year, thus constituting, as it were, the last public act of his official career.

To the JUDICIAL AND CRIMINAL DEPARTMENT of his Government, the attention of Mr. Thomason was less directed than to the rest of his duties. We cannot point in it, as we can in almost every other, to any large measure of reform (excepting, *perhaps* the Grand Trunk Road Police,) involving either present great results, or the germ of future improvement. This was partly owing to the nature of the subject, which did not involve the abstract principles with which he delighted to work, or any national institutions on which his conservative mind loved to engraft his forward movements. At one point, where those institutions were approached, they trammelled, rather than assisted, his views. The chowkidar must belong to the *village community* : he must be remunerated by a small holding of the village lands : he must be the servant of the Zemindar : salary paid in cash direct from Government, would loosen the Zemindar's hold upon him ; while a close surveillance of his proceedings would interfere with the independent action of the village institution. Perhaps such may be a specimen of all the reasons for which he shrank from a reform of our police system.

But it was impossible for a mind like his of whom we write, to preside over the Judicial Administration of the country, without introducing many improvements, and infusing a vigor into all its movements. The distribution of his agency was, for the most part, admirable ; † the same prompt and searching

* See the elevation and ground-plan at page 20 of the *Account of Roorkes*.

† In judging of this question, it must be remembered, that the covenanted materials were not of his own choosing. His task was to make the arrangement of them best suited for the good of the country. If sometimes parties who had proved inefficient in the magisterial and revenue charge of a *district* were readily

orders were daily issued as in the Revenue Department. A careful amendment of local jurisdiction was effected wherever ill arrangement or intermixture impeded the administration of justice ; and the subordinate agency was revised for the more efficient discharge of its duty. The police divisions were frequently enlarged, and from the saving effected by reduction in number, the salary of the police officers was proportionally increased. The district daks were fostered by him. The management of the jails throughout the country was improved ; and the Central Prison at Agra, under inspectors judiciously selected and guided by the Lieut.-Governor, has made an advance in prison discipline hitherto unknown in India.

A special and important feature of the administration is the extensive employment of Revenue officers in police and judicial posts. The tehseeldars have, in many districts, been invested with the power of Daroga, and from their known respectability and character, have imparted a new stamp of credit and confidence to the police proceedings. So every Deputy Collector is constituted likewise a Deputy Magistrate, and numerous Tehseeldars throughout the country have been installed in the same commanding position. The movement is undoubtedly in the right direction ; but the conferment of magisterial powers has, probably, been too indiscriminate, and without a sufficient guarantee of character, or of the

advanced to the Judicial Bench, it must be remembered that the same points which impair a Magistrate's usefulness (as want of promptitude and personal activity,) do not, in an equal degree, affect a Judge, and that the hesitancy, which often accompanies a high deliberative faculty, is directly prejudicial to the energetic management of a district. Nevertheless, it is possible that Mr. Thomason's leaning towards the Revenue Department may have induced him to favour it, upon the whole, with better officers than the Judicial.

It has been asserted in some of the public prints, that Mr. Thomason had a bias to promote men of a strong religious principle. No doubt, a consistent profession of religion had its weight among other qualities, in his estimate of a man's character, as profligacy or dishonesty had its share also. But as far as official requirements are concerned, we deny that a profession of religion, or the reverse, was an element which he took into consideration in the distribution of patronage. High and honorable principle was the point he looked to, and wherever he found that, the only question with him for debate was the qualification of the candidates and their respective fitness for office. It is impossible, that any unprejudiced man acquainted with the society of Agra, and with the chief appointments held there within the last half dozen years, could for a moment entertain the charge. As Mr. Thomason regarded no part of his duty as more onerous and unpleasant than the distribution of patronage, so we are assured that there was none which he exercised with a greater deliberation, or endeavored to discharge with a more single eye to the welfare of the State, or a sterner conscientiousness and disregard of private friendship, feeling, and partiality.

knowledge required for the discharge of such grave functions, affecting everywhere the social body. The point is urged with the greater confidence, because the principle of a test of efficiency has already been conceded in the case of Covenanted Assistants, and there is no reason to stop its application there. A second objection is, that the new functions bring with them no increase of emolument, although they vastly add to the labor and responsibility, as well as to the dignity of the officer holding them. In one district we have a Deputy Collector with the small and unimportant powers of an assistant ; in the adjoining station, his brother Deputy has special powers, involving authority of greater magnitude ; in a third, he is a full Magistrate, and can not only imprison any of Her Majesty's dusky subjects for three years, but visit every Englishman, who commits a trespass, with a fine of 500 rupees, or in default thereof, with two months' imprisonment. In one pergunnah we have a tehseeldar employed solely in the quiet duties of a Revenue Collector, in the next he may have any of the magisterial powers we have just enumerated. Yet all are paid alike, without the slightest reference to their varied responsibilities. Surely this is inexpedient, if it be not unfair, and for a great Government, unbecoming. The officer possessing the higher powers may be (and sometimes actually has been) remanded for neglect or misdemeanour to a *lower* grade of authority, yet no diminution of emolument ensues. Great devotion to his office may be followed by promotion to the higher grade, yet no increase of salary is gained. The service thus loses at once the stimulus to exertion, and the salutary dread of loss and degradation : while both officers and people are taught to regard, without estimation or respect, a power and office which it ought to be our great effort to invest with dignity and with influence. Such a course cannot fail of an injurious effect upon the Government itself.

In one respect, the government of Mr. Thomason has greatly benefited the Criminal and Judicial Departments in common with every other, *viz.*, by the *publications, which, under his authority, issued from the press.* Of these may be noticed the *Memoir on the Statistics of the North-Western Provinces*, by A. Shakespear, Esq., C. S., 1848 ; containing, in a condensed form, the most minute information as to the area, revenues and population of each pergunnah and district. The results of a second census, made also under the careful and minute instructions of the Lieut.-Governor, on the last day

of 1852, have since been published ; * and contain the most valuable and accurate returns yet obtained in India.

In the first year of his government, Mr. Thomason forwarded to every Magistrate and Collector an invitation to throw together all the statistical and general information he could obtain regarding his jurisdiction, to be printed in a volume illustrated by maps and statements. Such a publication, he thought, would "form an official history of each district, and contain all that would enable the public officers of Government to understand the peculiarities of the district, and conduct of the administration." Minute directions were given how to arrange the various matter, statistical, historical, geographical, economical, educational,—regarding the current tenures, rise and fall of families, operation of special measures or laws, effect of the revenue and judicial system, &c. Few officers have had the energy and skill to work out the plan : † but the *Statistical Report of Cawnpore*, by Mr. Montgomery, illustrates the wisdom of the design, and the usefulness of such a treatise for advancing and facilitating, in every department, the administration of a district. We earnestly hope that the conception will not be lost sight of, till we are furnished with a similar guide and official companion for every district in the provinces.

In other departments, we may notice the *Settlement Misl*, (1847) which forms a specimen of the papers required from first to last in the settlement of each of the prevailing classes of tenure, with a counterpart in English (also 1847) ; The *Accountant's Manual*, by C. Allen, Esq., 1847 ; The *Civil Auditor's Manual*, by T. K. Loyd, Esq., 1851 ; *Statistics of Indigenous Education*, by R. Thornton, Esq., 1850, and *Comparative Tables of District Establishments in the North-Western Provinces*, by

* See *Agra Gazette* of October 18th, 1853. The details of this census are now in the press in a volume, by Mr. G. J. Christian, Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue, through the agency of which Board the work was carried out. The instructions for this census were drawn up by Mr. Thomason himself with great pains, and no precaution was omitted for securing perfect accuracy. The whole was accomplished on the night of the 31st of December ; and the result was carefully tested by the district officers and their subordinates.

† Only four have been yet published :—

Statistical Report of the District of Cawnpore, by R. Montgomery, Esq., C. S., 1849.

Ditto Ditto Ditto of Goorgaon, by Alexander Fraser, Esq., C. S., 1849.

Ditto Ditto Ditto of Futtehpore, by C. W. Kinloch, Esq., C. S., 1850.

Ditto Ditto Ditto of Kumaon and Gurkwal, by J. H. Batten, Esq., C. S., 1851.

▲ Report for Budaon, by Mr. Court, is, we believe, now in the press, and others, more or less answering the objects in view, have been prepared for Agra and Furruckabad.

A. Shakespeare, Esq. C.S, 1853.* These were the immediate results of the instruction or suggestion of the Lieut.-Governor, and have proved, and will long continue to prove, of special use to the public service. It would too greatly extend this article to enumerate the many other treatises of a less formal and elaborate nature : but there is one which we must not pass over. Mr. Thomason constantly met with valuable information and suggestions in miscellaneous reports, or scattered here and there throughout a wide correspondence ; such papers had hitherto remained too often unnoticed and unknown, engulfed in the indiscriminate reservoir of all that is good, bad, and indifferent in the Secretariat Record Room. It occurred to him, that though not worthy of *separate* publication, these might yet be thrown together, and published from time to time as *Selections from the Records of the Government*. This work, maintained to the present day, has given a permanent and public form to a vast variety of most useful and suggestive papers on all official subjects : revenue, police, judicial, engineering, statistical ; and its practical usefulness has been recognized by the adoption of the same idea (though not precisely on the same principle), by the other Indian Governments.†

We must hasten to conclude this already too extended sketch, by a notice of Mr. Thomason's proceedings in the EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT. As respected colleges and station schools, the chief tendency of his proceedings was to abolish the latter, and to strengthen the former. He found the funds at his disposal inadequate to provide efficiently for both : and he wisely resolved that, instead of a number of ill-officered and unsatisfactory institutions scattered over the country, the Government should have a few large and superior colleges at convenient distances, accessible to each great division of the

* This work contains a vast fund of official information. The districts and offices are classed according to their comparative difficulty and amount of business : then the salaries and cost of management in each department are compared for each district throughout the provinces. Wherever an office is under officered, or underpaid, the fact cannot fail to be thus brought to light : and complaints of over-worked amlah, formerly resting too much on the hap-hazard opinion of the recommending officer, can now be easily tested by the reasonable ground of comparison with similar business and establishments elsewhere.

† Almost all the papers that have issued under the name of "*Selections*" from the other Governments have been complete and formal reports which, under any circumstances, would have been published by the Government of the North-Western Provinces separately, without reference to its selections, which were intended for extracts, miscellaneous papers, and scraps, otherwise liable to fall into oblivion. We believe that Mr. Thomason generally indicated with his own hand, the papers or extracts which he desired to publish in this series.

province. It was also his hope that the field, wherever thus abandoned, would be occupied in a more efficient manner by private effort, indigenous as well as foreign.*

In the management of the colleges, Mr. Thomason took a constant interest, and when presiding at their public examinations, seldom failed to deliver some pertinent remarks on the bearing of our educational measures, and the manner in which his young audience should improve their opportunities. The original views and erudite labours of Dr. Ballantyne received from him a discriminating and powerful support. He acknowledged the claims which the large section of the nation devoted to the study of Sanskrit possess upon the State, to recognize and foster whatever is true and exalted in their literature; and he had a lively persuasion that when once European learning and philosophy should be presented to the Brahminical mind in a comprehensible and attractive, because indigenous dress, the influence of the learned pundits upon the people at large would produce results of prodigious moment. He did not neglect the objections which a misapprehension of the Benares system has in some quarters created: but on the contrary encouraged the discussion of its merits among those best qualified to judge. Once convinced, however, of the justness of Dr. Ballantyne's position, he yielded him, despite of narrow-minded or utilitarian opposers, an unflinching support, to which, on the opening of that magnificent structure, the

* His sentiments on this subject, and their happy fulfilment with respect to one at least of the seminaries thus given up, are expressed in the following extract of an address made by Mr. Thomason at the examination of the Allahabad College, supported by the American Presbyterian Mission, in December 1852.

"He said that the examination had been listened to with pleasure by all the auditors, but that to myself the display was peculiarly gratifying, because he saw before him the realization of all those anticipations which he had previously formed regarding the institution. A few years ago there was a Government school maintained in Allahabad. It was well endowed by the Government: it was countenanced and encouraged by all the high officers of Government then at the place. But he judged that that, as well as other similar institutions, did not bring a benefit to the State commensurate with the charge they entailed upon it. He felt that they came into competition with other schools, which would probably be maintained by private individuals, without any cost to the State, and that they so far discouraged, rather than promoted, the general cause of education. He therefore abolished those schools, and concentrated the efforts of Government on the improvement of the colleges maintained in our cities, where there was ample room for many educational establishments. He that day witnessed the result of this measure in Allahabad. The number of pupils in the Allahabad Government School was under 100, whilst there were 327 boys on the list of the Mission School. Many of these boys had attained a high proficiency in secular learning, and they also received that which the Government abstained upon principle (and he considered justly,) from imparting—sound and diligent instruction in the truths of Christianity." On this happy result he congratulated the authorities of the College, and paid a high and well-merited compliment to the successful and disinterested labours of the Mission from America.

BENARES COLLEGE, raised under his administration, he gave a public and unqualified expression.*

But the measure which bears the peculiar stamp of Mr. Thomason's mind, and which, perhaps more than any other hitherto devised, will tend to the enlightenment and welfare of India, is the system established by him for encouraging the **VERNACULAR AND INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS** of the country.

In 1845, the Lieut. Governor forwarded to every Magistrate and Collector in the provinces a circular order, in which, while they were generally charged with fostering the village schools, instructions were conveyed to ascertain and report the extent to which these institutions imparted education to the people. The directions, grounded on the plan pursued by Mr. Adam in Bengal, were, like all others emanating from Mr. Thomason's pen, so clear and practical, that within two or three years, a complete return of the whole educational institutions in the country was obtained †

In 1846, Mr. Thomason addressed the Supreme Government, stating as the result of these enquiries, that "on an average, less than 5 per cent. of the youths who are of an age to attend school, obtain any instruction, and that instruc-

* It would be a graceful tribute to the founder of this College to give it his name, and farther to perpetuate that name in Benares by a Scholarship for combined proficiency in Sanskrit Philosophy, and English Literature and Science.

The sentences in which Mr. Thomason alluded in the opening of the College, to Dr. Ballantyne's labours, are important, and deserve to be here extracted :—

Dr. Ballantyne assumed charge of the College in the beginning of 1845, and avowed as his object the formation of a class of pundits, who, skilled in all that is taught in native schools, should also have their minds so tinged with European habits of feeling as to be pre-eminent amongst their countrymen. In order to accomplish this object, he first himself mastered the Hindu Philosophy, and he ascertained how much of truth there was in it, and where error commenced. He, at the same time, made available to his Pundit pupils, the works of European Philosophers, and showed, by treatise of his own composition how, advancing from the premises of Hindu Philosophy, the correct conclusions of European Philosophy might be attained. In following this course, he acted in consonance with the whole character of our administration in this country. We have not swept over the country like a torrent, destroying all that it found, and leaving nothing but what itself deposited. Our course has rather been that of a gently swelling inundation, which leaves the former surface undisturbed, and spreads over it a richer mould, from which the vegetation may derive a new verdure, and the landscape possess a beauty which was unknown before.

There is every reason why a similar course should be pursued in philosophy and literature. We have not found the people of this country an ignorant or simple race. They were possessed of a system of Philosophy which we could not ignore. Some persons in the pride of political superiority, may affect to despise it; but it has used the curiosity and excited the wonder of the learned in all countries of Europe. Dr. Ballantyne's publications enable the most superficial reader to discover that it possesses a depth of thought, a precision of expression, and a subtlety of argument, which are amongst God's choicest gifts to His creatures. These may be misused, but they may also be reclaimed, and devoted to the highest purposes.—*Speech delivered at the opening of the Benares College, on the 11th January 1853*

† The first return received was published :—*"Report on the Indigenous Education in Putehporv."* by William Muir, Esq., 1846." The whole of the reports were subsequently abstracted in an able resumé of the proceedings by R. Thornton, Esq. :—*Memor of the Statistics of Indigenous Education in the North-Western Provinces.* In this volume will be found copies of the principal despatches, of which we are here obliged to give necessarily but a limited account.

"tion which they do receive, is of a very imperfect kind." He proposed, therefore, at a cost of from two to four lakhs a year, to grant an endowment in land, for the support of a school in every considerable village throughout the country.* The Court of Directors, while concurring in the necessity for more extended means of district education, justly objected to endowments in land, as likely to become hereditary and inefficient. Such a system would, indeed, have proved cumbrous and unmanageable; it would probably have tended to perpetuate the drowsiness and errors of the native method, without any effective provision for the prospective introduction of truth and energy; and it could only have been the strong attachment of Mr. Thomason to the "Village Communities" of the North-West, that led him to its advocacy.

In 1848, Mr. Thomason, taking advantage of the Hon'ble Court's expressed willingness to afford assistance, submitted another plan, in which endowments, either of land or money, were abandoned, and a system for stimulating indigenous schools by "advice, assistance, encouragement and example," was substituted. Before the close of the year, the sanction of the Court was received to his experimental proposal (supported by the Governor-General,) that the scheme should be tried in a circle of eight districts around Agra, at a yearly expense of Rs. 50,000. The principles of the measure will best be understood from the following extract of orders issued on the 9th of February 1850:—

No. 149 of 1850.

Head-Quarters, General Department, the 9th February 1850.

RESOLUTION.

Enquiries, which have been lately instituted in order to ascertain the state of education throughout these provinces, so that the greatest ignorance prevails amongst the people, and that there are no adequate means at

* The following is a general outline of the proposal:—

Statistical enquiries, which have now extended over a great part of the country, show that the people are extremely ignorant, and that existing provisions for the education of the rising generation are very defective. On an average, less than 5 per cent. of the youth who are of an age to attend schools, obtain any instruction, and that instruction, which they do receive, is of a very imperfect kind.

The people are at the same time poor and unable to support school-masters by their own unaided efforts. It therefore becomes the duty of the Government to give them such assistance as may be best calculated to draw forth their own exertions.

The proposed scheme contemplates the endowment of a school in every village of a certain size, the Government giving up its revenue from the land, which constitutes the endowment, on assurance that the zemindars have appropriated the land for the purpose of maintaining a school-master.

This system is most in consonance with the customs and feelings of the people. The school-master will become a recognized village servant, selected and supported in a manner consonant with the usage of the village community.

An endowment in land is preferable to a money payment, because it gives greater respectability of station than a pecuniary stipend much exceeding the rent of the land, and because it connects the school-master with the community in a way which renders his services more acceptable to them than if he were the paid servant of the Government.

work for affording them instruction. The means of learning are scanty, and the instruction which is given is of the rudest and least practical character.

The present scheme contemplates the employment of an agency, which shall rouse the people to a sense of the evils resulting from ignorance, which shall stimulate them to exertions on their own part to remove this ignorance, which shall furnish them with qualified teachers and appropriate books, and which shall afford rewards and encouragement to the most deserving teachers and pupils.

The means of effecting this object will be sought in that feature of the existing revenue system, which provides for the annual registration of all landed property throughout the country.

It is well known that the land is minutely divided amongst the people. There are few of the agricultural classes, who are not possessed of some rights of property in the soil. In order to explain and protect these rights, a system of registration has been devised, which is based on the survey made at the time of settlement, and which annually shows the state of the property. It is necessary for the correctness of this register, that those, whose rights it records, should be able to consult it and to ascertain the nature of the entries affecting themselves. This involves a knowledge of reading and writing, of the simple rules of arithmetic, and of land measurement.

The means are thus afforded for setting before the people the practical bearing of learning on the safety of those rights in land, which they most highly prize; and it is hoped that when the powers of the mind have once been excited into action, the pupils may often be induced to advance further, and to persevere till they reach a higher state of intellectual cultivation.

The agency by which it is hoped to effect this purpose will be thus constituted.

There will be a Government village school at the head-quarters of every Tehseeldar. In every two or more Tehseeldaris, there will be a Pergunnah Visitor. Over these a Zillah Visitor in each district, and over all, a Visitor-General for the whole of the provinces.

The Government village school at each Tehseeldari will be conducted by a school-master, who will receive from Government a salary of from ten to twenty rupees per mensem, besides such fees as he may collect from his scholars. The course of instruction in this school will consist of reading and writing the vernacular languages, both Urdu and Hindi accounts, and the mensuration of land according to the native system. To these will be added such instruction in geography, history, geometry, or other general subjects, conveyed through the medium of the vernacular language, as the people may be willing to receive. Care will be taken to prevent these schools from becoming rivals of the indigenous schools maintained by the natives themselves. This will be effected by making the terms of admission higher than are usually demanded in village schools, and by allowing free admissions only on recommendations given by village school-masters, who may be on the Visitor's lists.

The Pergunnah Visitors will receive salaries varying from twenty to forty rupees a month. It will be their duty to visit all the towns and principal villages in their jurisdictions, and to ascertain what means of instruction are available to the people. Where there is no village school, they will explain to the people the advantages that would result from the institution of a school; they will offer their assistance in finding a qualified teacher, and in providing books, &c. Where schools are found in existence, they will ascertain

the nature of the instruction and the number of scholars, and they will offer their assistance to the person conducting the school. If this offer is accepted, the school will be entered on their lists, the boys will be examined, and the more advanced scholars noted, improvements in the course or mode of instruction will be recommended, and such books as may be required will be procured. Prizes will be proposed for the most deserving of the teachers or scholars, and the power of granting free admissions to the Tehseeldari school be accorded.

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It will be observed that this scheme contemplates drawing forth the energies of the people for their own improvement, rather than actually supplying to them the means of instruction at the cost of the Government. Persuasion, assistance and encouragement are the means to be principally employed. The greatest consideration is to be shown for the feelings and prejudices of the people, and no interference is ever to be exercised, where it is not desired by those who conduct the institution. The success of the scheme will chiefly appear in the number and character of the indigenous schools, which may be established. The poor may be persuaded to combine for the support of a teacher; the rich may be encouraged to support schools for their poorer neighbours, and all the schools that are established may be assisted, improved, and brought forward.

These operations must be conducted in concert with the revenue authorities, and must obtain their cordial assistance. The agency which is now called into action may be made most valuable in ensuring the proper training of putwarri, and in ascertaining the qualifications of candidates or nominees for that office. Certificates of qualification from some of the persons employed in the department may be made necessary for advancement to the post of village putwarri, and also to many other appointments, such as those of peon, chuprassi or burkundauze, as well as to those higher offices, where literary attainments are more evidently essential.

Thus, while the scheme aims at encouraging the people to multiply their own schools, it provides, in every small division, one *Tehseeli* school, as an example of right teaching and a nursery of good teachers, and it brings to bear upon the native institutions a machinery which, by imparting advice, supervision, and good school-books, will tend to their gradual improvement and elevation. These efforts have been welcomed by the people; for the great value of the plan is, that it makes them *work with us* for their own improvement. It is *their own* schools that we are, with their own consent, endeavouring to raise. Hence it is that they willingly receive our teachers, cheerfully accept our suggestions and assistance, and purchase with avidity the useful school-books which are being prepared with a laborious devotion by Mr. Henry Stewart Reid and his subordinates, and are brought, by the arrangements of the Government, to the very doors of the purchasers. Instead, therefore, of planting amongst them foreign schools, uncongenial to their tastes, and the object of an unconquerable prejudice,—schools that would never take root or germinate in the rare vicinities in which our funds would enable us to

open them,—we bring to the cause, a legion of assisting seminaries in every quarter of the land; and, almost unconsciously to themselves, bear along the nation in the march of intellect, and raise them in the scale of moral life.

The actual result has proved to be no less satisfactory than the anticipation. Although, at so early a period, it is hardly fair to expect any sensible effect in a measure, which to affect the large masses of the country, must necessarily work with a slow and permeating influence, yet a marked advance has already been made, as the returns noted below from Mr. Reid's carefully prepared tables, will prove.* While the numbers have materially increased, the quality of the instruction has greatly improved; and the inflated Persian and rude illiterate Hindu are being steadily forsaken for our simple Urdu school-books and their invaluable stores of knowledge. The sales of school-books alone would show that a system has, at last, been discovered, suited to the habits and wishes of the people, and rapidly becoming popular and established among them.

Persuaded by these happy results of the success of his

	<i>Schools. Scholars.</i>	
* 1850 (Probably imperfect)	...	2,014 17,169
1850-51	...	3,127 28,636
1851-52	...	3,329 31,843
1852-53	...	3,469 36,884

Dr. Mouat, an impartial and most capable witness, has reported in terms of unqualified praise regarding the system. Of the examination of the school at Allyghur, where "some hundreds" of pupils were collected by Mr. Reid from the district for inspection, he writes:—

"During my long connection with education in India, and familiarity with the attainments and appearance of the pupils of all castes and classes, I never witnessed a more gratifying and interesting scene."

Of the general system he thus speaks—"It will be at once apparent that the scheme and manner of working it meet with my entire approval; it is no small praise of a great plan of national education, which has barely completed the third year of its existence, to record that it has not only fully and fairly attained the object for which it was designed, as far as its limited trial will admit of, but has actually already outrun its own means of extension, for want of books and instruments of a higher order than those now in use. In the second year of its trial in the experimental districts sanctioned, it has raised the number of boys, receiving a sound elementary education from 17,000 to 30,000, has thrown into the schools between 30 to 40,000 school-books of a better class than those heretofore in use, and has given such an impulse to the cause of vernacular education, as cannot fail, in a very few years, to produce the fruits that invariably result from a spread of knowledge in the right direction."

It has become possible by this system, to introduce the literary test for the lowest servants of Government, contemplated in the last para. of the Resolution quoted above. This was done in the eight experimental districts, in the Resolution of the 8th June 1852, which prescribes an examination in reading, writing and accounts, for putwaris, burkundases, chuprasies, and all the officials of Government. This is a proceeding in the right direction, for moving the masses from below.

scheme Mr. Thomason, within two months of his death, laid its progress in detail before the Government of India, and solicited sanction to extend it over the whole North-West Provinces, at an annual expenditure of two lakhs of rupees. On a review of the proceedings, the Governor-General—ever ready cordially to appreciate any measure for the advancement of India, and vigorously to carry it into effect—not only approved the extension of the plan throughout these provinces, but its introduction also into Bengal and the Punjab. The resolution in which this is embodied contains the following beautiful and touching tribute to the founder of a system which “experience has shown to be capable of producing such rich and early fruit.”

“And while I cannot refrain,” His Lordship writes, “from recording anew in this place my deep regret that the ear which would have heard this welcome sanction given, with so much joy, is now dull in death, I desire at the same time to add the expression of my feeling, that even though Mr. Thomason had left no other memorial of his public life behind him, this system of general vernacular education, which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career.”

So high a testimony, from such a quarter, renders unnecessary any further eulogium of the scheme from the reviewer’s pen.

Here we close our review of Mr. Thomason’s official character. It may well be enquired, what secret charm it was, which lent to almost every department of his administration so distinguishing an efficiency and greatness. It was not brilliant genius; for his faculties, though powerful and elevated, were not transcendent; it was not the gift of eloquence; nor anything unusually persuasive either in speech or writing. The capacities of his well-regulated mind, schooled into their utmost efficiency, performed wonderful things; but those capacities in themselves were in few respects greater than are often met with in undistinguished characters. There was, indeed, a rare power of deliberation and judgment an unusual faculty of discernment and research, a keen discrimination of truth from error. Yet, these were mainly the result of studious habit and earnest purpose. And herein, in our judgment, lies the grand praise of the late administration. It was by LABOUR that it was perfected—conscientious, unceasing, daily labour; by a wakeful anxiety that knew no respite; by a severity of thought, ever busy and ever prolific in the devising of new arrangements, and the perfection of old. Yet his mind

was so beautifully balanced, that this unwearied work and never-ceasing tension produced, (as in most men it could hardly fail to have done,) no irregularity of action, and no fretful or impatient advance. All was even, serene, powerful.

Sternly as Mr. Thomason held, in his position of Lieut.-Governor, to the axiom, that the introduction of religious teaching by the Government was not only inexpedient but unjustifiable,* he could yet see, as the goal of his measures, both collegiate and indigenous, the eventual conversion of the people to Christianity. Scrupulous to the last degree in his official measures, he yet never feared to avow this desire and persuasion privately, and even sometimes in an inoffensive form, at the public examinations of the Government Colleges. At the latter he has been heard to say, that although bound in his official position to provide seminaries where no reference was made to Christianity, yet in a private capacity his influence, his money, and his efforts were directed towards imparting elsewhere another element in education, essential to the well-being and highest interests of the people.† The following extract from his speech at the opening of the Benares College sufficiently establishes his views in this respect :—

“ We are here met together this day, men of different races and of different creeds. If any one section of this assembly had met to dedicate such a building as this to the education of their young in their own peculiar tenets, they would have given a religious sanction to the act, and would have consecrated the deed by the ceremonial of their faith. But this we cannot do. Unhappily, human opinions on the subject of religion, are so irreconcilable, that we cannot concur in any one act of worship. The more necessary it is then, that each man, in his own breast, should offer up his prayer to the God whom he worships, ‡ that here morality may be

* He declined to admit the books of the Calcutta Christian School Book Society into the depot of the Curator of Government School Books, or to allow the Government shops and colporteurs to exhibit religious works along with their stock of school-books, lest he should prove to be holding out false colours ; enticing the people, by the profession of strict religious neutrality, while in reality favouring Christianity at the expense of other religions. If some may not be able entirely to sympathize with this rigid justice, let them remember that it only adds lustre to the public avowals in favour of Christianity, which, in consistence with his principles, he did make, and enhances the value of his private efforts.

† Such were the sentiments expressed at an examination of the Agra College, when a kindly reference was made to the new Missionary College just established there.

‡ This phrase has occasioned misapprehension in some quarters, as if Mr. Thomason had conceded to his idolatrous audience, that the various gods they worshipped were really the hearers of prayer. Whatever interpretation the words are capable of, it is certain that they were simply used with reference to the aspiration which the speaker desired that all, then present, not excluding the Hindus and Mahometans, should raise to the Great Being, whom, one and all, by an intuitive

rightly taught, and that here truth, in all its majesty may prevail. This aspiration may have a different meaning, according to the wishes or belief of the person who forms it; but with many it will point to a new state of things, when a higher philosophy and a purer faith will pervade this land, not enforced by the arbitrary decrees of a persecuting government, not hypocritically professed to meet the wishes of a proselytizing government, but, whilst the government is just and impartial, cordially adopted by a willing people, yielding to the irresistible arguments placed before them. Nor is it unreasonable to expect that such a change may take place. We cannot forget that to such a change we owe the present happy state of things in our own country; and even in this country, changes of the same nature have taken place. It is but a few days ago, that our friend, Major Kittoe, who is as distinguished for antiquarian research as he is for the architectural skill he has shown in this edifice, led a party to view the neighbouring ruins around Sárnáth. He there showed us the undoubted remains of another and a different system, which once prevailed in this land. He showed us its temples, its colleges, its hospitals, and its tombs, now perished and long buried under the earth. A few centuries have so utterly destroyed it, that it is now only known in this part of the country, from the obscure allusions of Chinese travellers, the scarcely legible inscriptions on broken sculptures, and the imperfect traditions of a despised sect. And now there flourishes here, on the banks of the Ganges, another system, still vigorous, but already on the wane. And that system may pass away, and give place to another and a better one. From this place may this system spread throughout; nor is it vain to hope that the building in which we are assembled may be one instrument in the mighty change. When it is so, the highest aspirations of those who first designed and mainly promoted its erection, will be fully realized.

"Such is the assured hope and expectation of many here assembled, and there is a large section of the remainder who share in the expectation, but cannot bring themselves at present to adopt it as their hope. But no undue means will here be employed to effect the end. No religious system will here be exclusively taught. This is a common arena, on which all can assemble, and where the common element of truth can be impartially acquired. Let all to whom the cause of truth is sacred, co-operate in promoting the objects of this building. To withdraw from the field will but show that they are conscious of the weakness of their cause."

Beyond the mere social and intellectual elevation, anticipated from his system of indigenous village education, Mr. Thomason believed that it was the truest foundation on which to build our efforts for the spiritual regeneration of the country.*

perception of the heart, feel to be supreme, that He would bless the institution, and render it an instrument for His own glory and man's good.

After the criticisms appeared, Mr. Thomason was known to have expressed much regret that he had not framed the expression in a manner incapable of misconstruction. But the criticisms were in themselves hypocritical.

* One great beauty of the system is its power of development and adaptation to the advancing circumstances of the country. It would adjust itself as readily (which the land endowment would not have done), to a Christianized tract of villages, as it now does to the most bigoted and intolerant Hindu and Mahometan ones. Christian and Missionary schools share Mr. H. S. Reid's favours equally with village indigenous ones. The scheme is in fact an aid to *all spontaneous effort* which has secular education for one of its main objects; and thus it resembles the solution of the educational difficulty now recognised in England.

Sound and enlightened secular tuition is, indeed, the most substantial fulcrum upon which the Christian lever can be brought to work ; and the most enlightened of our missionaries concur in holding the improved village schools to be the pioneers of their own labours.

Of missionary institutions he has the warm advocate, the ready helper,* and the munificent patron. Every evangelical denomination scattered throughout the provinces received his substantial assistance ; although, wherever a Mission of his own church existed, he considered it to be entitled to his peculiar if not exclusive assistance. His charity was not, however, confined to missionary objects :—no case of benevolence, no cry of real distress, nor any public endeavour for the social welfare within the length and breadth of the North-West Provinces, if well supported (for he was discriminating in his charity), missed his liberal aid. Colleges, schools, dispensaries, churches, charities—whatever in fact tended to ameliorate or to elevate the social life of the people, either native or European, was liberally aided. His almsgiving, eminently responded (wherever that was possible) to the direction of being done in secret. None but his chosen almoners knew of some of his most liberal and spontaneous acts ; and wherever publicity was unavoidable, the courteous modesty of the donor only enhanced the value of the gift. A tenth portion of his income was carefully appropriated to *bond fide* charities ; but the largeness of his heart, and the depth of his sympathy for debased and suffering humanity, were ever prompting him to overleap the limit : and notwithstanding the large scale of his income, and his inexpensive habits, he died (and in his last hours felt it to be a satisfaction that he was dying) a man of small fortune.

A certain amount of outward dignity, he believed that his position called for ; and (looking upon his allowances as fixed by this consideration), he made a point of conscience to maintain it. But the love of display found no place in his heart : pomp and show he regarded, with indifference, and he was markedly distinguished by an unostentatious bearing. Though given to no false self-depreciation, and holding that manly front which a just self-respect requires, still his humility and modesty were conspicuous in every action. A serene and cheerful benevolence ever beamed from his countenance ; his frame was spare, and his figure unusually tall, slightly stooped, but his carriage was nevertheless eminently suited to the nobi-

* At a former period he afforded personal aid to their labours, by preparing a revised translation of the Psalms. The version is still in use. It is distinguished by its elegance, but its style is too high and difficult for the comprehension of the mass of the people.

lity of his mind ; and his features (not perhaps in themselves striking), were so lighted up with intellect and benignity as to win the most casual stranger, and diffuse light and love amongst his immediate circle. His temperament was naturally cold, his manner distant, and his demeanour constrained : still, such was the force of the counter-elements, that warmth, ease and kindness were the prevailing characteristics, which even a short acquaintance would discover. His temper was calm and unruffled by provocation. Though the bent of his mind was to follow out favorite principles to an extreme (some perhaps thought an unjustifiable) limit, he was yet singularly tolerant of difference of opinion where no axiom of morality was involved ; and views the most discordant with his own were always heard with kindness, and combated patiently, but with a wonderful fertility of argument. His religious sentiments were pure from the modern and prevalent tincture of Pharisaism, and "in strict accordance with the large and scriptural views of the blessed Reformers and Martyrs of our Church ;" still, with a moderation rare in our day, he cherished, esteemed and loved the good of every denomination, even where the most extreme and opposing principles were strenuously held. His feelings were always under a stern command, and he would, to a very careful looker-on, appear unmoved and unconcerned, at times when the most lively and intense emotions were busy within his breast. In private friendship, his attachments were steady, unselfish, unreserved ; but a common faith added a peculiar depth and strength to the bond. His domestic affections were amongst the strongest and most pervading that we have ever witnessed ; and, if we could tear away the curtain from the delicacy of private life, the exquisite tenderness of a father's love would add the brightest touch to the portraiture of a character the most perfect and the most attractive it has been our lot to know. Duty, sincerity, love, were the watch-words of his life ; the one idea which formed his spring of action—THE GOOD OF OTHERS.*

And the key to all this was a Christian Faith. He believed the Bible to be the Word of God ; and therefore took it for the daily and the hourly guide of his life. A simple faith in Christ, as his Divine redeemer, was followed by an unquestioning devotion to His service. Hence followed love to men, and earnest endeavour for their welfare. These motive powers

* Sermon preached by the Venerable Archdeacon Pratt, at the Cathedral, Calcutta, on the 16th October, 1853. This Sermon contained some passages powerfully descriptive of Mr. Thomason's character ; a personal intimacy enabling the preacher to draw from the life.

(concealed it may be from the outward observer) were deeply seated in his soul, and imparted a consistent and energetic action to the whole machinery of his life. However engrossing the claims of the State, those of his God were paramount: and it was just by a daily subjection of heart to the principles of the Gospel, and by honouring supremely the claims of his Maker, that he was enabled so efficiently to discharge his duty toward his earthly master and his sovereign.

We quote (from one of the pamphlets placed at the head of this article,) the following account of Mr. Thomason's Christian life by the Rev. T. V. French, with the more pleasure, because, while eminently qualified to form a judgment, his independent position and devoted life, place his opinion beyond the suspicion of a partial influence:—

In such a sense we believe the words of our text were specially appropriate to him who is gone from us.* His public character can only enter into our consideration here, so far as it was influenced by his private character as a Christian. The influence which this exercised was uniform, and pervaded his whole course of action. There are few who would not bear witness readily to the simplicity and singleness of heart, with which he set God's glory before him, as the steady and undeviating object of his life. From the conscientious discharge of his duties to the State, he never separated the sense of accountability to One higher than the State: not acting as though there were two masters to be served, two rules of action, two principles of guidance to be followed, two irreconcilable duties to be performed. Rather acknowledging but one source and fountain-head of duty, beside which, and apart from which, there could be no out-goings of it; it was his study, while having regard to the lesser aspects in which subjects might be viewed, to view them not the less in their religious bearing, and to trace them up to their connexion with the highest of all duties. Doubtless, the great secret of this line of conduct may be found here; that he was accustomed, in every important and difficult matter, to have recourse to God in prayer for direction and guidance. With a mind thus composed, and as before God, arriving at a decision, he had the strongest ground of assurance, which man can have, that his work would be prospered and rewarded: that confidence which produces steadiness of action, firmness of purpose, and can patiently abide difficulties and delays. Very edifying it was to observe the guardedness with which he walked; and the fear which he expressed, lest the incessant calls of duty should check the growth of spiritual life in his soul. In the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, and making known His pure and saving truth to the heathen around us, he always expressed a lively and heartfelt interest, which he extended even to the individual cases and circumstances of any in whose heart a desire had been awakened for the reception of Christianity. He seemed fully persuaded of the happy and blessed effects which would be wrought on the Hindu mind and character by embracing our Holy Faith. I have a vivid impression left on my own mind of the bright and animated expression of countenance with which he detailed to me, some months ago, the circum-

* "From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus;" 17th verse of Galatians, vi., a chapter which the dying statesman desired to be read in his hearing.

stances of two important conversions which had taken place in Delhi : tidings of which he had just received. Having watched patiently and attentively the course of Christian missions, and partaken much in the hopes and fears which they have alternately awakened, he was sensibly affected with the report of any thing which seemed to make against the progress of the truth : was fully alive to difficulties ; would suggest new plans, and point to fresh directions in which the Christian effort of each labourer engaged in the work might extend itself. One of those brought up in the Orphan Institution at Secundra has most touchingly describing to me (since the tidings of his death were received) how he would, in by-gone years, come over to the Mission premises there, gather the children around him, and seating himself in the middle of them, would question them in the simple Bible histories they had prepared, and spend much pains in the explanation of them ; so that his visits were always welcome and talked of amongst them. He would speak feelingly of the state of the native servants in his employ, and of the earnest desire he had to bring them within reach of direct Christian instruction.

The strength of his religious convictions was not independent of a mature consideration of all the main difficulties that were urged against the Christian religion. He spoke as one who had seriously reflected upon them : allowed them all their due weight ; but found that preponderating evidence in support of the faith once delivered to the Saints, which led him, with advancing years, to glory, increasingly, in bearing about with him the marks of the Lord Jesus.

In us, who were strengthened and encouraged by observing those marks, I believe the remembrance of him will live, and will not readily be effaced. Many a distressed and afflicted one can bear witness to the timely help he rendered, often unsolicited, and even diligently seeking out the objects of it, unknown to any but his Father who "*seeth in secret.*" His unassuming, reverent, prayerful demeanour, which was a blessed example to us in this house of prayer, of which he was to regular an attendant, helping to quicken us in our devotions, involuntarily reproving the wandering eye and heart in those who were his fellow worshippers ; the remembrance of serious counsel suggested as occasion offered ; the recollection of an influence calmly and uniformly exerted over those amongst whom he went in and out, to their spiritual and temporal good :—these are hallowed memorials, which will stay with us, I believe, and recall to us the image of one, who was as a ruler, that which he was as a man ; one whom Christian principles swayed to Christian practice.

Such is the man, (and it is one of the hopeful symptoms of our age), whom the public has united to honor. Witness after witness has borne testimony before the legislature of Britain, to the pre-eminent virtues of his Administration : the Press has conspired to denominate his, "the model Government." The praises of the Hon'ble Court, and of the Gov-

* Most Civil Officers in the North-Western Provinces will long remember how, on the appointed weekly halt, (for he always prized and carefully observed the Sunday, wholly casting aside the cares of State, substituting the records of Christianity for the weary files of official labour, and devoting himself to his family and the special duties of the day) the bell of the Camp would sound forth an invitation to the public tent, where, in a manner impressive and earnest, the service of the Church was performed by the Lieut-Governor himself.

ernor-General under whom he acted, have been freely and frequently accorded And when at last the State was deprived by death of its able servant, an Extraordinary Gazette, encircled by the ensigns of mourning, announced the fact to India :—

No. 651.

FORT WILLIAM—HOME DEPARTMENT.

The 3rd October 1853.

NOTIFICATION.—The Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council is deeply grieved to announce the decease of the Hon'ble James Thomason, the Lieut Governor of the North-Western Provinces.

The Lieut Governor has long since earned for himself a name, which ranks him high among the most distinguished servants of the Hon'ble East India Company.

Conspicuous ability, devotion to the public service, and a conscientious discharge of every duty, have marked each step of his honourable course ; while his surpassing administrative capacity, his extensive knowledge of affairs, his clear judgment, his benevolence of character and suavity of demeanour, have adorned and exalted the high position which he was wisely selected to fill.

The Governor-General in Council deplores his loss with a sorrow deep and unfeigned,—with sorrow aggravated by the regret, that his career should have been thus untimely closed, when all had hoped that opportunities for extended usefulness were still before him, and that fresh honor might be added to his name

The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council directs that the Flag shall be lowered half-mast high, and that seventeen minute guns* shall be fired at the respective seats of Government in India, so soon as the present Notification shall have been there received.

By order of the Governor-General of India in Council

(Signed) GEO PLOWDEN,
Off Secy to the Govt of India.

The Governor-General has also in terms most gratifying to the friends of the deceased statesman, proposed to the Court of Directors to found at the Roorkee College (which, the object of his fostering care during life, may well perpetuate his name after death), a scholarship commemorative of the ability and virtues of Mr. Thomason† All honor to the most

* It has been said in some quarters, minute guns, corresponding in number with the age of the deceased, should have been fired; but this is a mistake. At the funeral of Military and Civil Officers, the minute guns are strictly limited, by Royal Warrant, to the number the deceased was entitled to as a salute The Governor-General paid a peculiar tribute to the memory of the Lieut.-Governor, in directing this honor to be shown at each of the seats of Government.

† In addition to this, it would be an useful undertaking, as well as a graceful tribute to the merits of Mr. Thomason as an administrator, if all his most important despatches were collected and published under his name. He himself, we believe, used to retain for reference a private copy of all that he considered of the greatest moment; and to these might be added, a selection of all others enunciating his enlightened views upon important topics. This would, perhaps, prove (after

Noble Marquess, for the just and generous praise he has so freely accorded. It will not be viewed as one of the least of the praises of his administration, thus to have appreciated, and honorably acknowledged, the merits of one who rendered such distinguished service to his Government.

So high, indeed, was the estimate of the Governor-General, that we believe he had pressed upon the Government of Britain and the Court of Directors, the appointment of Mr. Thomason, as the fittest man, to the Government of Madras. And it is a singular confirmation of the wisdom of the advice, that before it could have been received at home, the appointment recommended had been actually made. Thus did Mr. Thomason retire from this earthly scene, honored in death as in life, by his noble master, by the Hon'ble Court, and by the Government of his native land.

And if, as we believe from Holy Writ, the spirits of just men made perfect are inheritors of "glory, honour, and immortality," may we not anticipate that a nobler work, and a more enviable recompense than that of an earthly sovereign await him at another and a sublimer court? Thither, trusting to his Saviour's merits, he dared with confidence to approach; for he was heard at the last to say, that though unworthy and deficient, "*he was not afraid to die.*" And there, we cannot doubt, with nobler faculties, and an inconceivably vaster sphere of action, he but continues the service of that Great Master for whom, upon earth, he delighted to labour, and rejoices in a glory and a reward, before which his terrestrial distinctions, like the minor luminaries at the sun's approach, wane and vanish.

the living monument of indigenous education,) the most enduring memorial of his wisdom and ability. It would form, as it were, his legacy towards sound Government and the prosperity of the North-Western Provinces. To these despatches should be added the Revenue Code, which is referred to above, even in its unfinished state.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD DALHOUSIE.

BY W. S. SETON-KARR, ESQ., C.S.

1. *The Punjab Blue Book.*
2. *The Friend of India.*
3. *Selections from the Records of the Government of India and from the Records of the Governments of Agra and Bengal.*
4. *Printed Reports, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853.*

IT is a difficult and sometimes a dangerous experiment to attempt as a contemporary to write history. We live too near the events to judge of their just proportions. There is a temptation to magnify some things which posterity will hold cheap, and to slur over others on which future generations might have been glad to know our impressions. There is the danger of partisanship and the danger of antipathy, and above all, on the shifting scene of India, there is the obvious fear that we may indulge in pœans which a few years will convert to wailing, give way to regrets for which there is no good foundation, or predict triumphs, social, political, and financial, which the change of a Cabinet, the caprice of a future Governor, or the mere instability of human events, shall prevent from being realized. Why, then, do we try to describe the Administration of Lord Dalhousie? We do so, because it has been fruitful of great changes, striking events, important reforms, and considerable improvements; because it is now time to review some of the remarkable points in the history of the last six years, and because it is often a good thing that the impressions of contemporaries should be recorded in all their freshness, and even in all their exaggeration, in order that future writers, who take a calm and unprejudiced view of men and measures, may see where the sight of their predecessors has been defective or dull. The greatest critic of the present age, when republishing his criticisms on the works of its great novelist, tells us that posterity may be perhaps glad to know how the luminary appeared to ordinary mortals at its first rising, or before it had reached the meridian. In humble imitation of the above sentiment, we venture to hope that the future historian of India may cast a glance on this paper as detailing facts drawn from authentic sources, and representing opinions.

which, however open to correction, are formed on the spot. Would not a paper on the Administration of Warren Hastings, or Lord Wellesley, written by a contemporary, be eagerly perused, though it contained much that was erroneous, many shortsighted opinions, and much that could interest only the men of those days?

The present Governor-General of India, then Earl of Dalhousie, landed in Calcutta on the 12th of January 1848. He came to fill a place, where, since the last Charter, beyond which we shall not look back, had sat no less than five Governors-General, none of whom had been unworthily chosen, while all had taken part in great and striking events. We shall not preface this paper with a review of their several administrations; we pass over the unflinching firmness, the unwearied eagerness in the pursuit of truth, the reforming, enquiring, analysing spirit of Lord William Bentinck: we pass over also the indomitable will, the profound statesmanship of that Governor, who was bred entirely in the school of the Company, but was selected to govern the two greatest dependencies of the Crown; and we leave the amiable Lord Auckland, with his private virtues, and his public errors, his zeal for education, and his political weakness, to the judgment of Mr. Kaye and to the verdict of posterity. To Lord Ellenborough, in spite of eccentricities which put his good qualities "to the foil," no man can deny the praise of much vigour and energy, and of that clear perception of coming events, which is one of the undoubted attributes of a statesman. If the conquest of Scinde has proved a drain on the imperial finances, we had still in that sandy waste a commanding position during both the Sikh campaigns. Lord Hardinge has owned himself obliged to the policy which humbled the Mahratta ruler, reduced the army, and dismantled the guns of the Gwalior Durbar. It is not inconceivable that without Maharajpore, the roar of Mahratta artillery and the trampling of Mahratta cavalry might have been heard in 1846 or 1848, at the very gates of Akbarabad. No man foresaw with greater certainty than Lord Ellenborough, the inevitable struggle on the banks of the five rivers. His piercing, rapid, and comprehensive glance surveyed the dangers that might arise from the presence of one army unredressed in the very heart of India, and of another bristling on our most important frontier: an army strong in national feeling, abounding in resources, complete in organization; and longing to add to its old triumphs. It is to him that we owed the power of concentrating our forces against the Sikh army, instead of scattering them to observe the motions of a turbulent soldiery,

a wavering minister, a corrupt court. When his recall took India by surprise, it was remarked that he was "*capax imperii nisi imperasset*," but, while the contemporary writer would say of him, as was said of the Roman Emperor, that he was above a private gentleman only so long as he filled a private station, the calm and unprejudiced historian, we think, will eventually dwell on his rapid conceptions, his prompt execution, his indomitable energy, the clear, vigorous, and forcible language of his writings and his oratory, his indifference to patronage, and his fortunate selection of that lamented Lieutenant-Governor, whose rule transcends the best days of Elphinstone and Munro.

The career of Lord Hardinge, who succeeded to the *opera imperfecta* and the *ingentes minæ* of his near connexion, and the career of Lord Dalhousie, afford materials for a comparison which might seem attractive to a Macaulay or a Mahon. In habits and in training, in their experience of the past, in their anticipations of the future, the two men were essentially opposed. The one was born in 1785, and the other in 1812. Capt. Hardinge had stood by the dying Moore at Corunna, and Col. Hardinge, with characteristic decision, had let slip the fourth division at Albuera, when Lord Dalhousie was still unborn. Sir Henry Hardinge had sat in Parliament, had held office, and heard "the Duke" recant his opinions on the subject of Catholic emancipation, when his successor might have still been thinking of the *literæ humaniores* and the class papers of Oxford. Selected to govern India at a time of life when most men are thinking of retirement, and few can willingly contemplate a residence in the East, the old soldier had gone there to maintain peace, and within eighteen months of his arrival, had taken an active and personal part in war. He had endeavoured, in all honesty of purpose, to create or restore a free Hindu State, the rulers of which, forewarned by experience, awed by a power seemingly invincible, and conciliated by moderation without weakness, might interpose a barrier between the British power and the fanatic Mohammedans of Central Asia. His experiment failed, but its failure, owing to causes, perhaps beyond the control of human politicians, proved the sincerity of the Indian Government, and the turbulent character of the Sikhs. Nor was Lord Hardinge's Administration unmarked by measures of social or internal progress. He procured the active co-operation of native rulers to his measures for the abolition of Suttee: he encouraged education, and he practically gave us the first Indian railway. We may remember how Dominic Sampson, when reviewing the attain-

ments of Col. Mannering, "a man of war from his youth," pronounced him to be possessed of erudition, considering his imperfect opportunities. The most determined opponent of Lord Hardinge could pass no weightier censure on that gallant old General, whose timely presence in the field of battle probably saved the State.

The previous career of Lord Dalhousie is well known. A younger son of an old and honourable Scotch House, he succeeded to the family title, or rather to the prospect thereof, on the demise of an elder brother, graduated at Christ Church after the school training of Harrow, and then betook himself to public life. At College he was the contemporary of Lord Elgin and of other men who, though higher in the class papers, and of ability as public servants, have hardly kept pace with our Governor-General in the great struggle of life. As a speaker, the capacity of Lord Dalhousie has been tried on the hustings and in the Upper House: as a man of despatch and dauntless energy in business, he has been lauded by Sir Robert Peel on the last occasion when that great minister gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee. With natural advantages carefully improved, with talents which had already commanded respect, and from which careful observers augured the highest results, at a period of life which unites the activity of youth with the experience of manhood, he was appointed to the situation of Governor-General by a ministry of political opinions not then in unison with his own. Lord Hardinge was the companion in arms of the Duke. Lord Dalhousie had held office in the ministry of Sir Robert. Lord Hardinge had unavoidably been General as well as Civil Governor, and had reminded us of the spectacle so common under the Roman Republic, when the civil and the military jurisdiction, the Seals and the Standard on the Rhine, the Thames, or the Danube, were committed to the care of one and the same individual. But Lord Dalhousie, we were told, was to be the man of reform, of progress, and of peace: of peace, unbroken in aspect, prolonged in duration, and important in results.

We may, many of us remember how, on one clear fine evening in January 1848, the steps of Government House were thronged by civilians, merchants, military officers, and functionaries of all sorts, eager to catch a glimpse of their new chief. We may remember, too, that on that date there was not a cloud visible on the political horizon, to warn us that, in fifteen months' time, we should be talking about a rebellion, a protracted siege, two pitched battles, several

desultory engagements, and the annexation of a new kingdom. Lord Dalhousie having assumed his seat as Governor-General and Governor of Bengal, on the 12th of January 1848, was quietly making himself master of the somewhat intricate details of Indian business, and was beginning to talk to his Secretaries about sundry important reforms. There was no note of warlike preparation, no sound of the approaching storm, no voice that warned the helmsman to be ready. It is true, that Sir F. Currie reported the formation of a regular conspiracy to expel the English, to have commenced as early as February 1848: that Col Sir H. Lawrence, in the April of the year preceding, had clearly pointed out to Lord Hardinge the chances of a revolution at some future day: that even drawing-room politicians might anticipate for warlike men, rankling with defeat in four great battles, a career more stirring than labour in the fields, under a regency guided by a mere handful of foreigners. But at the time of which we are speaking, no person in office, at Lahore or Calcutta, openly expressed his apprehension of anything more serious than an occasional eacute at some high festival, a few gang-robberies, a good deal of cattle-lifting, a refusal on the part of refractory villages to pay their lawful dues to the State. Already were civil and military officers beginning to travel over the country, under the orders of the Resident. There was a talk of expenditure on roads: lines for canals were being surveyed: summary settlements of revenue were in progress: the past history, the capabilities of the country, the character of the people, the climate of the Doabs, were matters for reflection, enquiry, and report. Things were, in short, going on smoothly enough. We know that there are always wise soothsayers who remind us, after the event, how they had warned you of the danger, predicted the outburst, foreseen the hurricane, foretold the crash. But we shall be content to abide by the testimony of the Blue Book, wherein we find the Governor-General in Council, as late as March 1848, quietly writing to the Secret Committee in terms of congratulation on the "perfect tranquillity which prevails in the Punjab."

More stirring times were at hand. Early in April, two young but rather distinguished officers—the one a soldier, the other a civilian—were deputed to relieve the Dewan Moolraj, at his own request, of the important charge of the Mooltan province. At the close of that month, every resident at every station in India was startled by the announcement that these two officers had been attacked in a manner, the details of which are too familiar to need repetition, had been deserted

by their escort, had been fired on in the Eadgah where they had taken shelter, and displaying in their union in death the calm intrepidity of Englishmen, had been murdered and mutilated by a rabble of Sikhs.

—————Hoc cruciatu
Lentulus, hæc pœnâ caruit, ceciditque Cethegus
Integer, et jacuit Catilina cadavere toto.

In the deaths of Agnew and Anderson there is nothing of which their surviving relatives, their friends, and the respective services to which they belonged, may not feel a mournful but honourable pride. It is true that there were several unfortunate circumstances in that expedition to Mooltan. The officers deputed went down by water, and their Sikh escort by land, so that the two parties had no mutual intercourse till within a very few marches of Mooltan. The demand on Moolraj for the accounts of past years, and the refusal to assure him that his past government would not be too strictly scrutinized, were certainly not judicious. The chances of what a Sikh ruler might do, at a distance from the capital, when called on to give an account of his stewardship, and the chances of finding staunchness and fidelity in a Sikh escort, in hour of need, were perhaps not carefully weighed. But, on the other hand, such an outbreak might have occurred then, or subsequently, at any time, in any part of the Punjab, amidst such a population. The materials for combustion would have been ready, though unseen, and there wanted nothing but the spark. We shall not detain our readers with an examination of the case as against the Dewan on his trial. He may have acted with malice prepense, as many distinguished officers think, and as the famous letter of VINDEK to the *Friend of India* would have had us believe—or he may have been “the victim of circumstances,” as the High Court of Justice at Lahore recorded, in a phrase which was used advisedly on a solemn occasion, passed into a proverb at Lahore, and long covered its unhappy authors with ridicule. In any case he was fairly tried, and not treated with undue harshness. But the die was cast: the Sikh calculated his chances, and within six months of his arrival, Lord Dalhousie had a great war on his hands.

This paper does not pretend to be a military history of the Sikh campaign. Lord Dalhousie did not command a division at Guzerat, like Lord Hardinge in his battles, and the striking events of the Punjab war are fresh in the memories of most readers, and have already been reviewed in previous numbers of this periodical. We shall, therefore, pass over with rapidity

the purely military operations of the years 1848-49. nor perhaps have our readers any desire to linger with General Whish before the fortifications of Mooltan, to flounder with dragoons on the quicksands of the Chenab, or to be sent headlong, in company with brave and devoted thousands, through an almost impenetrable jungle, against the Sikh batteries on the Jhelum. A cursory review of the various turns of fortune, which brought about the desired consummation, and which after the event it is so easy and so pleasant to survey, will probably be thought sufficient. The tactics of the enemy, their wonderful discipline, their remarkable union, their fanatic courage, their mysterious resources, were not wholly unknown. The first Sikh war had more than proved the truth of a saying of General Allard in the year 1838 to the late Mr. H. W. Torrens, uttered in spite of disbelief and doubts that were scarcely suppressed by other hearers, "*Les nôtres se battront bien—mais une fois, bien.*" The second Sikh war was destined to see that truth repeated in a manner so forcible as to convince the most incredulous. The first campaign had been decided in our own territories, in the short space of sixty days, into which were crowded an invasion, four battles, slight disaster, a rout, and a capitulation. There was, then, little time to dwell on contingencies or to deplore results. The advanced guard of the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej about the 10th of December, and Soobraon was fought on the 10th of February. But the scales of the second Sikh war hung suspended, the balance inclining to one side or the other, for the greater part of a year. First, there was the doubt whether the assassination of the two British officers should be promptly avenged, and the Fabian policy, which waited for a better season, and feared exposure to the climate: then came the opportune success of Major Edwardes, in the month of June, which excited, differently in various quarters, honest exultation, hearty praise, and ungenerous envy; and finally the march of General Whish, with what was deemed a competent force, at the close of July. We can well remember with what avidity the letters from that column, in its march, were caught up and retailed; how joyfully officers and men bore up against the heat by day and the occasional heavy showers by night: how they amused themselves, when the tents were being pitched in some grass jungle, with knocking over hares with tent-pegs and slaying wild hogs with bayonets; how false had proved the vaticinations of men who talked of disease; how the troops in admirable condition were encamped before Mooltan at the commencement of September. During the previous month the plot had thickened; there had been

disturbances in Hazara, and Chuttur Sing had risen—but as yet there was no general war. The appearance of General Whish, with a siege-train, to reduce the Dewan, was obviously one of the turning points in the campaign. Either he reduced Moolraj, avenged the murder of our officers, and smothered the flames of insurrection, or if he failed, we had to encounter our enemies, not merely shut up in a fortress, but in the plains of the Manjha, on the banks of the Indus, and even in the Jullunder Doab. We all know that the siege was raised, and we know, too, that the failure or check was owing to Shere Sing's secession, and not to the effects of the climate, or to casualties amongst the troops. But from the middle of September the aspect of affairs was entirely changed. The native army was at once recruited to its original full complement. The Jullunder column was ordered to be ready. Active preparations were made in every department. The Governor-General left Calcutta for the Upper Provinces on the 9th of October; and a large army took the field under Lord Gough, at the commencement of the ensuing month. From this time, to the beginning of the new year, there is nothing for the historian to recount which can be termed decisive. Against the check at Ramnugger, and the partial action at Soodalapore, we have, certainly, to set the successful attack on the audacious enemy at Mooltan during the first week of November, the prompt and energetic measures of Mr. John Lawrence and Brigadier Wheeler to preserve the tranquility of the Jullunder, and the well-timed occupation of the fort of Govindghur. The first of these operations vindicated our fame in the eyes of Moolraj and his adherents, the second preserved the peace of our frontier, kept down the turbulent spirit of the Manjha, and perhaps saved Simla, and the last rendered unnecessary another costly siege. But in spite of these partial successes, there is no denying that the first twelve months of Lord Dalhousie's Administration were singularly inauspicious and dark. He had been promised peace, and he found himself involved in a war which, undertaken on the most righteous ground, was yet neither prosecuted with energy nor terminated with effect. What was the aspect of India on the 12th of January 1848, when Lord Dalhousie took his seat in Council, and what was it in the same day of the subsequent year, or on the eve of the battle of Chillianwalla? To these questions there can be but one reply. Profound tranquility on the former date, and on the latter a combination of events, for which *disasters* is perhaps not too strong a term. Political gentlemen baffled; one large and well-equipped army that had struck no one

decisive blow : another that had only just re-commenced active operations after more than three months of inactivity : the department of intelligence contemptible when compared with the minute and accurate information of our movements possessed by the Sirdars : the enemy insultingly burning a bridge of boats within sight of Lahore : officers and tender women in the hands of the rebels : a failing exchequer, adversaries increasing, friends standing aloof—such was the state of events within exactly one year after the arrival of Lord Dalhousie. Some signal success, some display of skilful strategy, some series of effectual operations—were now anxiously expected. The hopes of every European in India were divided between the Mooltan force and the fine army of the Punjab. General Whish was gaining ground before the fortress, Lord Gough was gradually closing with Shere Sing, and bets were even laid on the chances whether we should first be gratified by news of the fall of the citadel, or by the announcement of a second Sobraon. All at once came the startling results of Chillianwalla.

An immense deal of paper has been covered with explanations of this engagement. We have had the Journal of a Subaltern, the account of Capt. Thackwell, articles in reviews, leaders in every paper in India and in England, letters from intelligent eye-witnesses, attacks by the enemies, and vindications by the friends, of the Commander-in-Chief. About the main features of the battle there is, therefore, no doubt. We all know that, after the fall of Attock, Sirdar Chuttur Sing's advance in order to effect a junction with his son, Shere Sing, rendered it almost imperative that something should be done. We know, too, that the Commander-in-Chief one day, about encamping time, finding a shot or two fired at his outposts, and deeming that the enemy would advance his guns so as to reach the British encampment during the night, gave the order for battle after midday, with the ground before him quite unexplored. We know the results of that order. Men went onwards through a dense jungle, guided by the flashes from the enemy's batteries : the artillery did its part admirably—as it always does—during the one hour's time which the General allowed it : there was no want of conspicuous gallantry on the part of particular corps : deserted in the jungle, cut off from friends, and surrounded on all four sides by the Sikhs, several regiments displayed heroic firmness under these trying circumstances : the 24th regiment was half cut to pieces : the 14th Dragoons, in one of those unaccountable panics to which the bravest and best troops are liable, and acting, it is said, under orders, went " threes about : " night fell : an immense

deal of execution was done on the Sikh army. Some of their guns were captured, and some of our own, which had been taken in the early part of the day, were recovered ; and thus ended a memorable engagement, which cost us between two and three thousand men, which literally gained us no advantage whatever, on which the first of Greek historians would have recorded that both sides erected a trophy, and which Livy perhaps might have set down as a *clades accepta*.

We must bear in mind that our position in India, as the conquerors in a hundred fights, imposes on our armies the necessity of commencing the attack. Our Generals know this : our soldiers expect it : our politicians and statesmen regard it as a fundamental axiom in the maintenance of our supremacy. Whether the enemy be posted on the bank of a deep river, or be shut up in a stockade, or be securely entrenched, or be crowning some heights, or be lining the right side of some morass, we are expected to dislodge him by force, with as little delay as may be practicable and expedient. This was exactly the feeling under which Lords Hardinge and Gough ordered the attack on the Sikh entrenchments at Ferozshah, almost as soon as the British army, which is not a mathematical point without parts, could be got into position. There may be occasions when even rashness is the better part of valour. There are times when the delay of twenty-four hours would be fatal. At Ferozshah the Sikh battalions were encamped on British territory : Tej Sing was bringing up his reserve of 25,000 men : there was nothing to be done but to repulse and chastise the insolent invader who, without the slightest provocation, had crossed the boundary. But previous to Chillianwalla, Lord Gough had been following the enemy about from the Ravi to the Chenab, from the Chenab to the Jhelum, by combinations which resulted in nothing, by movements directed by no intelligence, by operations where the absence of system was the only thing systematic. A civilian will leave it to military men to say how, with the Sikh army posted at Russool, a prudent commander, after a few days' cautious examination of localities, would have stormed their position. With every allowance made for the difficulty of the ground, with an avowal of the principle that it behoves the British commander to open the ball, we can admit no excuse but that of intemperate rashness, for an action which cost us so many precious lives, dispirited our army, and left us just where we were.

Yet this battle was not as critical a point in Indian history as the night of horrors at Ferozshah, nor did it ever excite in the mind of any European resident in India anything that

could justly be denominated a panic. No province rose in rebellion. Nowhere was the revenue not punctually paid. Patna did not resound with the Allah Akbar of the Mussulman. Benares did not echo to the shouts of rebellious Hindus. Lord Dalhousie was not seen to rush about frantically, calling on Varus to restore him his legions. No Calcutta editor counselled the inhabitants of the metropolis to retreat to the merchant ships in the Hooghly. No up-country paper predicted the sack of Delhi by an enemy more cruel than Nadir Shah. To judge from the leaders in the English papers, all this and even more must have passed through the minds of fund-holders, Directors, and leading men in the State. Napier was sent to rescue us, but the spirit of Napier—*atrox animus Catonis*—was not needed on this occasion, though the Sikhs were as warlike as any into whom Togh Bahadur had ever breathed the spirit of fanaticism, or as those whom old Runjeet had disciplined and drilled.

The best thing that can be said in favour of Chillianwalla is, that it was the turning point in the long lane: the dark part of the night, which immediately precedes the day-spring. Within ten days of the battle, the fortress of Mooltan was in the hands of our troops, salutes were being fired, and General Whish was on his way to reinforce the Commander-in-Chief. Then were hopes aroused, and dark faces grew bright, and men congratulated each other as they met, and the wounded looked up with smiles from their weary couches, and annexation began to be canvassed, and *ECONOMIST* issued his series of vigorous and animated letters. There was still some little room for doubt during the time when it was thought that General Whish might be intercepted, that Shere Singh might descend on Lahore, or that Lord Gough might not be able to come up with his dexterous and shifting adversary. But every cloud vanished on the 21st of February 1849, in the battle of Guzerat. This engagement, while it forms a bright contrast to, is at once a severe condemnation of, Chillianwalla. It seems hardly credible that the General who judiciously planned and accomplished this crowning victory, who made such an excellent use of his heavy guns, who carefully guarded his soldiers from needless exposure or sacrifice, should five weeks before have petulantly ordered them to take artillery, the position of which they did not know, and to try and beat an enemy who lay *perdu* in the jungles. We are glad, however, at length to deal with operations of the Commander-in-Chief, which can be recounted in no qualified phrase. The battle of Guzerat, well-planned and well-executed, and without serious loss on our side, broke the Sikh power, dis-

persed the Khalsa, and virtually ended the war. It showed the Bombay and Bengal artillery to be completely superior to that arm of the service in which the Sikh had most reason to confide. It enabled Lord Gough to claim the honours not of an ovation, but of a triumph, and to quit the warlike stage with grace, with dignity, with the congratulations of his many personal friends, and with redeemed fame. It almost atoned for all the previous delay and disappointment. It added one more to the great victories of the army of India. It sent the veteran Gilbert, that keenest of horsemen and first of board-hunters, on a raid to the Khyber, by which a united foe was allowed no breathing time, and forty pieces of artillery, with sixteen thousand stand of arms, were laid at the feet of Lord Gough. And, lastly, it enabled the statesman at length to come forward, and to show of what he was capable, in a series of papers, on the subject of annexation, as remarkable for classic diction and cogent reasoning as for liberal policy and enlarged views.

The Punjab was annexed on the 29th of March, in a proclamation, the terms of which are widely known; and the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab was formally established in a minute, dated the 31st of the same month. But before proceeding to allude to the measures taken for the settlement of the new province, we should wish to say a few words on one officer who played a conspicuous part in the commencement of the war, and who for a time divided the attention of dinner tables at the West end of London with the Ban of Croatia. It is no part of our plan, as we have said already, in a paper which is a review of Lord Dalhousie's Administration, and not a military history, to detail the actions of the campaign, to dwell on blunders or successes, or to recount the honours deservedly earned by so many officers. We must, however, spare a little space for Major Herbert Edwardes. A chivalrous nature is no guarantee against detraction and envy; and when the *Times* talked of his finishing the war, by two successive blows, the progress of the insurrection could not have been foreseen in England, and the magnitude of succeeding operations threw Kineyree and Suddoosam into the shade. But the young subaltern was not a presumptuous "political," involving the higher authorities in a dilemma, nor a Clive, who could crush Moolraj at once. Nothing can be more unjust than to tax Major Edwardes with underrating the power of the Dewan,—a charge which his own writings disprove, "I am a terrier barking at a tiger,"—or more futile than to say that there are other officers in the

Bengal army who would have done what he did. No doubt there are : nor will such men ever be wanting as long as the Company lasts : but history can only praise the victorious warrior, the successful statesman, the orator, or the poet, who seize opportunities and make themselves heard. Major Edwardes seized his opportunity. He saw that a slight insurrection unchecked would spread like wild fire. By his tact he smoothed down animosities, disciplined raw levies, and skilfully managed elements almost irreconcilable. He never held Moolraj cheap, and he never thought procrastination anything else but dangerous. Finally, he fought two engagements, and was successful in both. His book, the charm of which to an Indian reader, lies in the first volume, shews how he can handle the pen ; nor will any future history of the Punjab campaigns be complete without a due notice of the manner in which he handled the sword.

The feverish interval, the doubts and fears, were now all past. We can remember how many lamentations were uttered, because instead of peace for the first year of a new Administration, we had had a costly and prolonged war. At this distance of time we can look back and allow everything, politically, was for the best. There was no doubt that at some time or other, a knotty Punjab question would tax the powers of some British statesman. The great Punjab case was, in fact, as *ECONOMIST* told us, "a mere question of time." It might be decided summarily, like a trial before a Californian jury, or it might be protracted beyond the limits of the longest Chancery suit. When our two officers were assassinated, it is possible that a display of energy might have crushed the insurrection ; but the same thing might have happened again in the next year in any part of the Punjab. When we see the result of the Lawrence Administration for five years, we can have little doubt that things are better for us now than if we had been just looking anxiously forward to the termination of the Bhyrowal Treaty, and to our handing over the Government to a young and inexperienced Prince, during this very year.

The task now remaining for us is to describe the moral conquest of the Punjab. The first thing to be done was to determine the precise form of the local Government, and to give habitations and names to the various departments and officers. Lord Dalhousie, who from this time must be the prominent character in our picture, decided on entrusting the Administration to a Board of three Commissioners. The first member, or rather the President, was Colonel Sir H. M. Lawrence, an

officer possessed of mighty energies, large sympathies, and a most intimate knowledge of the Sikh character. He knew them, and they knew him, and their knowledge of him led them at once to confide in his willingness to protect and his power to quell them. It was a signal good fortune that gave Lord Dalhousie the disposal of the services of Sir Henry Lawrence. The second, who was, however, called the *senior* member, Mr. C. J. Mansel, a man of originality, had filled some high posts in the Secretariat, and in the Financial Department, during the rule of Lord Ellenborough. He had lately returned from furlough, and having rubbed off any old Indian prejudices by the contact of English society, might be thought well suited to conceive and carry out a liberal system of administration. Mr. John Lawrence was the junior or third member. This gentleman, till selected by Lord Hardinge to be Commissioner of the Jullunder Doab, after the first Sikh war, had never filled any post of extraordinary emolument or responsibility out of the regular line of the service. He had never been Secretary to Government, nor envoy to a foreign court, nor Governor-General's Agent at a native Durbar. But with energy equal to that of his brother, he had acquired in one of the best of schools a rare amount of experience in the important subjects of revenue and police. In the tent for months in the cold season, at the head of the district of Delhi, on the disputed boundary, in the crowded bazar wherever the character of the natives could be most intimately studied, he had gained a complete insight into the *common law* of the country. He was familiar with the minutest details of the village communities: he knew the value of all the various crops which the two harvests of the year produce, the whole system of irrigation, the mode in which land is acquired, farmed out, rented, and transferred: his love of work was inexhaustible, and he possessed the key to many points in the native character, in a manner which, to an unpractised stranger, appears almost inexplicable. Under this Board, then, were placed the country newly annexed, and the Cis and Trans-Sutlej provinces. The country was parcelled out into seven Commissionerships and twenty-seven districts, and by the 1st of June, or in some cases a little later, the Civil Administration was fairly set a-going.

We have so lately had occasion to describe the whole system of administration introduced by the Board at Lahore, and the official report of the two first years after annexation has been so widely discussed, that it would be almost superfluous, in this place, to give a detailed account of the various measures introduced by the local Government or by the Head

of the Empire. It is no new thing for an Indian Government to have thrown on its hands the settlement of a ceded or conquered province, or for a Governor to exercise his judgment in the selection of instruments well calculated to attain this important end. For upwards of a century we have been making experiments on a dozen different races, on all kinds of revenue settlements, perpetual, protracted, or summary, in territories marked by broad and striking distinctions of fertility, climate, and soil. We have made some blunders, but we have achieved some real triumphs, and we have laid up a vast stock of administrative experience. We were standing, at the annexation of the Punjab, in the position of men who are "the heirs of all the ages, in the foremost files of time." It was then well known that every theory had been tested in practice, that every crotchet had been analysed, every plan for the security of the land-revenue, or the welfare of those who paid it, had been subjected to examination equally searching and minute. To investigate the nature of intricate land-tenures of different denominations, to select the sites of stations and cantonments, to establish courts for the administration of codes, technical, refined, simple, or comprehensive, to build jails, hospitals, treasuries, to teach a native population the difference between lawlessness and liberty,—all these things have attracted the attention and taxed the energies of many able and conscientious men in various parts of India, since the beginning of this century. There had, however, it must be confessed, been grounds for regret at the appearance in our system, when fairly consolidated, of evils which either growing up with its growth, or not timely observed, or not boldly eradicated, a moderate degree of precaution might have prevented at first. There had been a neglect to preserve or to record, against future encroachment, the rights of the sovereign power, of the landlord of limited domains, of the village community, of the tenant proprietor: when hundreds of acres were lying waste and uncultivated, no portion had been appropriated for public purposes, a due percentage of the land had not been set apart for annual expenditure on internal communication and public works, a variety of petty taxes, vexatious to the payers and not very profitable to the State, had not been remitted as early as was just; adherence had been too long given to an unsound commercial policy or to internal restrictions on trade; some element of European Administration, congenial only to Anglo-Saxons, had been forced on the acceptance of a population who could neither estimate its value nor comprehend its scope:

some of the best instruments of the old native Government, sanctioned by time, endeared to the ryot by immemorial custom, and valued by the native administrator for their cheapness and their facility of application, had been contemptuously disregarded or prematurely crushed. But our latest acquisitions had been the scene of our greatest success. It was important that grievous mistakes should not be made in the settlement of our new and magnificent acquisition; that crude measures should not be attempted; that just reforms should not be delayed; that the shattered or dislocated fabric of good native institutions should be carefully put together; that every department which admitted of it, should have the benefit of the greatest amount of European science, and the truest maxims of Indian official life. How all this was done, we endeavoured to show in the October number of this *Review*. Lord Dalhousie, calmly reviewing the manifold claims on his time, wisely, as it appears to us, gave to the new kingdom the largest share of his attention. Its claims, though not "prior in time" to those of other provinces, were yet, to use the language of Burke, "superior in equity and paramount in importance." From the very commencement of the task, whether the Governor-General was watching the progress of the settlement from the heights of Mahasoo, or was visiting everything with his own eyes during a cold-weather tour in the plains, the motto has been "forward," the maxim hard work, and the result prosperity. The Jat Sikhs, the disbanded soldiery, the warlike peasants, settled down at once under the new rule, not to growl at the foreigner, but cheerfully to irrigate their lands and to pay their rents. This rapid change, hoped for, but certainly not anticipated, except by a very few, is a feature which cannot be too often dwelt on. Had the cultivators stood aloof with sullen and lowering brows: had we had jails without occupants, or filled only by rebels, courts without suitors, and blank statements of revenue without rupees in the treasury chest: had no civilians ventured to proceed into the interior without an escort of cavalry and a six-pounder: had officers at every cantonment been shot at from the road-side, in the twilight, as they were returning from their evening ride: had there been barricades at Umritsir, or had Lahore streamed with blood: had communication by post been cut off for days together, and the possession of the Punjab been described as that of certain localities lit up by camp-fires—had any picture of this kind, we say, been true and accurate in its main features—we should then have acknowledged that we had annexed a loss, that a century's experience had taught us nothing of the

science of governing aliens in blood and religion, and that the Sikhs of the Manjha and the Mussulman of the Chuj Doab were beyond the reach of kindness, sympathy, and control. But from the 1st of April 1849, the very contrary has been the case. No guerilla warfare harassed our troops. No where did indignant patriotism or incensed nationality, hurl their defiance at us from fields of sugar-cane, bamboo jungles, or forts of mud. The settlement officer, the active magistrate, the civil judge, taught a lesson as enduring as the Bengal artillery or the famous Scinde horse. With few exceptions, the men selected to fill places in the Punjab were equal to the task. Their service has been one of considerable exposure, constant toil, and even occasional risk. They have had to live in places in which the sleek, contented, and well-housed civilian of the Upper or Lower Provinces would hardly condescend to keep his grey-hounds or his horses: in mat houses, between clay walls, and in the tombs of Mohammedan saints. They have remained out, under canvass, in the interior of the district, at seasons of the year when the fierce sun and the stifling hurricanes of dust severely tried the strongest constitution. The organization of the whole body of native officials, whether Punjabis or Hindustanis, has, in most instances, been the entire work of their hands. They have selected, where choice was but scanty, men suited for the responsible posts of Thanadars and Tahsildars, and have taught the inferior police officers the very elements of their duty, and the common routine of their work. Their mornings and evenings have often been consumed in actual field-work, in the survey of lands, and the adjudication of boundary disputes: their days have been devoted to the trial of cases of all kinds, and to the decision of those hundred conflicting claims, certain to spring up in such a country as the Punjab. This labour has gone on under all the inconveniences of climate, under the absence of comforts, which would be luxuries in England, but are necessities here, and under periodical visitations of disease. No men have ever more nobly vindicated the character of their service, or more effectually disproved the calumnies thrown out against the officials of India, by men who either knew, or should have known, better. Moreover, the reward of this labour, though in some few instances not inconsiderable, has not to the majority been of that character which obviously excites envy in the less fortunate. Their reward has been that which springs from the consciousness of duty boldly and honestly performed, and from the gratitude of an agri-

cultural population, whose wonder has been visibly excited to a degree well nigh ludicrous, at the formerly unseen sight of courts to which the humblest has constant access, where the presiding officer is just without propitiation, strict without cruelty, and lenient without weakness, and where the rich and powerful defendant is compelled to liquidate just debts, to atone for violence, and to acknowledge the majesty and the supremacy of Law.

We sum up the things accomplished in the Punjab, under Lord Dalhousie's guidance, as follows : A revenue of more than two millions has been raised from the land-revenue, from salt, from the excise, and from other legitimate sources, by means which fetter neither the resources of the country, nor the lawful claims of the State. A surplus, in spite of all that the Napiers can say, lies at the disposal of the Government, amounting to one quarter of a million, after large disbursements on great public works. The Baree Doab Canal, and the military road to Peshawar, are progressing towards completion. Other great lines for commercial and social purposes are in progress, and cross-roads are covering the districts in every direction. Violent crimes have been entirely put down : and secret ones have been traced to their source. Justice is dealt out in a fashion which combines the salutary promptness of the Oriental, with the scrupulous investigation of the European Court. The vexatious enquiries into rent-free tenures are fast drawing to a close. Churches and dispensaries, the medicine of the soul and of the body, may be seen side by side in many of the principal stations. In sanatoria on the hills, the wounded or invalid soldier, and the worn-out civilian, can recruit their strength. Warlike subjects may enlist in our irregular troops, and find something better to do than to sit down and grumble at their lot. Not six months ago a grand meeting was convened at Umritsir, where measures were adopted to put down the fearful crime of infanticide, by the exercise of authority combined with persuasive influence and moral force. A civil code, sufficient to meet the growing requirements of a commercial and agricultural population, has been compiled by the joint efforts of Messrs. Montgomery and Temple, has been revised by the Chief Commissioner, who is now a sort of Lieutenant-Governor, and submitted for sanction to Government. The missionary is endeavouring to win converts at Lahore. An Agricultural Society is striving to improve the produce of the plains. Tea cultivation is being extended in the hills. The whole face of the country tells its own tale in expanding cultivation, secure highways, long lines

of camels, and carts laden with rich merchandize. There is not one of the above summary and downright assertions which we cannot prove incontestably by an appeal to printed papers, to written words, and to the testimony of hundreds of living witnesses. Had the Governor-General effected no other reform, planned no other great work, grappled with no evil, given to India no one single benefit, the pacification and prosperity of the Punjab, would be enough, by itself, to place his name amongst the foremost of the benefactors of the East.

We pursue the thread of our narrative, not wholly losing sight of the maxim of Tacitus, when he wrote his annals—*singula quæque in annos referre*—but at the same time diverging from the course to mark the result of events whenever it may be expedient or necessary. At the commencement of 1850 there was the unfortunate affair of the 66th Native Infantry. It will be in the memory of our readers that the men of this corps, when marching into Umritsir, in February of that year, betrayed a mutinous spirit in regard to their allowances. The spirit of insubordination was promptly repressed, the corps was disbanded, and no symptoms of disaffection were ever seen in other regiments of the Bengal Army. Sir Charles Napier, who had succeeded, or rather superceded Lord Gough as Commander-in-Chief, took on himself to disband this corps. To quote one of Sir Charles' own phrases, "*this was wrong*": and it was even worse to go and alter the compensation for the price of *atta* and other necessary articles, not merely in anticipation of the orders, but against the wishes of the Head of the Government. The Government had very properly ruled that when *atta* was dear, and other articles, such as ghee and pulse were cheap, the one should be pitted against the other, and the compensation be calculated on the value, not of *atta* alone, but of every article of food. The Commander-in-Chief decided just the other way, and told the sepoys through the Generals or Brigadiers that they were to get compensation calculated on the price of *atta* only. Both of these orders were, however, upheld. It had long been current that this produced a strong difference of opinion between the Head of the Indian Army and the Head of the Indian Empire, and that much correspondence passed between the two men, both of whom are remarkable for a pretty strong will of their own. The particulars of this passage of arms were not, of course, made public at the time, but every one has lately read them in No. III of the printed Selections of the Government of India. Under what deceitful planet, by whose injudicious advice, one Napier was led to bring on an *exposé* of the folly of another, we are unable to guess—but the result

shows that good sense, temperate but firm language, sound reasoning, logic and grammar, were with the Governor-General, and the very opposite to all these qualities with Sir Charles Napier. Brian de Bois Guilbert did not receive a more complete overthrow from the lance of Ivanhoe, than did the late eccentric Commander-in-Chief from the pen of Lord Dalhousie. This subject, however, demands separate treatment, and we say no more about it here.

Lord Dalhousie having assured himself of the tranquil condition of the Punjab, confiding in the Civil Administration of the Lawrences, and fully satisfied of the sufficiency of our military preparations to meet an outbreak, had any been intended, took a short trip to sea, to recruit his energies and his impaired health. He proceeded down the Indus, satisfied himself of the tedious nature of its navigation, visited Bombay, Singapore, and the Straits Settlements, and the Tenasserim Provinces, and finally returned to Calcutta in the commencement of March 1850. No Governor-General had paid a visit to Moulmain since Lord William Bentinck went there in 1829. By no other Governor-General could such a tour have been even contemplated. He was the first Indian statesman who could make the circle of India without exceeding the bounds of the Company's landed estates. It may be asked of what use are such rapid tours, during which no subject can be thoroughly mastered, and some can hardly be understood at all? A flying visit from the highest official in the East will not cover Guzerat with roads, or light Bombay with gas, or simplify the difficulties attendant on the growth and transport of cotton, or settle the land-revenue of the Deccan on a prosperous footing, or fertilize Scinde, or increase the revenue of Tavoy and Mergui. The reply to this is, that personal conference may do a great deal in making the men acquainted with each other's views, and with the general aspect of great questions. Unfortunately oral discussion is never much in fashion in India. Nothing is done without long letters and bulky reports. But every one must admit that such letters and such reports are read with more interest, when the reader knows the locality from which they emanate, has heard something of the subject which they discuss, and has talked, though it be only for half an hour, with the persons by whom they are written. Preliminary discussion, knowledge of the parties interested, will go a great way towards smoothing difficulties, and leading the mind to go deep into the subject. And are not all subordinates, be they Governors, Councillors, or Commissioners, more likely to address with confidence and earnestness, a Governor-

General whom they have seen and talked with, than one who lives, as the late Chancellor of the Exchequer said, in a cloud, like one of the Homeric gods? It is our belief that such meetings, though transient, generate mutual confidence, invite fair discussion, and facilitate progress. The Governor-General will not be less likely than he was before to listen to a representation from Bombay, because he has seen its splendid harbour and received a deputation from its Chamber of Commerce; nor should the local functionaries be less backward in stating their wants, and expounding their various remedial measures. We could wish that every Governor-General or Governor had visited as much of his dominions, as Lord Dalhousie has done in the last six years.

One of the first objects to which Lord Dalhousie directed his attention during his short stay at the metropolis in March and April 1850, was that of a reform in the Post Office. The abuses of this department, and the paramount necessity for a complete change, were universally acknowledged. To deny this is just as absurd as to deny to successive Indian Governors the credit of originating and maturing many excellent reforms in various other branches of the public service. He would be a bold advocate who should undertake to prove the efficiency of the Company's postal arrangements. We may even doubt whether in this matter we have not retrograded, and whether the *Cossids* of Akbar and Aurungzebe were not faster of foot and more punctual in their deliveries of letters than those of the present day. We adhere to the old fashion of travelling in palanquins, and of employing runners or walkers, as the case may be, to convey the correspondence of Government, as well as that of a community daily increasing in importance. But there were worse evils than the mere retention of human beings as letter-carriers. With very few exceptions there were no stations with distinct post-masters, appointed, paid, and supervised in a manner consistent with the importance of the work to be done. The ubiquitous civil surgeon of the station, or a subaltern with spare time on his hands, got through the duty of post-master, in some instances as fairly as could be expected, in others with absolute indifference to everything, save the pittance assigned to the office. The native clerks were overworked and underpaid: the roads were bad: the postage was very heavy: the whole of the carriers along the line were liable to be fined for delay, which had occurred at some one single point, while the precise point thereof was never carefully investigated. The speed of the mails everywhere, except on the Grand Trunk Road, was not more than five miles an hour, and sometimes

as low as two miles and a half. The mistakes in the transmission of letters: the number of letters mislaid or locked up in a spare chest, owing to the culpable indifference or the dishonesty of the Dawk Munshi: the frauds and speculations of clerks, and the absence of any redress—all this was sufficient to exhaust the patience of the community engaged in commercial transactions, or much given to correspondence for obvious social reasons. Before the establishment of a regular steam communication with England, such a state of things might have been passively endured. The inhabitants of England in the reign of Charles II. might positively be glad of the postal system as described in Mr. Macaulay's famous Chapter III. The residents of India, in the days of Hastings or Wellesley, who were fortunate, if they received an answer from their friends at home within the twelve-month, might very well be content to spend four months on the river in a budgerow, or to creep up the old Benares road at the rate of three miles an hour, or they might post letters at Calcutta for Agra which should not take much more than eight days to reach their destination, and they might never even dream of sending a missive to Lahore. But with inland steam communication, and with other departments more or less undergoing reform, with improvements in the civil, revenue, and criminal codes, in jail discipline and national education, the postal department was still unimproved. Yet there were no insuperable difficulties in the way: no obstacles generated by climate or locality, which attention, energy, and a liberal disbursement could not overcome. Something had been already done on the Grand Trunk Road between Meerut and Calcutta, where the mail has for some years been carried at a rate never under seven, and generally at nine miles an hour, over a first-rate road for nine hundred miles. There are mail carts in the Punjab, Transit Companies competing for the public favour in Bengal, and carriages for passengers in some parts of the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies. The Editor of one of the Calcutta newspapers had startled the good folks of Calcutta, in January 1849, with the intelligence of the battle of Chillianwalla, brought by a private express which beat the Government dawb by thirty-six hours. The distances which men like Sir G. Clerk and the late Sir Walter Gilbert, and others, had accomplished by relays of horses in a wonderfully short space of time, proved all the talk about the heat of the Indian sun to be sheer nonsense, and showed that determination, even in India, will carry climate and everything else before it. The

Post Office, in short, to be efficient, required simply liberal expenditure, systematic arrangement, and careful control. To effect this, Lord Dalhousie very wisely entrusted the preliminary enquiry to a commission composed of a civil servant for each Presidency, namely, Mr. Courtney for Bombay, Mr. H. Forbes for Madras, and Mr. C. Beadon for both Agra and Bengal. We well remember how a cry was raised for the appointment of all sorts of committees and quorums, to be composed of men who should have had, somehow, an intimate knowledge of the working of Post Offices; enlightened and public-spirited individuals, with their several plans and crotchets, and their minds made up. We remember that the usual amount of indignation was expressed, because the enquiry was entrusted solely to members of the "favoured service," and because Lord Dalhousie was too wise to appoint a body of independent men, who would infallibly have wasted a deal of time, have squabbled amongst themselves, have covered acres of paper with all sorts of impracticable schemes, and have attained no one definite result. No doubt, Mr. Beadon had had no particular insight into the working of a Post Office. He simply possessed thorough business-like habits, great energy and quickness, and had no wish to carry out a favorite theory, or to force some crotchet of his own on Government. He, with his colleagues, only knew that many a district Post Office in India was very like that village Post Office in the Antiquary, which transmitted letters in the manner best calculated to air the correspondence thoroughly, to exercise the patience of the receivers, and to add a few pence to the revenue. The Post Office Commissioners commenced their work at the right end. They overhauled the department. They made themselves masters of all the details of the work, and of the whole subject of the rates of postage. They drew up long but lucid statements of the number of covers received and despatched, and of the salaries of clerks and delivery peons: they invited communications from all parties who had anything to communicate: they took down evidence of Bengali Sircars and merchants from Marwar: they visited local Post Offices: they repeatedly conferred together—for it was one part of the plan that the Madras and Bombay Commissioners should meet Mr. Beadon in Calcutta—and finally they drew up a report which has been so often quoted and commented on, that any minute analysis of its contents in this place would be superfluous. The main recommendations of the commission may be briefly set down as follows:—

1. Half-anna postage, for all distances, on letters not exceeding a quarter tola in weight.

2. Consolidation of steam and inland postage.
3. Compulsory pre-payment by stamps, and double charges on unpaid letters.
4. Abolition of franking, and the introduction of a charge on official letters.
5. General re-organization of the whole Post Office establishment in all its branches, from the head thereof down to the lowest delivery peon.
6. Extension and improvement of district dawks.

The above headings are taken, with slight alterations from twenty-eight changes summed by the Commissioners as desirable, in the close of their report. Some of the less important headings we have altogether omitted : others we have grouped together under the comprehensive term of general re-organization of the department. Such a heading, if honestly carried out, will embrace everything that requires amelioration in every Post Office in India : it will affect the receipt, registration, and delivery of letters : it will give us better clerks and more attentive post-masters : it will simplify the accounts, and will result in the compilation of a small code of Post Office Laws. Other recommendations will provide rules for book and banghy parcels, and for charges on ship letters : in short, whatever may be the opinions of individuals as to their own particular grievances, no one will deny that the report has embodied, with marvellous precision and lucidity, everything that could be devised in the shape of Postal Reform, and that it promises to give us eventually a practical and working scheme which will come home to the feelings of every resident in India. No department touches so many tender points as the Post Office : by none are domestic sympathies and fireside prejudices more effectually enlisted. Other departments touch only a class. Manchester groans over the salt monopoly. The genuine Anglo-Saxon inveighs against the Black Acts, the inefficiency of the police, and the corruption of the civil courts ; native landholders cry out against the Sale and the Resumption laws. The Chamber of Commerce remonstrates against impolitic restrictions on trade, and imperfect repairs of roads and bridges : every set of agitators can press for a removal of their own particular grievances in their own fashion and at their own time. But delay in the Post Office, and the expense of communication by letter, come home practically to the feelings of Europeans and natives, merchants and civilians, young cadets and old ladies. A delay in the dawk causes an anxious mother more real sorrow than any military procrastination along the Irrawaddy : a missing letter will excite a greater stir in a quiet gentleman's household than the report of a whole fleet of Commissariat boats missing on the Ganges or the Megna : the demand of

a delivery peon for fourteen annas as the postage from Lahore to Calcutta will raise a greater storm of abuse at the exactions of Government than the opium monopoly of Behar and Benares, or the Moturpha taxes in Madras. The benefit of Lord Dalhousie's comprehensive and statesman-like reforms will be felt and gratefully acknowledged by every one. The debt will be thankfully paid by the Chunds and the Mulls, who, in the exercise of their large commercial business, write dozens of letters daily to their correspondents at Joudpore, Muttra, and Benares; by the young civilian on the eastern frontier of Bengal, who keeps up a gradually declining intercourse with his old college friend stationed at Khangurh or Mooltan; by the unhappy husband, who toils away during the hot winds at Agra or Cawnpore, while the sick wife is inhaling the mountain breezes of Mussoorie or Simla; by the English merchant at the head of a large firm at the Presidency, who wishes to know the prospects of the indigo crops on the banks of the Brahmaputra, or in the plains of Tirhoot; by the Editor, who looks anxiously for the details of the last inroad by the Shivaranees, or of the latest *fracas* at the mess room of the 100th regiment N. I.; by the Choudaries and the Chuckerbuttees, who desire their local agent to report faithfully every turn in the great suit for the possession of Chur Nilabad, or every item disbursed in the hire of *lattials* and the propitiation of the police; by the cadet, who calls on his father to aid him in the purchase of "a step," or the fitting up of a bungalow; by the Calcutta tradesman, who can dun his remote debtors with less original outlay; and by dozens of fair correspondents who mutually interchange light and pleasant gossip about the assemblies at the Town Hall, the rides along Jacko, the inconvenience of a Mofussil station in the far West, or the *agremens* of the cold weather in the City of Palaces. It is not every Governor that can please so many classes, or find it in his power to effect such universal reforms at so moderate an outlay. The Post Office Commission alone, had Lord Dalhousie done nothing else, would suffice to place his name in the list of Anglo-Indian reformers, alongside of that of Cornwallis. As we write, we are informed that the Post Office scheme has received the approbation of the Honorable Court, and that we are to have the half-anna postage on letters, and the two annas on newspapers, as soon as the requisite number of stamps can be made and stored. In six months time, from the issue of this number, then, every one of its Indian readers will be thanking Lord Dalhousie for his Great Postal Reform.

The second grand reform was entered on within a year after the organization of the Post Office Commission. In the commencement of 1850, the Court of Directors had earnestly pressed the Governor-General to appoint a Committee to enquire into the whole system of Public Works ; but it was not until the close of the year that Lord Dalhousie found either the leisure, or the instruments, to enable him to follow the advice of the Court. In December 1850, however, he selected Major Kennedy, Consulting Railway Engineer to Government—Major Baker of the Engineers, who had lately returned from England—and Mr. Charles Allen, of the Civil Service, to be members of a Committee for an enquiry of the kind recommended. The engineering skill of Major Kennedy had been proved by the roads which he had constructed in the hills, and by the advice which he tendered to Government on all matters connected with the railway ; Major Baker was an officer of singular merit in a corps to which merit alone can obtain entrance ; and Mr. Allen had had great experience in several departments of the North-West Provinces, had secured the entire confidence of Mr. Thomason, and had given complete satisfaction wherever employed. These gentlemen were to reduce to some shape the thousand complaints which had been rife as to the superintendence and execution of public works in this Presidency ; and they were invited to make their suggestions, either for the modification of the present system, or for the establishment of some other in its stead. Records were opened to their inspection, and the functionaries of the department were to afford them every possible aid. Other Commissions were appointed for Madras and Bombay, by the Governors of those Presidencies, at the request of the Government of India. Our business will, however, be with the Military Board at Calcutta. We believe that, in this department, as in that of the Post Office, abuses had long prevailed, which could find no apologist, and could admit of no defence. A barrister, rashly undertaking to defend the cause of this incapable body, *versus* the community or the Government, would, we think, throw up his brief in despair. In the first place, the officers under the Board, termed variously executive officers and executive engineers of divisions, are not all scientifically trained. If the cry has been loud against untrained civil judges, how much louder should it swell against men without ability to conceive, or skill to direct, the construction of roads, bridges, and civil buildings. Moreover, besides the want of training in such officers, they were chosen by one department and paid for by another. They were selected by the Military Department

of the Government of India, and forced on the reluctant Civil Governments of Agra and Bengal, which could neither exercise any veto on the nomination, nor directly remove an incapable nominee. In short, as matters yet stand, the department, which bears all the responsibility, pays all the expense, and must take all the blame of works ill-devised, ill-constructed, and irregularly repaired, is not at liberty to select its own tools. No wonder that the system had contrived to exhibit in itself all the combined evils which result from inexperience, from inefficiency, from delay, from lost time and lost labour, from lavish expenditure without any good object, from niggardliness when really great objects were at stake. Bridges had been constructed on unsound principles; roads had been laid out on the lowest levels in the country, where rain-water soonest accumulated, and was latest dried up. Regular repairs, on some roads nominally under the Board, were, as we can ourselves testify, literally unknown for years. Occasionally, if a work of some magnitude had been well executed at a very considerable expense, it was left without any one to look after it, until it became quite impassable. Thus a *via silice vel lateribus munita*, which, when originally constructed, had cost half-a-lakh of rupees, has remained without even a timely basket-load of pounded brick or granite, until the outcries of the civil functionaries, and the intercepted traffic of the district, might at length rouse the apathetic Board to life. Then, instead of the small sums, which, if judiciously and regularly disbursed every year, would have kept the road in tolerable repair for all ordinary purposes of communication, another good round sum of half-a-lakh of rupees was obtained from the reluctant Government; the road was repaired, and left to look after itself for the next five years, until the same reiterated complaints might bring about the same costly remedy. In other instances, estimates were made for works declared to be urgently necessary, and were never acted on when sanctioned, or else works, when completed, were found to have largely exceeded their estimates. Yet, with all this, no man can justly complain of any want of skill in the members of the corps of engineers. On the contrary, we might complain that so much real talent has been lost to the country, or is productive of no great results, owing to want of supervision, to the prohibition of able men from acting on their own responsibility, to too few checks in some points, and to a great deal too many in others. In both the Upper and the Lower Provinces, we have had plenty of clever officers, who have taken levels, bridged hill torrents or deep-running rivers, erected colleges of some archi-

tectural beauty, have constructed hospitals with every regard to ventilation, and have metalled lines of road connecting some of the important localities in the country with each other. But all this individual talent has been neutralised by the acts of inefficient subordinates, by dilatory superiors, and by financial considerations. We can do nothing without money; and in the department of public works, we have sometimes had skill without money, sometimes money without skill, and sometimes neither skill nor money. We could mention instances where the works constructed by the magistrate, with the aid of convicts, triumphantly beat those constructed by the executive officer and his native agent. The thannahs repaired by the civil functionary did not leak, his drains carried off the water, and his bridges did not tumble down, and we have known the only police building in the whole district, which was thought of sufficient importance to require the supervision of the executive officer, to be the only one that was repeatedly tinkered, and yet never water-proof. But as a testimony of what engineers can do, when untrammelled and liberally supported, we have only to look at the prosperous condition of the great works under the Civil Engineers of the Punjab. By Colonel Napier's magic influence, embankments are raised, coolies are found to work, canals are cut, civil buildings do not leak or fall down. Cross the Sutlej, come within the soporific influence of the Military Board, and you will find that all working men lie down and bask, like the Neapolitan, in sunshine, without caring for the remonstrances of the community, or the despairing cry of the district officers. All the above facts were elicited, and proved beyond a doubt, by the labours of the Commission, and every reader of the newspapers has for some time been in possession of the views of the Governor-General on the subject. The Military Board, composed of an Engineer, who may be the ablest man in his corps, but who is harnessed to one officer, who knows nothing but how to supply beef and bullocks, and to another whose sole experience lies in the casting of guns, will soon cease to have anything to do with this great and important department. It will not be deemed necessary to fetter a really scientific man by the presence of an officer of the Line, and a Brigadier of Artillery, who might be efficient men at the battle of Guzerat, or at the storming of a stockade in Burmah, but who are quite out of their element when calculating the estimates of a road, or when deciding on the respective merits of suspension and stone bridges. The new plan, advocated by Lord Dalhousie, which gives a Superintending Engineer to each of the Governments of the Punjab, of

Agra, and of Bengal, will doubtless rid us at once of all those doubts, delays, and differences, which have literally paralysed the efforts of the Civil Government to improve this department. We know, moreover, from the minute of the Governor-General, which has been read in almost every newspaper on this side of India, that the Government of Bengal, in its anxiety to support all complaints by the fullest proof, ransacked the records of ten years, in order to demonstrate the evils of the system ; and the array of facts, which were disclosed by this laborious enquiry, was something literally startling. Shameful waste, unpardonable delay, indecorous squabbles, no definite responsibility—instances of each of these evils, or of all combined, were forthcoming in abundance. A Superintending Engineer, carefully selected, backed by influential support, and allowed a liberal discretion in expenditure, will very soon rescue our roads, our bridges, our dawk bungalows, and our jails from the reproach that has been attached to them for the last twenty years. We wait anxiously for the arrangements which will complete this much-wanted reform.

The third grand reform, introduced by Lord Dalhousie, concerns a department with which the public in general have very little to do—that of the Army Commissariat. Few people, except native merchants, can feel much interest in the feeding of bullocks, or the storing of flour : and had it not been for the celebrated trial of Jotee Persad, many persons might have remained in entire ignorance of the manifold abuses under which European troops are victualled, and horses are purchased, and bullocks are reared. Yet the Government for some time had been fully aware of the necessity for thorough reforms, and as far back as 1845, Mr. F. Millett, then a member of the Supreme Council, had gone into the subject with his usual laborious accuracy. It was left for Lord Dalhousie to put matters on an improved footing, and to save the State a considerable yearly expenditure, which can be much better applied to the improvement of other important departments of the public service. Accordingly, in March 1851, the President in Council, under instructions from the Governor-General, appointed a Commission to enquire into, and report on, the system of the Army Commissariat, past and present, and on the arrangements adopted in the other Presidencies for the same end. Mr. Charles Allen was again a member of this commission, and has since reaped, the reward of his important labours, in the post of Financial Secretary, in succession to Mr. Dorin. Another member was Major Anderson of the Bengal Artillery, an officer who gained great distinction in the

Affghan campaign, during which he was the right hand man of General Nott at Candahar, and who consequently was excellently qualified to speak of the system by which a large force is fed and equipped in the field. These two gentlemen, aided by Colonel Sturt, who was unluckily called off to Arracan before the conclusion of the investigation, were occupied for a year or more in their enquiries, during which time they received reports from the Military Board at each Presidency; they obtained copious returns and papers, and considered them attentively; they circulated questions to officers of the department, to engineers, doctors, and colonels of regiments, and after examining several individuals, drew up a clear and valuable report, which fills fifty-three pages of rather close print, and with the appendices makes up a volume of very decent size. Our readers may, perhaps, not be unwilling to have a sketch of the multifarious duties which the Commissariat Department, as constituted in 1809, and as since improved, was expected to perform. It had to victual the European troops; to provide elephants, bullocks, and camels, and to feed them; to transport troops and petty stores; to procure draught and carriage cattle when required, over and above those maintained by Government; to supply magazines with small stores, and European soldiers with quilts. It had, besides the above, its original duties, to victual native troops when on service, by land or sea; it had to supply harness, saddlery, camp equipage, and buff accoutrements; to buy physic for the hospitals; to superintend sudder bazars; to collect the excise duties in cantonments, to look after the breeding of bullocks and camels, and to capture elephants in the jungles of Chittagong. The powers and constitution of the Commissariat Department have been several times modified in Bengal: in the other two Presidencies, they presented several differences, but we believe that the same objections were found to exist against the retention of the system in force anywhere. Without going into the minute details, with which the gentlemen of the Commission were so long occupied, we may avail ourselves of their lucid summary, and extract thence a statement of the evils which they denounced, and the remedies which they proposed. Like the gentlemen of the Post Office Commission, they wanted a code of rules for the department, compiled with care and published under authority. The whole system of audit and supervision should, they proposed, be entrusted to two separate officers independent of the Military Board; the Commissary-General to control the workings, and an auditor to check the accounts. The officers were too few, the establishments too weak, and the

salaries too limited. Warrant officers and serjeants were absolutely requisite; but it was not requisite that Government should rear its own calves, or that so many camels and bullocks should be maintained as Government pensioners. Contracts must be concluded in the places where the articles are required, with better securities, and under simpler but comprehensive forms. This provision alone, if properly enforced, would prevent another such *imbroglio* as that of Jotee Prasad. An annual estimate must be prepared and submitted to Government, and the expenditure should show the actual outlay disbursed in the year, without reference to the period for which such outlay was incurred. Finally, the whole system of supplying an army in the time of war should be placed on an improved footing. The above recommendations, drawn up after mature deliberation, met with the approval of the Governor-General, and the reforms in this department have been carried out with greater celerity, and more completeness, than those of either the Post Office system or the Public Works. At the same time, it is admitted that the abuses of the Commissariat are, like so many others in India, those of the system. Individual officers had done their parts well. It was the complicated machinery, the multifarious duties, the useless checks, the appalling delay, that did the mischief. Nothing could be more fatal than to entrust the Commissariat to a Board, and of all Boards to that one, which has found so many enemies, and not one single friend. Amongst the various reforms, which Lord Dalhousie has had the merit of effecting, none was more needed than the one just described. It is a dreary, unpoetical, unpromising subject, and we have neither the time, nor the inclination, to linger over it. But it will husband the resources of the State, provide for the public service at a reduced cost and with less delay, and will prevent contractors from being kept out of their just dues for eight or ten years. It is, in short, a reform by which Government is the first to benefit. But the community will eventually benefit by reductions in any department, which will allow Government to spend more money for the improvement of the country.

It will be seen from the previous pages that, in little more than three years, Lord Dalhousie had appointed three different Commissions, for the reform of as many separate departments of the public service. The first commission—that on the Post Office—will be more for the benefit of the community at large than for that of Government, although the State will naturally gain, in authority and effectiveness, by an improved system of general intercourse, and by the rapidity and certainty with

which intelligence is conveyed. But every private individual will view the reform with approving eyes, when he can send letters across the Peninsula for half an anna. The remembrance of the Post Office reform is, we think, likely to be long cherished and widely diffused. The benefits of the second Commission will be shared pretty equally by the Government and by the community. The Government will spend more money, and see its public works held in better estimation: the community will travel with more celerity and ease. The reform of the third and last Commission, will be at first appreciated by Government alone. In ten years more, not one private gentleman in a hundred, nor perhaps one public servant in fifty, will come to know anything of the old Commissariat system. Whatever is saved will benefit Government only, and if the community at large are ever reminded of the improvements, it will be by the reduced expenditure of provisioning the army, and the greater available surplus for works of peace. But whether the advantages be appreciated by the community, by the community and Government, or by Government alone, the foresight which dictated these reforms, and the energy and statesmanship by which they were carried out, are entitled to the warmest praise.

We have digressed from a narration of events to a discussion of reforms. We resume the thread of our history, and shall now treat of the political changes in native states, which engrossed the attention of the Governor-General. In the close of 1849, we had a tempest in a tea-pot in the little war of Sikhim. It will be remembered that Dr. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling, when travelling in the interior of the Himalayas, and while engaged in prosecuting his enquiries in botany and natural history, was seized by the orders of the Raja of Sikhim, bound and treated with indignity, and threatened with further severity, and even with death. A detachment of the Hill Rangers was pushed up to the hills from Bhagulpore: the native regiment at Moorshedabad was directed to support the Irregulars; when the Raja released Dr. Campbell, we are glad to say, without doing him any serious injury; and we were spared another of the little wars of a great country. The result of the affair was that the Raja lost an annual sum of six thousand rupees, which used to be paid by us for the occupation of the sanatorium of Darjeeling, while the British Government gained the whole of the Sikhim Morung, hill and plain, a tract which, adjoining the district of Purnea, and said to be not unfitted for the cultivation of cotton, has been assessed for 16,000 rupees, and incorporated with the tract

under the Superintendent of Darjeeling. Not a shot was fired: the operations were directed mainly by the President in Council, and the matter is now almost forgotten. But it has a claim to a few lines in such a paper as the present.

The years 1850 and 1851 have left us no very remarkable political events to record. They were spent by the Governor-General partly in the hills and partly in the plains, and it was then, that by personal inspection, repeated conference, and continued study, Lord Dalhousie laid the foundations of an enlarged and sound administration in the Punjab, and reared on them an edifice which succeeding generations of statesmen may long look up to and admire. We think it proper here to give some little account of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal, which every one knows was administered, during the absence of the Governor-General, by the President of the Council for the time being—all matters of importance, and all nominations to the high prizes of the civil service, being referred to Simla or Mahasoo for the viceregal orders. It would be impossible, in a paper like this, to give an account of all that was done under the four subordinate Governments respectively, though each Presidency, theoretically, stands in one and the same relation to the Government of India. They are all subject to the same control in legislation: the power of the purse, in the hands of Sir H. Pottinger or Lord Falkland, is just what it is in the hands of Mr. Colvin: the intent of the Charter Act was that Bombay and Agra, Madras and Bengal, should remedy their respective abuses, and attain their peculiar reforms, by one and the same process. But our concern is with Lord Dalhousie, and with those divisions of the Indian Empire, in which his influence has been most felt. Of the late Mr. Thomason's Government we have already given a notice in our last number, and no additional praise of ours could enhance the merit of that successful administration. But with Bengal the case is different. It is the focus of civilization: the commercial capital of the country: it has been the residence of the Governor-General for the last two years: it represents one-half of India in the eyes of the untravelled at home: it is here that we have the most influential bar, and the largest mercantile community: here the spread of education is the most acknowledged, and the effects of missionary operations are most visibly seen. Moreover, Calcutta, or rather Bengal, conceives itself to have a right to the presence of the Governor-General, at least for such time as he is also the Governor of this large and fertile kingdom. When, then, the administration of the

Lower Provinces was left for the whole interval, between October 1848 and February 1852, in the hands, first, of Sir H. Maddock, and next, of Sir J. H. Littler, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by the fourth estate and by the community generally; and it was even asserted that matters, instead of progressing, were actually going backward. For the time that Sir H. Maddock held the reins, from October 1848 to March 1849, these murmurs did not make themselves very loudly heard. Sir H. Maddock had had very considerable experience in civil business, and had been Deputy-Governor under Lord Hardinge. But when the administration was presided over by a soldier, who was not unjustly supposed to know more about platoon firing and advancing in echelon than about the Excise Code and the Decennial Settlement, the Government of Bengal was assailed by considerable obloquy, though the old soldier commanded respect by his kind manner and straightforward dealing, and though his responsible adviser was, in talent, integrity, and uprightness, amongst the very foremost of the whole civil service. There is no doubt, however, that it is anomalous and unjust to hand over the Government of such a Presidency as Bengal to a man who has many other duties to employ him—to a man who may be somewhat worn out, who may be inexperienced, who, though a good councillor, may not be the fittest man for such a post. There is more work to be done under the Bengal Government than under any other Government in India. The land-revenue, though assessed in perpetuity, is constantly giving rise to new, intricate, and perplexing questions. The manufacture and sale of opium creates a responsibility, of which the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra knows nothing. The salt, the excise, and the sea customs, in themselves, form no contemptible addition to the work. The police is a heavy burden, where the population expect to be protected, and will not stir a finger to help themselves. The Bengal Marine Department, as at Bombay, requires a great deal of attention, and would be a hard task for any Civil Governor, were it not for the admirable manner in which ships and men are disciplined, and kept in order by the Superintendent of Marine. The whole of the judicial branch demands constant attention, in a country where there is valuable property to be contended for, and acute intellects that make litigation a trade. Education is making grander and more rapid strides in Bengal than in any other part of India, without a single exception, and the schools and colleges under the Council of Education are more than double those of any other Presidency. The Non-regulation Provinces of Assam, Arracan,

Tenasserim, and the South West Frontier Agency, together with the Tributary Mehals, would, if geographically compact, form an area equal to that of a separate kingdom. Finally, Calcutta alone must occupy a large portion of any Governor's time and attention. It is unjust to blame those entrusted with the administration of Bengal for not having advanced its moral and material prosperity in the same ratio as that of Agra had been advanced. Great questions require undivided energies and uninterrupted leisure. A Governor of Bengal should be a person of "large discourse, looking before and after." He must be wholly unfettered by other duties, be a man of large experience and unquestionable ability, if he is to grapple with the question of improving the village watch, if he is to reform the police, to lay down roads, to simplify procedure, to establish Courts of Small Causes, to visit the different districts at intervals in the year. We think ourselves fortunate to have secured in Mr. Halliday a person equal to this task. If the routine and current work has been carefully and well got through under the old system, if cases have not been slurred over, nor practical difficulties eluded, nor blunders committed, we ought perhaps not to expect much more. But we shall hope to show that, while all this has been done, the forward movement, as it is termed, the great cause of reform, has not been wholly forgotten. We proceed then to state what was done for the Lower Division of the Presidency, during the absence of Lord Dalhousie. In 1849 we had the Commission on the Police of Calcutta, which terminated in a very satisfactory reform of that department. The merit of this is due entirely to the Governor-General. In the same year, the Bengal Government took possession of the small State of Sumbulpore, lying on the Bombay road, in the South West Frontier Agency. This little chiefship lapsed from failure of heirs, its last Raja having, in his lifetime, expressed a desire of seeing the administration made over to the British Government. The amount paid by this State as tribute previous to 1849, was only 8,800 rupees. The amount now taken in the shape of direct revenue is 74,000 rupees, of which only 25,000 rupees are expended in the cost of collection and in the payment of establishments, including an European officer. The country, naturally rich and productive, but unhealthy at certain seasons of the year, was admirably ruled by the late Dr. Cadenhead. Not the slightest symptom of discontent has appeared, and one of the members of the Board of Revenue was to visit it this last cold season. But greater changes, with regard to some of the non-regulation provinces have been carried out. It was found that Arracan and the Tenas-

serim Provinces, as to revenue matters, were under the Revenue Board, and that Assam and the South West Frontier Agency were not. Arracan, under the management of Capt. Phayre, was giving in nearly seven lakhs of net revenue, while its grain was exported to all parts of the world. Sixteen lakhs worth of rice are exported yearly from the port of Akyab. The province is remarkably free from crime, the population are contented ; a great stream of emigration is flowing yearly from Chittagong southward, the Bengali is pushing the native Arracanese aside. The Tenasserim Provinces, under the successive administrations of Major Broadfoot, Captain Durand, and Mr. Colvin, had been gradually recovering from the distress and confusion into which they had been thrown by ill-advised measures, some ten years previous to the time of which we are writing. But of Assam little was known, and the same might be said of the district of Hazaribagh and Chota Nagpore, though much nearer in position to the seat of Government. Both these provinces were put under the Board of Revenue, and the good effects of this measure have been already made apparent in a better and more effective system of management. The mention of the Board of Revenue naturally lead us to record a change in the composition of the Board itself. For the first year after Lord Dalhousie's departure for the Upper Provinces, the two members of this body were very much opposed to each other in opinion. They differed—not as men often differ in India, from mere captiousness or unwillingness to yield points—but from honest conviction and after protracted enquiry. The result, however, of their antagonism, which never prejudiced the interests of either the Government or the landholders, was that an immense deal of additional work was thrown on the office of the Bengal Secretary. Several very knotty points of revenue law were referred to that office, and there set at rest. But it is obvious that an Executive Government should have something to do besides giving rules as to the party with whom lands in the Sunderbunds should be settled, or as to the precise meaning of some clause in Mr. Holt Mackenzie's famous Revenue Regulation of 1822. Accordingly, when one member of the old Board of Customs had retired, and another had been removed from office, it was found convenient to send the third and remaining member to the Board of Revenue. The advantages of this measure were, first, the saving of expense by the abolition of two appointments worth 52,000 rupees a year ; secondly, the addition to the Board of Land Revenue of a third member, who had long been its Secretary, and was well versed in revenue law ; and, finally, the union of all the great

sources of revenue under one well-selected body, the members of which were enabled to divide all current work amongst themselves, and to discuss all questions of importance in a full conclave. Indeed, it cannot be denied that the working of the revenue system in the Lower Provinces has, within the last four years, been greatly ameliorated. All the operations in the Chittagong division, which rendered the presence there of an officer with extraordinary powers indispensable, having been wound up by Mr. Ricketts, this gentleman was succeeded by an officer with the ordinary pay and powers of a Commissioner. Collectors everywhere were instructed to move about their districts in the cold weather, to examine the condition of Khas Mehals or Government estates, and to follow the example of magistrates in exchanging stone walls for canvass ones. A great deal has been done towards the arrangement of the records in various Collectorates, and order and regularity has been introduced amongst a mass of confused or moth-eaten papers. The survey has engaged much attention ; it has been manned by officers of ability, and has been pushed forward with the laudable desire of demarcating the boundaries of villages and estates, and of saving a very considerable expense in establishments. It is hardly possible, and it would certainly not be desirable, that the survey in the Lower Provinces should mark off every field, or designate every holding. The advantages derivable thence would not be commensurate with the vast expense and the fearful delay of such a measure. All that the survey professes to do is to record the boundaries of estates and villages, the natural features of the country, the area, and the extent of cultivation, the products of particular districts, the extent of the pressure of the Government revenue on each acre—and other statistical information which the surveyors may pick up in the course of their work. All this will be available in a few years' time for every district in the Lower Provinces. With regard to the vigorous enforcement of law and the abatement of crime, much has not been done. We have, however, a Commissioner of Dacoity, who is doing his best ; and we have seen a vigorous and effective police established on the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the Kurumnassa. The Lower Division of the Line, it should be remembered, is the very opposite in features to the upper part under the Government of Agra. From Benares upwards, the road passes through some of the richest and most populous districts of the Doab. After leaving Burdwan, the Grand Trunk Road merely skirts the edge of the districts of Beerbhoom, Shaugulpore, and Gya, and does not go within fifty miles of a single station. The line selected lies, in fact, through

a hilly, wooded, and thinly-populated country, which, though fertile in materials for the construction of roads, is equally so, in places where unsuspecting travellers might be robbed and murdered by scores. An effectual protection to life and property has been afforded throughout the line. At every two or four miles there are stations, the police of which regularly protect the road from sunset till dawn. At certain parts there are sowars, and at every fifty or eighty miles, there is a deputy magistrate. The whole force on the line is numerically about equal to a regiment of infantry, and it is as safe to travel along this line as it is to go from Calcutta to Baraset, or Kishnaghur. Besides the above reforms, the Bengal Government has commenced the very proper practice of publishing selections from its records, and the numbers, which already amount to more than a dozen, contain abundant information on the opium manufacture, on Teak forests, on several wild districts and their occupants, on the Electric Telegraph, on embankments, on the sanitary condition of Calcutta, and on other subjects. No doubt, when we have a regular Lieut.-Governor, things will move at a quicker rate, and we may think little of reforms, such as those just enumerated. But when we consider that current business alone is greater in Bengal than elsewhere, that the Executive, during the period of which we are writing, was burdened with some personal cases, relative to the conduct of civilians and other officers, of a very serious and complicated character, it will be allowed that the Bengal Government has done, and done well, all that in common justice could be expected of it. Neither must we forget that its care has been to put into the highest court of criminal and civil justice, the very best officers that could be selected, and the Calcutta Sudder for four years was presided over by judges who, for energy and acuteness, long acquaintance with native character, with the procedure of the courts, and with the Company's law, were not approached by those of any of the courts at the other Presidencies. The contrast presented by the decisions of the Calcutta Court, with Mr. J. R. Colvin at its head, and by those of the Sudder at Agra, since it has been bereft of the judicial acumen of Messrs. H. Lushington and Deane, is something almost painful to contemplate. The files of the Calcutta Court have been reduced to the lowest possible amount; the confidence of suitors and pleaders in its decisions has been increased by the new rules under which civil cases are argued before a full bench: the results of criminal trials appealed, or referred to the court, are widely made known, with the minutes of the several judges; and the good effects of a strict supervision by officers, whose

talents and character command respect, are visible in the additional care with which magistrates prepare, and judges in the districts dispose of the calendars.

We have reserved the great measure which originated with the Bengal Government, but which will be felt all over India, for the last. It is easy to acknowledge the utility of great material works, and to bless the name of the Government that paid for, and the engineer that planned, the long line of road, the noble arch, or the spacious college. A swamp drained, a whole tract protected from inundation, two great marts connected, a wide river bridged, an ubiquitous police—all this appeals to the outward senses. We have nothing to do but to travel, admire, and record. But the measure of which we are about to speak, is one of which the influence will be felt by degrees, and the benefits be more perceptible by the process to which the German school apply the term "subjectivity." Whatever improves the character, increases the official knowledge, and raises the tone of the civil service, must have a positive effect on the general administration. That such will be result of the rules for the examination of assistants after they have passed the college of Fort William, no one, who has studied those rules and watched their results, will attempt to deny. These examinations will act beneficially, not merely by excluding the incapable from important positions, and by stimulating the apathetic, who *can* but *will* not work, but by making the really industrious and clever young men exert themselves to the utmost, and by rendering their knowledge of language and procedure complete and compact. A great deal has been written lately against the system of examinations in the college of Fort William; and, no doubt, the language and style with which civilians are there familiarized, are not those of the court-house: nor does a certificate gained in Tank Square argue conversancy with any colloquial dialect. But no one ever imagined that any such attainments would be met with there. The college course only pretends to afford the means of acquiring a fair knowledge of the grammar and general structure of the language, and of one or two of its standard works. That which is obviously wanted after such an ordeal, will be supplied by the new half-yearly examinations of assistants with their two standards of qualification. An examination for the lower standard, on passing which, the assistant is eligible for what are termed "special powers," will be a guarantee that each civilian can read official papers written in fairly legible running hand: that he can translate an English paper into the vernacular in a style intelligible to a native: that he can hold a

conversation with two or three natives, and that he has a general acquaintance with the leading principles of the revenue and the criminal codes, and with the rules of procedure. He will also be able to decide a criminal or a revenue case, and write his judgment thereon. The second or higher standard, which is to confer eligibility to the full judicial powers of a magistrate and a collector, is similar to the one described, but greatly more difficult in degree. Assistants have to pass in both Bengali and Urdu: the papers are more difficult: the dictation and conversation are to be fluent, correct, and idiomatic: the questions on law and practice are selected from the whole field of the duties in both departments. The facts elicited by the above system, which has for some time been in full and active working in the Lower Provinces, are first, that such examinations were really needed, and, secondly, that they have answered remarkably well. Something of this kind was wanted to take up the college course where it terminated, and to add to book-learning the power of talking fluently with *bunneahs* and ryots. To the really industrious, such an ordeal will not perhaps convey any great additional stimulus. There have always been some men, who without injunction from any one, will sit down on first joining a Mofussil station, to the study of the regulations, and will mix familiarly with the people till they can hold converse with them on all ordinary topics. But even to such men a little pressure from without is advantageous, while the effect on the idle, the undisciplined, and the improvident, is not easily calculated. It was, of course, at first asserted that the rules would never work well: that old assistants could not pass them: that the Bengal Government had flown at once from the extreme of laxity to the extreme of harshness: that examiners would favour: that men of active habits, sound judgment, and mild temper, would find these valuable qualities sacrificed at the shrine of philology. All these, and dozens of other objections, have proved nugatory. Philological niceties are not discussed by the divisional or central committees: the older assistants, whom the new system took somewhat at a disadvantage, as they were in charge of offices which left them little time for study, have all taken the test, and the men of less standing who, from the first, have prepared themselves for this special end, have obtained very great and signal success. No unprejudiced person, who will consult the list published in the *Gazette*, can have any doubt that the scheme was wanted, and that it has fully answered its end. Under the orders of the Court of Directors the same system is now being introduced into every Presidency of the

Empire, including the Punjab, with such modifications as local peculiarities may require. Into the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, the examinations can obviously be introduced with the utmost facility. Urdu in the one case, with perhaps an examination in Nagri running-hand, and Urdu and Punjabi, or perhaps Persian, in the other, will be the languages by which an assistant's knowledge will be tested. In revenue and criminal law the test will be mainly the same. At Bombay there may be some little difficulty, owing to the prevalence of Guzerati to the north, and of Mahratti to the south of that Presidency; and Madras labours under a plurality of tongues, Telingi, Tamil, Canarese, and Malayalim, besides the ubiquitous Urdu; but there is nothing in either locality which determination and ingenuity cannot overcome. We shall expect soon to hear that examinations are held with signal success at Lahore and at Poona, in the Northern Circars, and in the Rohilcund division. The merit of this system belongs entirely to the Government of Bengal; and amongst the servants of that Government, to Mr. Ricketts, who is not the man to let a good measure go to sleep, to Mr. Mytton, who had observed that some collectors would persist in employing young and unlearned assistants in duties, the best calculated to excite disgust and aversion, and to the gentleman on whose shoulder rested the whole weight of the Lower Provinces, Mr. John Peter Grant. It is not easy to estimate the invidious responsibility of such a position as was held by this last-named gentleman, while Lord Dalhousie was absent from Calcutta. During his incumbency, several long, intricate, and perplexing cases, involving the personal character of officers high in the service, and ending in their removal, were taken up and most carefully investigated, and in *every single instance, without one exception*, the orders of the Bengal Government met with the entire support of the Home authorities. It is rather a wonder that, without a separate and unencumbered Lieutenant-Governor, so much has been done in Bengal, than that more should not have been attempted. The manner of doing the work may, in part, be appreciated by a perusal of such papers as official form and secrecy have permitted to see the light. It has often been a subject of regret to us that there is no way of making important papers known, except through the somewhat laborious process of publishing them in "a selection." But to such as emanated from the Bengal Office, during Mr. Grant's incumbency, and under his signature, we shall not hesitate to apply the description given by the most judicious and grave of English historians, of the style of one of the most eloquent and sound of our divines, that there was

"no vulgarity in that racy idiom, and no pedantry in that learned phrase," and we have reason to know that Mr. Grant's official career is acknowledged by competent judges to have exhibited better things than mere style, however weighty and precise, such as inflexible impartiality, high sense of honour, undaunted love of justice, and unwearied search for truth.

The Government of Bengal, since February 1852, just two years ago, has again been administered by Lord Dalhousie himself, aided by Mr Cecil Beadon, a gentleman whose merits have deservedly gained him a high and important position at a comparatively early period of service. The principal measures by which these two years have been distinguished are, an important alteration in the law relating to the sale of estates for arrears of revenue, promulgation of a new set of rules for the grant of waste lands in the Sunderbunds, which may, it is hoped, have the effect of inducing capitalists to lay out money in clearance and cultivation, the giving effect to the Mitford bequest to the city of Dacca, in accordance with the decree of the Court of Chancery : and the extension of English education by the establishment of a new college at Moorshedabad, and an English school at the principal station of every district where the inhabitants may be ready for such a course of instruction. Lord Dalhousie himself has also visited Arracan and Chittagong, and has sent grave Sudder judges and members of the Board of Revenue to report on unknown and unexplored districts, and to suggest measures for their improvement. The only drawback to the benefit derivable from these tours appears to be that the deputation of two judges of the highest Court of Appeal tends to disorganize the machinery of justice. It is not always easy to supply the vacant places on the bench ; nor, if judges are to have roving commissions over huge provinces, do we exactly see of what use is the office of Commissioner of Division. But when we have a regular Lieutenant-Governor, we shall expect that for him the steamer will be ready, the tent spread, or the dawk laid, and that a beneficial personal intercourse will be maintained between the chief, his subordinates, and the influential landholders, many of whom have never seen a live Governor. We believe that no Governor-General has ever worked harder than Lord Dalhousie, and that no man is more sensible of the paramount necessity of entrusting the Government of Bengal to the undivided time and the entire energies of the ablest civilian that can be found for the post. All considerations of reduced patronage and diminished weight and influence, even if correctly stated, ought to give way to the public interests. A Governor-General comes out

here to superintend and direct the affairs of each Presidency, to master all the political and external relations of India, to set the financial system on a secure basis, and to see that the legislative, social, and commercial policy of the Empire be directed by adequate means, and on approved principles, towards one and the same end. It is not his business, overwhelmed as he is with references on every point, from the building of a barrack at Peshawar, to the repairs of a gun-boat at Rangoon, to grapple with the intricacies of land-tenures, to promote vernacular education, to infuse spirit into the police of Bengal, to enquire by whom village-watchmen shall be nominated and paid. Let the Governor-General but choose a man in whom he can place implicit reliance, whose talents and character will command the respect of the services, and of the native and European population—and we will answer for it that no measure will be undertaken and carried out, in which the head of the Empire shall not be furnished with ample previous information. We have good reason to believe that the creation of a Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal is due much more to the candour and foresight of the present Governor-General than to the lugubrious declamation of Anglo Saxon and Hindu reformers, who made a great stir about evils which no Act of Parliament could remedy, and said very little about the one measure which it was in the power of the Houses to pass. If report is to be believed, Lord Dalhousie will make over the kingdom of Bengal to Mr. Halliday: an act which the services and the community will think fully justified by that gentleman's long experience, intimate knowledge of the country, renewed energies, acknowledged service, and honourable name.

The years 1850 and 1851 were not, as we have already remarked, fruitful in great political changes. Lord Dalhousie was occupying himself with the consolidation of the new province; and the commissions which he had organized were busy at their work. But the year 1852 saw a new comet on the horizon: we allude, of course, to the second Burmese war. The causes and origin of this war are widely known. The Governor of Rangoon had "beaten a Venetian and traduced the State." In other words, he had tried the Captain of one vessel for a charge over which he had no jurisdiction, and had ill-treated another on charges which were denied. But we have no intention of devoting any part of this article to the origin, progress, and termination of the Burmese war. Its origin has been fully discussed already in our pages, and its consequences as yet are hardly appreciated. Its financial results are

uncertain, the capabilities of the valley of the Irrawaddy are matter for speculation. The organization of the executive system can hardly be termed complete. The development of the resources, the tranquilization of the country, have not attained that maturity which would warrant us in treating the subject in an historical light, as we have ventured to treat the Punjab. The very origin of the war is still occasionally disputed in the Senate at Home. We, therefore, purpose to leave the whole affair, from the sailing of Commodore Lambert to the return of General Godwin, and the late visit of the Governor-General, the conduct of Wyoons, Woondooks, and Thyogyees, the achievements of Sir John Cheape, the storming of stockades and pagodas, the marches over swamps and through jungles, and all the other desultory operations, the loss of boats and steamers, the privations of men and officers, the temper of the inhabitants, the tone of the press, to some future writer. For our own part, we can only lament, like the Baron of Bradwardine at Gladsmuir, that the country and the armament were not calculated to display the true points of the *prælium equestre*, and we are strangely tempted at times, to apply to the war, from its commencement to its termination, a well-known quotation from a well-known play of the inimitable Molière :—*mais que*, &c., &c., &c., &c.

We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the other political events of the years 1852 and 1853. At the commencement of the latter year occurred the deposition of Mir Ali Morad, the Rais or ruler of Upper Scinde. It had been proved, on a lengthy and careful enquiry, that this prince, by the dexterous subtraction of one leaf of a Koran, and the substitution of another, had gained possession of certain districts to which he had no right or title. The trick played on the British Government consisted in the insertion in the new leaf of those *districts* of identical names with certain *villages*, which latter were rightly the appendages of the Turban or symbol of authority. His Highness had therefore got possession of extensive tracts, when he was only entitled to a few clusters of houses. It will be in the remembrance of some of our readers, that just before the conquest of Scinde, Ali Morad, by some means, persuaded his brother Mir Rustum to abdicate in his favour, while he himself remained faithful to the British Power during that brief but eventful war. He was accordingly maintained in the undisturbed possession of the chiefship, and was formally acknowledged as Rais of Upper Scinde. When it was discovered, through information given by his servants, that he enjoyed the revenues of the tracts which did not go with the Turban, to use the phrase current in the province, he was of

course called on to give them up. Opposition was useless, and the Mir saw this at once. A brigade was held in readiness to coerce him and his adherents, but the lands were given up to the British Commissioner, without the smallest resistance. The mercenaries of the Rais were paid off and discharged: his most pressing necessities were relieved, and he was left in possession of the tracts devised to him by the will of his father, that is to say, of the younger brother's appanage. In an European kingdom, or even in some of the more fertile provinces of India, the land left to the Mir would have been considered a very pretty provision, especially to one of a dynasty that had neither long descent, nor meritorious exercise of power to recommend it. But no part of Scinde, with the exception of land easily irrigated, can be termed remarkably fertile, and the character of Mir Ali's rule is not likely to develope whatever natural resources there may be. For a considerable portion of the year 1850, Major Le Grand Jacob and Capt. Stewart were occupied in the demarcation of Ali Morad's patrimony, and towards the close of last year, their report, transmitted by the Bombay Government with suitable recommendations, was duly received and considered by the Governor-General in Council. The terms conceded to the Mir were liberal. Old scores were cleared off summarily, and a doubtful claim he had against Government was allowed him as a set-off against our good claims for mesne profits on account of districts held by him without title. He was allowed to retain, not only what his father, but that which his uncle would have given him: he was even permitted to keep what it was *intended* by his father that he should have had; lands lying along a canal which had been dug, but never finished, in Mir Sohrab's lifetime, and along a stream called the Narra, which passes through a part of the patrimony, and which has been improved by the British Government, were left without stipulation in his possession, and if ever there was a doubt about the precise line of demarcation, the most liberal concessions were made in the Mir's favour. We regret to say that Mir Ali Morad is not likely to benefit by the lesson he has received, or to employ himself in the improvement of his patrimonial estate. Like *grandeess* elsewhere, who have had a fall, he would fain keep up his ancient dignity on a diminished income. Fruitful tracts converted into hunting grounds: days and weeks devoted to sport—a whole population turning out to beat the jungles, and debarred from the timely cultivation of their fields—these are the main features of his paternal rule: and that the career of the late Rais will be rapidly downward, there can be little doubt.

In the same year (1852) the tract in Central India, known as the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, was transferred from the hands of the Supreme Government to that of the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra. This fine province had been placed under the Governor-General in Council in 1842, by Lord Ellenborough, owing to the spread of disaffection there, which was said to require the constant attention of the highest power in India. But it was clear that the reasons by which Lord Ellenborough had been actuated, were of no weight ten years afterwards. The province, under the successive management of Colonel Sleeman and Mr. Bushby, was improving. There were no symptoms of discontent amongst its cultivators or its petty chiefs. The Government of India had other things to do than to administer directly the affairs of this province. The Lieut.-Governor of Agra, from position, experience, and habit, seemed the proper person to introduce into the territories in question sundry improvements of which it stood much in need. The transfer got rid of the anomaly presented by a Commissioner or Agent, who was directly subordinate in political matters to the Governor-General, and not to the Lieut.-Governor, and who was yet, in revenue matters, placed under the Lieut.-Governor's subordinates, the members of the Sudder Board. The tract in question was to have been visited by Mr. Thomason during last cold weather, and though death interrupted this and other plans, we have no doubt but that the Jubbulpore school of thugs, the condition of the province, the necessity for a regular settlement, the denial of an appeal in civil suits from the judge to the Agra Sudder, while the same privilege is not denied to criminals, with other matters touching the welfare of the inhabitants, will be subjects of anxious consideration to Mr. Colvin next year.

In the commencement of 1853, an event took place on our North-Western frontier, which, but for the sagacity of the head of the Government, might have been productive of most serious results. We are induced to dwell particularly on this, because it is the fate of administrators to get very little credit for things which they have *not* done. The wars which they prevented, the mistakes into which they did *not* fall, the first false move which they did *not* make, are hardly dwelt upon by contemporaries, and may escape the research of even the most laborious of subsequent annalists. The events to which we allude, took place within the independent native state of Bahawalpore. The late Nawab had been the ally of Major Edwardes in the operations against the Dewan Moolraj, had been thanked for his services by the Supreme Government, and had exchanged visits with the

Governor-General. He died and left his throne to a younger son. The elder brother of this prince, rejected by his father, was kept in close confinement, and fed on the bread and water of affliction. The British Government would not *interfere* to procure his release, and would do nothing, but simply recommend the reigning prince to treat his captive with generosity. This advice was not followed, and in the beginning of last year, the prisoner, aided by some Daoudputras, effected his escape, erected his standard, assembled a considerable body of adherents, and, after a very short struggle, made himself master of his brother's person and of his father's throne. In a brief space the pretender had vindicated his rights: the captive had exchanged a prison for a camp: the friendless and the disinherited one saw a nation stretching forth a sceptre for his acceptance, and a brother suing on the Koran for life. Before this scene in the drama, the opinion of the highest local authorities had been that the British Government should interfere to support the reigning prince, to prevent disturbances on the frontier, and to put down rebellion in the palace. Brigades should be moved from Mooltan, the authority of the British Government should be manifested, and its determination to uphold legitimate power against upstart pretensions should be proclaimed to every native court in India. Without any knowledge of the rapid changes passing on the spot, with nothing to guide him to a decision beyond the bare fact of the escape of the prince, and his reception by a party of the Daoudputras, Lord Dalhousie at once wisely determined *to do nothing*. Against the advice of men on the spot, whose judgment, often tried, had been found correct, with the certainty that a heavy responsibility must rest on the head of a man who attempts to pull the strings from a distance, he at once proclaimed his conviction that the issue of the struggle would not long be left in doubt. Either the reigning Nawab, if he possessed the affection of his subjects and the confidence of his ministers, would make short work of his brother's attempt, or the fugitive, if called to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people, would soon be *de facto* and *de jure* king. The British power should not force an incapable or unpopular sovereign on a reluctant people, nor lend its bayonets to the support of a puppet. The doctrine of non-interference was well and boldly avowed. There was no objection whatever on the part of the Paramount Power to uphold the younger son in preference to the elder. If the Nawab had deprived the latter of his birthright, it was because he had thought him ill-qualified for sovereignty. If the nation thought

differently, after due experience, this was a matter with which the Government of India had no concern. Whichever prince could count on the support of the army and the good will of the people, would be acknowledged by the power which annexes kingdoms, pensions outcasts, and recognises just claims to the "umbrella" or the "cushion"—all the above was foreshadowed by the Governor-General with accurate knowledge of the position of affairs, and every mail that arrived from the North-West served to prove the correctness and the sagacity of his views. The only interference exercised by the Chief Commissioner, was in the shape of a recommendation to the successful adventurer to treat his brotherleniently, and not, in the first flush of victory, to prepare for him the axe, the string, the hot iron, or the bowl! It is a gratifying tribute to the influence of the British rule to know that, although rumours were rife about a treatment in store for the ex-Nawab, like that which Hubert had not the heart to inflict on Prince Arthur, not a hair of his head was touched. The prisoner ascended the throne and the ex-ruler became his brother's pensioner, residing in the British dominions. Not a shot was fired, not a soldier stirred from his post. Had Lord Dalhousie, acting against the advice of the Chief Commissioner, gone wide of the mark, had there been disturbances on the frontier, and had a rebellion in Bahawalpore proved a nucleus for the disaffected in the Punjab, there would have been no end to abuse of the Government of which he is the head and chief. But in what, if unsuccessful, would have been designated as rashness or obstinacy, in the same measure when successful, we see the clearest foresight, the soundest judgment, the most undoubted statesmanship. To divine coming events, when they do *not* cast a shadow, to tell officers on the spot that they are so near to the subjects of which they are writing as to be dazzled by the glare or stunned by the noise, to point to them, like a good pilot, the true course which the ship should take—this is, surely, the highest political talent, and the grandest capacity for directing the complicated affairs of kingdoms. It is not the less worthy of praise that such measures leave no trace. We never can tell, in India, what one false step may not bring forth. The move of a regiment, or of a troop of artillery, the deputation of a single officer, the transmission of a mere piece of paper, may involve consequences, the end of which several generations shall not see.

As the year wore on, the affairs of the Nizam began to demand the serious attention of the British Government. The dominions of this sovereign, though certainly not well governed, presented no material for charges such as are justly brought

against the king of Oude. The Nizam's army, as it is termed, was never ordered out to support the misrule of a wicked minister, to curb the spirit of an oppressed population, to exact the taxes imposed by a vindictive tyrant. The main evil of the Hyderabad state was, that it was bearded by fanatic Arabs, by adventurous Rohillas, by independent Chiefs, who collected a band of unruly followers, shut themselves up in some mud-fort, and levied cesses on every passer-by. The services of the contingent were constantly put in requisition to chastise or coerce some adventurer of this kind who had defied the king. The proceedings on such occasions were generally as follows :—The Prime Minister would inform the Resident that in some particular district, the authority of the Nizam was entirely set at nought : that cattle were driven off by thousands, and *bunneas* imprisoned by scores : that women and children were being helplessly plundered, and that the very communication by post was in danger of being cut off. The Resident, having satisfied himself that the crisis had not been produced by the oppression or the misgovernment of the Nizam himself, and that the case was one to warrant British interference, would immediately order Brigadier Mayne to take a proper complement of cavalry and infantry, with guns, and proceed to reduce the rebels. Brigadier Mayne, with the spirit of the "illustrious garrison" still strong in him, immediately makes his arrangements with all speed and secrecy, starts at noon one day, marches the whole of the night, and in the grey of the morning, finds himself before the fort. A summons to surrender to the representative of the British Power produces nothing but a valiant defiance, and an intimation that the garrison will die in defence of their position. The Brigadier invests the fortifications, orders up a gun, fires a shot, which is responded to from the fort, and then proceeds to more active operations. After a slight cannonade, the gates are opened, the brave army are seen escaping at the back of the citadel, and over rugged ground, and the British Commander, with no loss whatever, is in possession of the place. Many of the garrison get clear off : some are captured and sent for trial before the moonsiff, who in Hyderabad is a criminal as well as a civil judge, a host of captives are released, and have their property restored to them, the fort is dismantled, and the troops return to cantonments. We have known repeated examples of the above occur in the course of six months. The Nizam was not, however, always free from blame. It was a common practice with him to farm out a particular district to two people at the same time, taking a sum in advance, or a *bonus* from both parties.

ties, and leaving them to fight for the collection of the revenues. The army was in arrears: the sum stipulated on account of the contingent was never punctually paid. The State was in debt to wealthy sahoocars. The administration of justice was venal or imperfect. The sums levied on goods in transit were in excess of what was permitted by the commercial treaty. But the most objectionable feature in the Hyderabad Government, was the dilatoriness with which the men and officers of the contingent were paid. Nothing could be more harassing to the British Resident than to assume the attitude of an importunate creditor, and to have to dun the Minister every week. Nothing could be more humiliating and undignified than the subterfuges and the excuses, the shifts and the shams, to which the Nizam was put. At the same time, that potentate steadily refused to permit the contingent to be reduced by a company. It was his safeguard against rebellion: the pillar of his State, the mainstay of his government. At length the arrears of pay, which amounted to about fifty lakhs of rupees, added to the growing inability of the Nizam to supply the current expenses of the force, appeared to call for decided measures. Promises of financial reform, assurances of a replenished treasury, and a sound credit, had been made and broken, been given and retracted for the hundredth time. The only measure that could satisfy both parties, was an entirely new arrangement. This had been threatened in 1851. Its fulfilment, was reserved for the year 1853. The departure of the Resident, General Fraser, for England, enabled Lord Dalhousie to appoint to this important situation, Col. John Low, C.B., of the Madras army, an officer who had served under Sir J. Malcolm, had been at Lucknow, and at Hyderabad, had great knowledge of native courts, had done excellent service everywhere, and was possessed of remarkable self-command, peculiar suavity of temper, admirable firmness, and excellent judgment. Col. Low quitted Rajpootana, where he had been performing the duties of Agent for those States for the last four years, came to Calcutta, and went to Hyderabad in full possession of the views of the Governor-General. He was instructed to endeavour to prevail on the Nizam to follow the example of Scindia, and to make over, if not in perpetuity, at least for an indefinite time, certain districts adequate to the payment of the forces. It may easily be conceived that the Nizam was reluctant to acquiesce in this proposal. It proved as hard to persuade him that such a step was for his benefit, as it was for Margaret of Anjou, in Anne of Geierstein, to cajole the poor old king Renè to abdicate his rights. Of course the

Nizam's kingly ire blazed forth at the proposal—he would reform his exchequer—he would not cut off his right hand—he was still a Sovereign Prince—he would endure anything, rather than this unmerited degradation. His pride could not submit to this fall. It is not easy to conceive, or to describe, the immense amount of tact, diplomacy, and forbearance which the Resident displayed during this trying negotiation. If great results have ever been due to personal exertions, if an important object has ever been secured by the address and firmness of a single person, this is the occasion, and Colonel Low is the man. The Nizam yielded to an officer whose temper was never ruffled, whom argument and the loud tones of the Nizam never betrayed into one single unguarded expression, who was firm without obstinacy, who reconciled diplomacy and candour, and joined perseverance to tact. A new treaty was drawn up, signed, and sealed. It appeared that the force known as the contingent, was not mentioned in the old treaties concluded at the commencement of this century, and has never been formally recognised. The contingent had sprung up in 1816, when Sir H. Russell was Resident, and had gradually increased to an unwieldy size. It was, in fact, an addition to the force known as the "subsidiary force," furnished by the Company for the general defence and protection of His Highness, which consisted of eight battalions of sepoys, two regiments of cavalry, and a proper complement of artillery. The contingent, in addition to the above, numbered about eight thousand men, with an undue proportion of officers, some of whom were the servants of the Company, while others had only local rank. The whole sum due from the Nizam annually, on account of the above forces, was forty lakhs of rupees. The provisions of the new treaty were then as follows:—The subsidiary force was still maintained. It was still to execute important services for His Highness, to protect his person, to reduce rebels to obedience, but it was not to be employed in the collection of revenue. The Nizam's army or contingent was replaced by the Hyderabad contingent, to consist of six regiments or 5,000 infantry, four corps or 2,000 cavalry, and four field batteries, commanded by British officers, and under the Resident's control. The contingent, like the subsidiary force, will be at the disposal of the Nizam for emergent service. The subsidiary force may be employed in adjacent kingdoms, on the part of the Government of India, should occasion require it, or in time of war. To pay the above forces, and to satisfy other claims, districts yielding a gross revenue of fifty

lakhs of rupees have been made over to our management. They consist of the districts to the north of Hyderabad, known as the Berar Valley, comprising Amraouti, the great cotton mart: the western districts adjoining the principalities of Sholapore, and the Raichour Doab between the Toongabudra and the Kistnah. The revenues of these tracts will go, first, to provide the regular monthly pay of the contingent; next, to the payment of the old Mahratta claim, known as Appah Desaye's *chout*, and of certain other allowances; and lastly, to the clearance, with interest at six per cent., of the arrears due by the Nizam, which amount to fifty lakhs of rupees, or to about one year's gross revenue of the ceded territory. These districts are now administered by British officers, some of them officers of the contingent; they took possession of their charges without meeting any opposition. All last cold weather they have been engaged in surveying the condition of the inhabitants, the capabilities of the soil, and the varieties of the produce, and when we have a railroad running up the Great Berar Valley, we may hope that the darling wish of Manchester will be at length gratified. The opportunity of reducing the expenses of the contingent was not thrown away. There had been five Brigadiers. There are now only two. It was at first thought that the one might have commanded the cavalry, and the other the infantry. But to avoid the obvious inconvenience of a divided authority, where infantry and cavalry are stationed together, it was subsequently deemed advisable to make two divisions of the whole. The most inefficient of the officers attached to the corps, many of whom had mere local rank, were pensioned. The best, as we have said, were placed in charge of some of the ceded districts. The staff was reduced. The old rate of pay was continued to all incumbents, a new rate was fixed for new men entering the service. The effect of these changes is a present saving of six lakhs of rupees, and an eventual reduction of nearly ten. The contingent, under such officers as Major William Mayne and Captain Colin Mackenzie, will be more efficient at less cost; a great cotton mart will be opened to British enterprise; a populous and productive country will be rescued from misrule; the Nizam will, in reality, be more independent, and be saved from all the anxieties of a debtor's existence; and be "every inch a king." The British Government will assume the bearing not of a troublesome creditor or a persecuting bailiff, but of a true ally, of a real protector, of a firm friend. This is another of the triumphs which place

Lord Dalhousie and Colonel Low in the same rank with the Wellesleys and the Clives of our early days.*

We come now to a subject which is of as much importance as either siege, conquest, treaty, or material improvements, but which is not so intimately associated with the idea of the Governor-General as others—that of legislation. We have preferred grouping all the improvements in our laws under one head and in two or three pages, to noticing them in detail according to the years in which they were passed. The influence of the Governor-General over the course of law-making is not always practical or direct. His time is too much occupied with administrative or executive measures—with the organization of irregular regiments, the commencement of great public works, the reports of Commissions, and the suggestions of Boards. The legislative department, moreover, is presided over, we may say, by an English lawyer, carefully selected and highly paid, whose especial business it is to peruse reports, to compare opinions, and to hammer out drafts of laws. In every department of the public service there are officers admirably qualified to explain what is wanting for the security of the public revenues, for the preservation of peace, for the punishment of crime. It is all we can expect if the Governor-General finds time to make himself acquainted with the general scope and tendency of every particular Act. He is not to cut and carve its several clauses, or to satisfy himself that it will be proof against the ingenuity of the English bar. Indeed, we think that the connection between the Governor-General and the legislative department might be made even more slender than it now

* We have inadvertently omitted, though we have not forgotten, the Electric Telegraph. The origin of this work, we all know, lies with Dr. W. B. O'Shaughnessy, who, though he had never seen an Electric Telegraph in operation in his life, laid down a line from Calcutta to Kedgerie, which has been working for the last two years, invented a new alphabet, drilled a corps of Telegraphers, and triumphed over every difficulty of climate or locality. Lord Dalhousie at once perceived the immense political and social advantages of such a measure; handsomely rewarded its author; sent him to England to make arrangements for the erection of lines connecting all the important towns in the Empire, and has now the satisfaction of knowing that the wires are already "up" along hundreds of miles of road. It may be said of the author of this project as was said of Franklin—

"Eripuit fulmen cœlo, sceptrumque tyranni,"—
 that is, from native states, internal and external, of whose political movements the Telegraph will give us instantaneous notice, enabling us to curb disaffection everywhere at once. But we have not time or space for a detailed account of this great measure, nor for an examination of Lord Dalhousie's Grand Railway scheme, either of which, when fully carried out, would signalize the administration of any Proconsul. For the same reason, we are compelled to omit many other subjects—the annexation of Sattara, the confiscation of Usghool, the recognition of the independence of the Rajpoot State of Kerowlee. No man, in fact, can ever complain that Dalhousie has given us nothing to write about, and even with regard to Burma, we may hope that ere his departure, he may see *cuncta terrarum subacta*.

is, and that it would be quite sufficient, were he simply to give his assent to a proposed enactment, if consistent with the general policy of the Government, and with the spirit of the age. He ought to be spared the drudgery of comparing antagonistic theories, analysing doubts, and noting on sections. But, whatever be the precise amount of influence exercised by the Governor-General, a review of the most important legislative enactments passed within the last six years may fitly find entrance in such a paper as this. Everyone who ever looks into the *Gazette* must be well aware of the local and departmental character of many of our laws. Occasionally there will be seen drafts which can have no possible interest for any one except the inhabitants of a particular district, the traders in some one kind of produce, the officials entrusted with the charge of some special branch of the revenue. Our remarks then will apply to such acts as bear a catholic character. For the first three months of Lord Dalhousie's administration, the laws were forged by Mr. C. H. Cameron; for rather more than three years by the late Mr. Bethune, for six months by the late Advocate-General, now Sir Charles Jackson, and from the commencement of 1852 to the present time by Mr. Peacock. We shall advert to the laws of any general interest in each successive year. In the year 1848 was passed an Act, which has been usually coupled with Mr. Dampier's name, and which enables a magistrate to take penal recognizances from British subjects, not convicted of any specific offence, whenever he may have good reason to apprehend any breach of the peace. In default of such recognizances, parties may be committed to the civil jail. The object of this very proper enactment was, to enable men charged with the preservation of life, property, and the public peace, in a large district, to prevent those disgraceful outrages, by which, in Lower Bengal especially, men have long insulted the civil power. Of course there was the usual amount of clamour raised against the Act by Europeans, who hate subjection of all kinds, and who only begin to discover the inefficiency of the courts, when those courts are likely to check their turbulence and insubordination. But the working of the law has proved its own vindication. There is an appeal from decisions passed under this Act. No man has been unjustly confined under its operation. British subjects have been more circumspect and amenable to reason. Affrays have been more rare. No sensible man now makes this law his grievance. Act VI of this year equalized the duties on goods imported to, and exported from, India, on British and foreign bottoms, and abolished the duties on goods carried from one Indian port to

another, with exception to ports in the Straits, the Arracan, and the Tenasserim Provinces. By this law the whole of India has been made one port. Another law of this year reminds us that the small State of Mandree, in the Presidency of Bombay, had become an integral part of the British Empire. By successive enactments, the criminal courts were enabled to punish wandering gangs of thieves and robbers by imprisonment for seven years, without a Futwah from the law officer : the jurisdiction of the Court of Small Causes was clearly defined : the period of time within which suits might be brought to contest the award of the revenue authorities in the Bengal Presidency was limited, prospectively, to three years : the duty on salt entering the North-West Provinces from other provinces of this Presidency was repealed : and finally, the officers in charge of the revenue survey were empowered to compel the attendance of proprietors or farmers, with their accounts and documents, and to punish recusancy by fine. With the exception of an Act for improving the discipline of the Indian Navy, no other remarkable law was passed in this year. And, in all the above laws besides the "Dampier Act," those for the equalization of customs, for the abolition of salt duties on Bengal salt, and for strengthening the hands of the revenue surveyors, are the most important. It is an object to let the salt manufactured by the Bengal Government travel up the country without any additional impost ; and the only duty levied at Allahabad is that on salt from Rajpootana, when it attempts to pass into Behar. As regards the survey, nothing could be done until Act XX. was passed. Zemindars and their agents stoutly refused to give the slightest assistance to one of the most useful and beneficial measures which the Government had ever devised, and from which it could derive no direct pecuniary advantage whatever. Public spirit is not often manifested in Bengal in the furtherance of public objects.

The next year commenced with a very useful enactment for the trial of offences committed by British subjects in foreign States. This law gives us one uniform course of procedure in place of the diversity that had prevailed in the three Presidencies. It makes all subjects of the British Government, and all persons in the civil and military service of that Government, and for six months after leaving service, amenable to any Company's court for felony, murder, and other aggravated offences committed by them in the territories of a foreign or independent Prince. A British subject committing a robbery in Oude may, under this law, be tried by a judge in the North-West Provinces, or by a commissioner or other civil

officer, presiding over any competent court in the foreign territory. This Act has worked well hitherto. Although the number of Acts passed in this year was not great, yet several of them are not unimportant in character. We then saw laws passed, which, severally, abolished the useless practice of branding and exposing convicts, protected the unfortunate shareholders of the Union Bank, provided for the safe custody of lunatics, and appointed an Administrator-General for the care of intestate estates. We saw other Acts, which placed the excise system of Calcutta on a better footing, which checked smuggling of salt, and obviated a deficiency which was felt by the Government in dealing with mutiny and sedition in the Company's naval and military forces. This ends the catalogue of enactments for the year.

The year 1850 was prolific of enactments of various kinds. We made Aden a free port ; we liberated the coasting trade of India ; we saw courts established for the recovery of small debts in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, which deprive the law of its delay, the Supreme Court of a deal of business, and the honest tradesman of the metropolis of a great deal of annoyance. No more popular or efficient institution has been as yet established as far as Calcutta is concerned. Without entailing great expense, without involving suitors in the mazes of the law, without accumulating records, it enables creditors to realize with cheapness and facility a host of minor dues. It is presided over by judges of ability, who possess the entire confidence of the community. Its business has been greatly on the increase. The cry is waxing loud for the establishment of such courts in the 24-Pergunnahs, and in the populous cities of Dacca, Patna, Moorshehabad, and others. If there is any complaint about the court, it is that its jurisdiction is limited to suits of 500 rupees in amount. It was one of the cherished projects of Mr. C. H. Cameron. Had that enlightened gentleman remained in India, he would have acknowledged that the success of the scheme has more than equalled his expectations. As the year rolled on, it was found necessary to amend the law with regard to the punishment of breaches of trust and misapplication of public moneys. The criminal courts of the Company were empowered to add fines to punishments inflicted on persons convicted of robbery and other offences against property, to levy such fines by distress, and to distribute the proceeds for the benefit of the injured party. Judges and magistrates were very properly protected against suits brought for acts done in the discharge of their duties, though without jurisdiction, provided they were done in good faith ; and the virulence of rich and

disappointed individuals was to a certain extent baffled. A law regarding apprentices was promulgated. Any law or usage inflicting forfeiture of rights, property, or inheritance, by reason of loss of caste or change of religion, was for ever abolished. This great Act is known as that of liberty of conscience. The outcry against it has not been *very* loud. Of course, some men are bound to contend for the sacred privileges of bigotry, for the luxury of revenge, for the infeasible rights of Hindus to check the freedom of a strong will, the movements of a reasonable conviction, the workings of an enlightened mind. Of course, too, some men would proclaim that the Christian convert shall not have fair play, that Hindu intolerance shall always be respected, that the British power is pledged to support persecution against the dictates of humanity and sound sense. But in a case like this, we are content to take part with Mr. Halliday in preference to Counsellor Leith, with Dr. Duff rather than Sir Erskine Perry, the sentiments of Christian statesmen, husbands, mothers, and wives, against the effusions of an undisguised rancour, and the sallies of a spurious zeal. There is a cant which is even worse than that of the Chadbands and the Stigginses.

We resume our notice of the course of legislation. The land-revenue of the town of Calcutta was at length defined by law. An act for the conservancy of towns, other than Calcutta, was actually passed, in order to give the inhabitants of Bengal an opportunity of proving their supposed capacity for self-government. We believe that this Act has had a very beneficial effect, though not exactly that which its authors intended. It was vainly imagined that the heads of the native population would consort to tax themselves for the lighting of roads, the purifying of drains, the cleaning of tanks, and general purposes of conservancy. With very few exceptions, the Act has not been put in force, and nowhere has it obtained more than a partial success. We believe, too, that in most of the large towns, such as Dacca or Moorshedabad, any attempt of the kind would end in the most complete failure. Let one-half the population be swept away by some tremendous visitation, occurring from the want of the most obvious sanitary precautions, let bridges break down, roads become impassable, and heaps of filth block up the approach to the main bazar, we do not think that the inhabitants would come forward to tax themselves at four annas a head, or divest themselves of the least portion of their hereditary right to the enjoyment of impurities. After all the talk about self-government, and the Anglo-Saxon model, we think that in conservancy there is nothing like the powerful arm of the

executive. Laws were about the same time enacted to encourage merchant seamen, to protect sailors from crimps, and commanders from sailors. Other laws were made to enable the Government to confine State prisoners in Calcutta or anywhere else, so as to get rid of any danger of collision by means of a *habeas corpus* with the Supreme Court: to improve the mode by which public inquiries can be made into accusations brought against public servants, not removable from office without the sanction of the Government: to allow the use of counsel to all persons accused of any offence, in all courts whatsoever, of the East India Company: and to enable lands to be taken for our Railway from Howrah to the collieries. Two Acts wind up the important legislative proceedings of the year. The one is for the registration of joint-stock companies, or partnerships, whose joint-stock is transferable in shares without consent of all the parties; and the other carries out the arrangement, of which we have already made mention, for the consolidation of the old Board of Customs and the Sudder Board of Revenue. Forty-five laws were enacted in this busy year—during which year, be it observed, the Governor-General was not two months at the Presidency; and many of the Acts, as will be seen from the above selection, were highly important in their principles and their bearing on the requirements of the community.

In the next year operations were somewhat delayed, owing to the late Mr. Bethune's long and fatal illness. We saw, however, the boon of deputy magistrates extended to the Presidency of Bombay, *only eight* years after the plan had been tried and found to answer in Bengal; we saw officers of the Salt Department in Bengal empowered to search houses, on information given, that such houses contained more than one *maund* of salt; and we saw Government authorized to levy an elaborate scale of tolls on public roads and bridges, of which no use has been made as yet. With regard to the Lower Provinces, it was jocularly said, but with truth, that the Act would be a dead letter, because no roads had been opened, and no bridges had been built. Gambling in Bombay was put down: the land-revenue of Madras itself was attempted to be secured, but with what success we are unable to state. Various laws for the collection of the excise in the Straits Settlements were consolidated by one comprehensive enactment; and, for the satisfaction of Manchester, endeavours were made to stop the deterioration of cotton at Bombay, by the confiscation of the article, and the fine or imprisonment of the offending party. There were only sixteen laws passed

In this year. The next year, however, swelled our code very considerably. We came in for the benefit of the time and toil given by Mr. Jackson to law-making during the latter part of the preceding year ; the Acts hammered out in that period, making their appearance, spick and span, and in rapid succession, after the commencement of the new year. The Act of Parliament for marriages in India was set agoing : marriage registrars were appointed, official and non-official, and no person can now have the least difficulty in being married according to the forms and rules of his persuasion in any part of India. The cost of a light-house on Pedra Bianca, a rock at the eastern entrance of the Straits of Singapore, to be named after the great hydrographer, Horsburgh, was provided for ; the jaghir of Bethow, in the district of Cawnpore, granted to the ex-Peishwa, was placed under the jurisdiction of the ordinary civil and criminal courts, and we were thus reminded of the enormous amount of yearly pension which an ill-advised arrangement had conceded to this State idler. The unlucky Municipal Act of 1847, for the improvement of Calcutta, was set aside in favour of another, almost as ill-fated in one point of view. An Inam Commission, or court, was appointed for the decision of suits about lands claimed to be held, wholly or partially rent-free, in Candeish, the Deccan, and the Southern Mahratta country. The Presidency of Bombay is swamped by these and similar burdens, and it is hoped that no foolish leniency will be shown in the working of the Act. The municipal commissioners were furnished with another Act, framed for their especial benefit ; and if anything in the shape of varied legislation could improve our sanatory condition, Calcutta ought by this time to have become a model city. The police of the city was next amended : the hands of its magistrates were strengthened, and the provisions for the preservation of public peace and morality, scattered over no less than eleven kinds of rules and ordinances, were lucidly brought within the compass of a single law. Three Acts amended the law of evidence, and the procedure of the Supreme Court. By another, an attempt was made to purify the Mofussil courts, by enabling judges to dismiss fraudulent pleaders, and by exempting pleaders from humiliating fines ; and the excise revenue of the town of Madras was secured by a long and elaborate law. The same Presidency obtained its Act for the acquisition of land required for public purposes. In Bombay, deputy collectors were appointed, and patels or heads of villages in the same Presidency were empowered to try pretty thefts and assaults, and to fine offenders in the sum of five rupees, or imprison them in the

stocks for forty-eight hours. Darogas in Bengal were no longer allowed commission on the value of any stolen or plundered property which they might recover. The law for the prosecution of ministerial officers was amended; the province of Arracan felt the benefit of legislation, in a law which abolished the poll-tax in the towns of Akyab and Kyouk Phyou, and substituted a tax on lands covered by dwelling-houses.

The first remarkable law of the year 1853 is one against which there would have been a tremendous outcry formerly, but which passed without even a muttered growl. It is in reality the first of the Black Acts. It makes British subjects liable to the same duties, and the same punishments as natives, in respect of public charges and duties in the aid of police. This is the introduction of the end of the wedge; and we have no doubt, that in due time, planters and zemindars, native and European, will be placed on a much more equal footing in their respective dealings with the Mofussil courts. The third and twelfth Acts of this year remind us that we have a railway actually in operation in the Presidency of Bombay, and that offences which may endanger the persons of travellers, and frauds which may injure the Railway Company, require to be visited with penalties, while passengers on the other hand must submit to certain rules. The other laws are of no general interest; but as we write, we see the issue of a draft of an Act for railways in this Presidency, which will protect the Company and passengers by the trains from annoyance and loss. We here conclude our notice of the legislative features of Lord Dalhousie's administration. The precise share taken by him, or by individuals in each particular law, it would be impossible to state; but we are quite certain that the working of the legislative system is, in a general way, as creditable to him as other parts of his rule, in which his ascendancy has been more prominently felt.

We have hitherto omitted all direct mention of one of the most distressing events of the past year: we allude, of course, to the death of James Thomason, the honoured ruler of the North-Western Provinces. This event, with the assassination of Colonel Mackeson, threw a gloom over the close of 1853. We have lately had occasion to present in this *Review* a notice of the late Lieut.-Governor's character and distinguished career, and the time is yet hardly come when those who loved his example in life, can talk of him with tongues that do not falter and eyes that do not fill. For his nomination to the Government of Agra, we hold that the country is under a debt to Lord Ellenborough, which may be a set-off to the song of

Somnath and to other eccentricities. The late Lieut-Governor had been nearly ten years in office. He had done much there, though something still remains to be done : he died on the scene of his labours, amidst a people which he had benefited, with some beloved relatives not absent from his dying couch ; and happy is the man, we would say, with all the solemnity that such a subject demands, who crowns a life of such ability by such a Christian death.

The allusion to Mr. Thomason's death naturally leads us to mention his successor, Mr. John Russell Colvin. Of this gentleman we expect great things. His large experience, his acute mind, his great energy, his rapid decision, and his varied information, all seem to justify the choice of Lord Dalhousie. His nomination was celebrated by a public dinner at Calcutta given by men who had nothing whatever to hope at his hands, and was favourably received by the unanimous Service of the North-Western Provinces, as that of a new ruler without prejudice and without partiality. Mr. Colvin may be promoted to a higher post at Madras ; but if he remains where he is, we are quite certain that he is just the man to take up the subjects to which Mr. Thomason did not entirely devote himself, especially the judicial system of the North-West, and to introduce other reforms, for which even the model Government had not found time. The selection of Mr. Colvin, we doubt not, will be remembered as creditable to the nobleman of whose administration we are treating.

Two subjects have contributed to make the past few years of some interest even to Englishmen in England. The first is the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the second is the agitation on the Renewal of the Charter, during six months of 1853. At the time of the great national show, India seemed really to have been brought nearer to England. Without the trouble of the overland route, without reference to a single work on the East, without the perusal even of a Parliamentary Report, the public at home were enabled to contemplate, in one clear and comprehensive glance, the India of the Hindu, the India of the Mohammedan, and the India of the Company. We may remember how, when many of the articles destined for the Crystal Palace had arrived in our metropolis, we got up a minor exhibition on our own account, and owing to the admirable arrangements of the Central Committee, we were enabled, in a morning lounge, to see by what part of her resources India was to be represented in the World's Debate. We had no reason to be ashamed of the exertions of our local committees, or of the liberality of private individuals. We sent

home specimens of all the manufactures which had flourished under successive native dynasties, and of everything to which Anglo-Saxon enterprise had given birth. Accordingly, nothing excited more general attention than the Indian corner. Indeed, there was food there for the reflection of intellects of every calibre ; for those who viewed India as a fit land for the application of a larger capital, a better Government, a more complete agency ; for those who regarded the country as one where younger sons are sent to make their fortunes ; for those who had read of it as a land of untold wealth and inexhaustible romance ; for those who thoughtfully saw, in its connection with England, a series of noble triumphs, linked imperishably with the great Company and the British name. Nothing was wanting in that gorgeous spectacle, which could tell of its past history, or its present resources. Any partition might have been made the subject of a political treatise, of a commercial brochure, of a whole batch of reviews, of a long array of speeches, of a succession of memorials. There were dozens of subjects, the striking characteristics of which have since been skilfully alluded to by Mr. Campbell, or splendidly, but truthfully, drawn by Mr. Kaye. There were the products of the Indian mine and forest ; of the flooded rice-fields of Bengal, the loam of the Doab, the black soil of the Nerbudda valley : the evidence of wealth honourably acquired and securely held by natives in the Benares of the Hindu, or the Delhi of the Mohammedan : the returns of the English capital diffused, without let or hindrance, in spite of all demagogues may say, on the plains of Nuddea, or the banks of the Megna : shawls and canopies, indigo, gums and medicines, destructive weapons, rude implements of husbandry, matchlocks quaintly carved, armour splendidly chased, strange and uncouth instruments of discordant harmony, figures modelled to the life, showing the Rajah in his Durbar, the Anglo-Saxon with his factory in full play, and the official in his cutchery—all this presented a wide field for disquisition and thought. Untravelled Englishmen and Englishwomen, by thousands, looked on the curious distinctions of Hindu caste, and the minute subdivisions of Eastern labour. Some of the best specimens of jewellery were perhaps almost coveted by the representatives of all the beauty and elegance of London. Political economists might look with indifference on dazzling or subtle fabrics, and argue that, if the labour to which they were owing was guided by exquisite skill, it was neither exerted with continuity, nor aided by the power of machinery. Manchester with a contemptuous glance, saw there only the first fruit of

natural resources, of which the Company had failed to take advantage, and the last relics of a native industry which their rule had well nigh crushed. Philosophy pondered : curiosity admired : and pseudo-philanthropy might talk more than its average amount of nonsense. Retired Indians saw once more those familiar objects and names, which revived the recollections of thirty years of service, and told them, in plain language, that the great mass of the population, with their peculiarities, their employments, and their social habits, were still the same. The student of history gazed on arms, fabricated in the arsenals of Jeypore and Kotah, and was reminded of the chivalry and the independence of the Rajpoot. From the arms of the Mahratta horseman and his gay trappings, the thoughts reverted rapidly to Burke's tremendous description of the goading of spears, and the trampling of cavalry, when the Carnatic lay prostrate before the invader ; and occasionally, some careful reader might recall the times, when amidst a galaxy of nobles, and with an empire still unimpaired, Shah Jehan, or Aurungzebe, the Augustus of the East, displayed tapestries as gorgeous, riches more unbounded, and magnificence more regal, to the wondering eyes of two European travellers—Bernier, that lively and entertaining French Doctor, and Tavernier, that "rambling jeweller, who had read nothing but had seen so much and so well."

The recollections of that summer will not soon be effaced, and as the arrangements under which India was worthily represented in England, were carried out by the officers of Lord Dalhousie's Government, acting with other independent gentlemen, the subject may fitly claim some little space in a paper which aims at giving a rapid view of his administration.

It will not soon be forgotten, that during Lord Dalhousie's tenure of office, the Company was summoned to give an account of its stewardship. That a great Government should periodically be called to the bar of public opinion, that its doings should be rigorously scrutinized, that its defects and its merits should be permanently brought to light, is what every lover of quiet constitutional reform desires. But was this the course pursued by the public on the occasion of what may be the last renewal of the Charter? A cry suddenly arose, waxed louder, and ended in a prolonged howl. Without any system of rational investigation, without recourse to the publications which threw light on Indian affairs, the press and the public at home settled down into the belief that the East India Company had done nothing for the people of India, had abandoned their sacred charge, slurred over their duties, and

betrayed their trust. It would take a whole number of this *Review* to expose the fallacies uttered regarding the Indian administration, and to expose to deserved ridicule the quack medicines by which the oriental disease was to be cured.

Scarcely anything was too absurd, or too contradictory, for credence. The Company had done nothing: they had done too much: they should take less money from the land and spend more on it: they should not run into debt: they should begin to educate the natives: they should provide honourable employments for the many natives whom they had educated. Every monstrous theory found a supporter, and we were compelled to listen successively to the wild and dangerous remedies proposed by Mr. Phillimore, to the inept effusions of Mr. Seymour, and to the sincere, but mistaken, reasoning of Mr. Bright. The whole agitation proves clearly the entire unfitness of Parliament to legislate in detail for India, to deal with great Eastern questions, or do anything but give a better form of Indian Government at Home. With these grand and primary features, some clear-minded men at home will always be found competent to deal. An infusion of what is called the English element into Eastern discussions will always be a great gain. But it will be a fatal day for India, when the great sources of her revenue, the welfare of her hundred millions, and the authority of her Governors, are to be made the sport of men, who either aim at a cheap popularity, or are bound to satisfy a pledge. The crowning proof of the danger to India, from direct parliamentary meddling, is to be found in the attempted abolition of the salt monopoly. A revenue of a million, voted away by Sir John Mittemus, to gratify his constituents at Dratwills, without one thought as to how the deficiency is to be made good. A few more mistakes of this sort, and we shall, indeed, in the cant phrase of the day, have taught India the art of self-government. Meanwhile, the new arrangements for India are so far connected with Lord Dalhousie, that it is to him we shall mainly owe the boon of a separate Lieut.-Governor for Bengal. This, one of the real wants of India, or at least of that part of it where agitators can shout the loudest, instead of being prominently put forward in the memorials of Associations and Committees, was inserted at the tail of a whole string of fancied wants, or nearly buried under a mountain of imaginary grievances. It might have passed unnoticed, or have been honoured with the merited contempt assigned to so many other representations. It is known, however, as we have remarked, that the Governor-General brought to the notice of leading men at home the paramount

necessity that existed for making Bengal Proper a separate executive charge. A recommendation, coming from his clear and practised judgment, and expressed in his lucid convincing language, derived additional force from the fact, that if ever we had a Governor-General competent to the double task of presiding in the Supreme Council, and wielding the executive power of the Government in the Lower Provinces, Lord Dalhousie was the man. But the best horse may be over-tasked, and every one is now fully persuaded that the best security for reform and progress in Bengal is to entrust it to the ablest civilian that can be found.

We cannot here pass over one measure, which, although not, during the life-time of its originator, connected with the Governor-General, has yet illustrated his administration. We allude to the attempt made to educate Hindu ladies of rank and position, by the late Mr. Drinkwater Bethune. Whether this gentleman's plan was characterized by sound judgment in all its minute details, may be questioned; but no one can deny that it was commenced with great earnestness, aided by princely liberality, and prosecuted with unwearied zeal. The debased condition of the Hindu female, it is allowed, had previously attracted the attention of other philanthropists. Missionaries have never lost sight of the object. There is a Society, established by the ladies of Calcutta, with corresponding members in the Mofussil, which pursues this one aim alone. Mrs. Wilson—a name which should be as widely known in India as that of Mrs. Fry in England—had been the first in the good work, nor did she lack the co-operation of such a divine as Heber, or the aid of such a gentle and noble nature as the late Lady William Bentinck. But India had not been standing still for the last eighteen years. The foundations now laid were broader, the crisis more favourable, the scene of the experiment was perhaps on a wider sphere. Of course, the plan met with opposition, with ridicule, with covert sneers, with open censure. We were not warned, indeed, as we often have been, that the British faith is pledged to maintain in their integrity the darkest superstitions, the most bloody sacrifices, the most debasing error, the foulest pollutions, the worst crimes. The arguments on this occasion employed against the measure were often contradictory. It was useless to deal with prejudices so deeply rooted as the non-education of women, for the Shastras had declared that they must neither read nor write, and centuries of experience had confirmed this decision. It was useless for a foreigner to dictate to wealthy Hindus regarding the economy of their household, or to teach, in a public institution, what all

enlightened natives were already teaching to the members of their families in safe and virtuous retirement. Education was a grand thing for men only. Education, for women, was a grand thing, but neither the hour nor the man had yet come. Of such kinds were the strictures on Mr. Bethune's favoured plan. We may, many of us, remember the richness of illustration, and the heart-burning eloquence, with which, on a fine evening, in the commencement of the cold season of 1850, he opened the institution; and we know, too, that Mr. Bethune died in the next year, and that Lord Dalhousie has since generously supported the institution out of his own pocket, until the Court of Directors can determine regarding it. But surely that native women should become educated, refined, capable of social intercourse, ornaments of the household, and not household slaves, is not more unlikely now, than some years ago it was that Kulin Brahmins should become Christians, that high-caste Hindus should cross the ocean, that native princes should proscribe Suttee. We have had of late signal instances in which natives have risen superior to the prejudices of caste; and surely, it will be a happy day for India, when its wealthy and influential gentlemen shall appreciate that indefinable charm, which the presence of a well-educated woman sheds in every household; or when at least they shall combine to abjure that false and frail philosophy, which, while it proclaims by old saws and modern instances, in popular poetry and prose, the irredeemable vileness of one of God's noblest creatures, consigns a being thus designated to some vain frivolities which can never satisfy the intellect, and to a fancied seclusion which can never guard the heart.

We have attempted to describe in this paper the political events and the legislative reforms which have characterized the present administration. We shall now say a few words about the financial measures of the same period. During the past year, it has been duly notified by the Secretary in the Financial Department, that large loans, bearing interest at 5 per cent., would be paid off, if parties in possession of paper desired it, the option of converting their paper into the lower rate of 4 per cent., being tendered to them at the same time.

There now only remains one loan which pays the high rate of interest. All cash subscriptions to the 4 per cent. loan have been discontinued, and a three and half per cent. loan has been opened. Thus, at a time, when men in England were denouncing the irretrievable confusion of the Company's finances, were predicting more debt from the spread of territory, and were talking about failing supplies and increasing

charges, the Government of India was quietly disproving such rash assertions by notifying its perfect readiness to pay off large loans. It is calculated that the saving to the State by the transfer of the papers, and the reduction in the rate of interest, will be about ten lakhs of rupees. Some foolish remarks have been made about this notification, as if there were anything strange in the idea of a man's paying his just debt, or decreasing his liabilities, when he could afford to do so. But besides the above saving, we have had the falling in of the ex-Peishwa's huge pension of eight lakhs a year, and of another pension of seven lakhs a year, which had been assigned to the ex-Peishwa's opponent, for two generations. The former of these stipends had been enjoyed from 1818 to 1850. The latter from 1803 to 1853. The total amount drawn by these two royal idlers is no less than six millions sterling—sufficient to have paid off a considerable loan, or to have covered Bengal and Behar with bridges and roads. For the former pension, granted under the reprehensible extravagance of the Government of the day, we have to thank Sir John Malcolm, and for the latter burden we are indebted, we regret to say, to no less a person than the great Duke himself. Still we have here a reduction of one-quarter of a million, effected by the above savings, under three different heads, within three years. The Punjab surplus, for the next ten years, as we shewed in our Number for October last, will be nearly another quarter of a million, and if the Bombay Government only knew how to make the most of such lapses as Sattara, we might have had something thence to lessen the general burdens of the State. But the plan on which they recognise Inams and alienations of revenue in that Presidency, is something incomprehensible to us on this side of India. The Supreme Government should look to it. But it has been one of the evils of the Indian administration, that while under a refined centralization, much valuable time has been expended on masses of irrelevant and isolated facts, on detached references, which form no rule for future guidance, important points which required scrutiny, flaws which should have been repaired, and radical vices which prevailed in all departments, have managed to elude all enquiry and research. For the rest, our finances are, on the whole, in a hopeful condition. No new loan has been occasioned by the Burmese war, but on the contrary, as we have just remarked, the treasury was so full, that old loans were advertised for payment. The surplus from the Punjab will cover the expenses of this war, and Pegu may, eventually, pay. The land-revenues of Bengal and Agra are generally fixed on a firm basis, and will not fluctuate. The

returns from opium have not yet become less. The salt revenue may yet last, with a reduction of duty, if crude legislators at home are only checked in time. The public establishments are generally on a footing adequate to their various duties. The army may be reduced. If no new wars occur, we may be in a sound financial position within the next ten years. But we are well aware how many vain prophecies and hopes have been uttered on this deceptive subject.

Perhaps the best way of estimating our finances, generally, is to look at the point in our political condition, to which the statesmanship of Lord Ellenborough, the soldierly bearing of Lord Hardinge, and the comprehensive views of Lord Dalhousie, have now brought us. The chances against a rebellion in the Punjab are about twenty-five to one. Every year adds to our security, as the old Khalsa die off, as the agriculturists become attached to our rule, as the young and active become enrolled in our Irregulars. The wretched kingdom of Oude only awaits the man and the hour. The kingdom of Nagpore awaits, at the hand of Lord Dalhousie, a new ruler or the sentence of annexation. The kingdom of Nepaul, as Lord Dalhousie remarked in his celebrated Minute on Railways, can be no cause for apprehension while the minister Jung Behadoor lives: and even in the event of his demise, it is well known that the artillery of the Goorkhas is contemptible, and that they literally have not cavalry sufficient to face the irregular regiment stationed at Segowlee. The Nepaulese Durbar could not find riders to mount the horses of the Poosa stud. It is only as infantry that the Goorkhas are valuable allies or formidable opponents. The kingdom of Gwalior shows us a small army, a young prince, who hitherto has promised well, and a wise minister, Denkur Rao Raghunath, who is doing all that his own sterling talents, remarkable integrity, and high sense of honour can do, against intriguers who thwart his best measures and undermine his wise administration. The hundred petty states of Central India, under the care of agents and residents, are rescued from debt or saved from aggression. The best districts of the Nizam are in the hands of British officers. The high-spirited Rajpoots are managed by Sir Henry Lawrence, with the same tact and talent as they were by Colonel Low. There is no sound of disaffection in Mysore, no note of rebellion at Benares: even the Moplas are tolerably quiet, and the mountaineers of the North-West Frontier have not yet sacked Mooltan. We firmly believe that India has little to fear from the *jasaills* of the Affghan, the swords of the Goorkha, the bows and arrows of the Nagas, or the wild cry of the Beloochee.

The sea, our own prestige, and impassable mountains, may shield us from external invasion, unless some astounding combination of circumstances shall occur—and as regards the chances of internal warfare, we may well ask if there is anywhere a native Prince who would dare twice to meet, in open field, a British force of 10,000 men, under the guidance of Sir John Cheape?

It would be affectation to suppress, in a paper such as this, all mention of the *personnel* of the present administration. And we may fairly conclude this paper by advertence to the peculiar characteristics of the man, and to his mode of doing business. The most prominent feature of the present Government, it will be universally admitted, is its extreme vigour. In the Government of the Punjab, in the various grand reforms of public departments, in the control and supervision of all public officers, from the Board and the Sudder, down to the humblest official in the Excise or the Preventive line, in the enforcement of a respect for law, in the wielding of the executive power, in the prosecution of material works, in necessary retrenchments, in judicious expenditure, there has been felt everywhere a firm and vigorous hand. No man ever accused Lord Dalhousie of doing anything weak. There has been no delay, beyond what was necessary to collect scattered facts, or to get at opinions which might be useful; the ground has not been gone over twice and thrice, a flaw amended here, an omission repaired there, a mistake corrected in a third place. Wherever the blow fell, on cherished abuses, or official insubordination, it fell with crushing and irresistible force. Every man has been conscious of working under the eye of a Governor, who was determined to enforce a respect for discipline, who would accept no vain excuses, and whom no sophistry could elude. Accordingly, in the two Governments which have come more directly under Lord Dalhousie's management, the Punjab and Bengal, the effects of this vigour have been conspicuous. We have heard enough of several cases in which the head of the Government has thought it incumbent on him to check an insubordinate or captious spirit by trenchant severity, and we know, too, that in some instances, the bolt has fallen not on the humble dwelling, but on the loftiest palaces—the *ingens pinus* and the *montium culmina*. But in this we can see nothing but even justice and wise dealing. What should we think of a Governor who delivered philippics against some unlucky subaltern or some friendless deputy collector, and reserved for delinquents of high station the cautious admonition, the gentle remonstrance, and the mild rebuke? Lord Dalhousie

has spared no man who, in his opinion, failed to act up to his duty, or transgressed the bounds of official propriety, as will be acknowledged by grave Judges, ancient Brigadiers, and sedate Boards. It is rumoured that even higher personages have felt the weight of his anger, and have gladly retreated from an encounter where one party is sure to get the worst.

Sed rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.

There may be a difference of opinion as to the necessity for the strong language actually employed on some of the occasions to which we are alluding, but no man can doubt the motives by which the Governor-General has been actuated at such times. They are none other than respect for law, jealousy for the interests of the State, a desire to uphold constituted authority, and a wish to see zeal and activity not idly spent in vain altercation, but carefully contributing their quotas for the furtherance of the public service.

The amount of labour which Lord Dalhousie has got through, has probably not been surpassed by any of his predecessors, though neither Lord Ellenborough, nor the amiable Lord Auckland, ever spared themselves in this respect. The minutes of His Lordship, their rapid succession, their variety, their pith and pointedness, have long been celebrated, not merely in official circles, but in drawing-rooms and at dinner tables. Two ponderous Blue Books attest his diligence, and allow every man to judge of his capacity. Several of his State papers, on matters connected with the Punjab, have found their way into the *Lahore Chronicle*, and have been copied by other papers : and we have had the perusal of several others in the Calcutta dailies during the past year. Of these, the paper on plantations in the five Doabs is remarkable for its elegance and finish : that on the public works of the Bengal Presidency criticises the failings of the unlucky Military Board, and points out the remedy for our miserably neglected roads and bridges, with a force and conclusiveness positively irresistible : and just six months ago, we saw in the Minute on Railways for all India, a convincing proof of Lord Dalhousie's signal capacity for dealing with important social questions and for supplying the real wants of an extended empire. The style of his Minutes is singularly luminous, though not perhaps always free from marks of haste. The swelling periods, the apt illustrations, at times makes us think that the writer imagined himself engaged in an attempt to rouse, by narrative, the apathy of the Upper House, or was breaking a lance with some old opponent on a question of Eastern policy. The lucid statements of facts, and the complete mastery of the details exhibited in the Minutes, are not more

striking than the liberal sentiments, the comprehensive policy, and the enlarged statesmanship, which pervade and animate the whole composition. We shall hope that Lord Dalhousie's valuable papers, some of which are little Codes on Oriental topics, may not remain accessible only to a few persons immediately connected with Government, or be buried under the huge masses of rubbish which make up so much of our records: but that at some future day "the Dalhousie State papers," revised by their noble author, may vindicate his policy, disarm his opponents, and delight his friends.

We know no Governor, except Lord William Bentinck, who has gone so much into detail, as Lord Dalhousie. He has done this generally, without trenching on the province of subordinate officers, or attempting, except occasionally, to do work which such persons must know more about. It is not to be supposed that the Governor-General can lay down rules for the settlement of a large district, for the allowances of lumberdars, or the rights of the cultivators, as well as a Thomason or a Lawrence, or that he could lecture on the complicated procedure of civil courts in Bengal, and devise means for the amelioration thereof, with the legal acuteness and the luminous precision which mark all the writings of Mr. John Peter Grant. But he has shewn a wonderful aptitude for mastering so much of the multifarious details of Indian business, as was necessary to enable him to arrive at just conclusions on any one great question; and his sagacity, sharpened by long practice, has enabled him to pierce through the obscurity caused by Indian nomenclature, official technicalities, and strange forms. Nor is this knowledge of detail confined to mere civil duties. Lord Dalhousie has made military subjects, such as the organization of troops, and their equipments, his peculiar study. We do not mean by this that he has been prone to meddle with subjects which only professional men can deal with—on the contrary, we are certain that he would be the very last man to lecture Hannibal on the art of making war, and no one ever thought of saying of him, pretty much what was said of Lord John Russell, that he would command the *Fox* or the *Feroze* to-morrow. But in every thing that touches on the clothing transport and housing of troops, the raising and arming of irregular levies, in all that concerns the Ordnance or the Commissariat, the efficiency or the health of the sepoy and the soldier, the Governor-General has manifested a clearness of comprehension, and a soundness of judgment, which have commanded the admiration of distinguished military officers. Several of his suggestions were found very valuable at the time

when the Irregular regiments were organized for the Punjab after its annexation ; and it has been truly said, that in the conduct of the Burmese campaign, he has acted as his own war minister.

We shall endeavour to close this imperfect sketch of a splendid and successful Administration, by summing up the merits of Lord Dalhousie as an administrator in the East. Great sagacity in foreseeing events, and great energy and vigour in dealing with them : inflexible determination in the cause of humanity, justice, or due subordination : a happy selection of instruments to carry out purposes happily devised : no undue shrinking from responsibility : hearty devotion of time and labour to the manifold duties of his position : a high sense of honor, a love of candour and truth—these are the qualities which have characterized his six years' rule. It may be thought that, placed in a position towering above other men, with success waiting on his plans, with a will to which that of Councillors and Directors has often yielded, he has not invariably remembered how thin a partition divides firmness from obstinacy, justice from harshness, and manly independence from pride.

The "adjacent vices," as they are termed, are often more dangerous than those most opposed to virtue. But however this may be, we are quite sure that Lord Dalhousie has tact enough to remember, that the management of parties at home requires greater delicacy and lightness of touch than we are wont to see applied in the direction of the public service in this country. A Governor-General crushing Boards, and wiggling Generals without the chance of a reply, is in a different position from the member of a ministry at home. These are not the days when even what Junius termed the "imposing superiority" of Lord Chatham's talents would command the Cabinet and awe the House. But we have no fear that Lord Dalhousie will be declared "impracticable" by any party in England.

With one exception, which after all may have better results than what appears likely, complete success has hitherto attended every political or social measure originating with Lord Dalhousie. A great kingdom, on the shores of the five rivers, acknowledges him as the author of a splendid revolution, a brilliant metamorphose, a bloodless change. Vast and comprehensive reforms have been devised, prosecuted, and are now being carried out under his rule. To him the greatest state in the Deccan owes a change in its political relations with the British Government, which removes only the evil and leaves the good untouched. The wily ruler of Cashmere, to the astonishment of the Khalsa, the Bidee and the Mussulman fanatic, has

paid him personal homage. The son of the last great ruler of the Punjab has, under his very eyes as it were, renounced the religion of his fathers, for the one true faith. The productions of the Governor-General's pen have well nigh reminded some of their readers of the State papers of Canning. The clear tones of his voice have told exiles in India, that the race of English orators is not yet extinct. In the midst of war, he has quietly proclaimed to the world the solvency of the Company's Government, and he has been the first Governor who has really made a reduction in our debt. He has visited countries which other rulers had never even dreamt of visiting, and has analysed subjects which had dropped as too heavy from their hands. Annexation, postal reform, the acceleration of intercourse, the promotion of sound education, the reduction of expenditure by direct and indirect measures—he has tried his hand at most things, and has succeeded in all he has tried. The whole, too, has been accomplished before the meridian of life. It may yet be only an episode in his personal history that he was once Governor-General of India. He still wants five years of the time of life which Aristotle fixed as that of the maturity of the intellectual powers. In the period which must yet elapse before he retires from the Indian arena, he may accomplish ends, adequately to describe which, it will require more space than we have already filled. And at home it will not readily be imagined that he is to be *donatus rude*. No retirement at a country seat, no occasional appearance in the Upper House, no contentment with past triumphs, should be the lot of this perfect man of business, this experienced statesman, this successful Viceroy. The knowledge which he has acquired is, moreover, of two different and opposite kinds, which may be brought to bear wonderfully on the same ends. He has known what it is to hold office in England, to receive deputations, to watch the working of factories, and to appreciate some of those hundred influences which regulate the course of public affairs at home. He has wielded the whole power of an Eastern Government, absolute but not despotic, where so much depends on the will of a single individual. Two extremes are to him equally familiar. He can tell on the one hand how, in England, great interests are to be won over, how privilege is to be reconciled with labour, how the tactics of party are to be judiciously arrayed, how the minister must seem to express the will of the nation, while acting out his own. And on the other, he can say where the State in the East should take the initiative: he knows the mount of evil which arises, both from the absence of respect

for law, and from laws perverted to mischief: he can well understand how ill-suited are representative institutions, chartered debating clubs, and Anglo-Saxon theories, to a people whose whole history is the usual dull record of rapid conquest, temporary vigour, eventual degeneracy and decay. He has acquired this double knowledge at a time when other rulers had only just begun to turn their faces to the East. In the prime of life he has been the first servant of the great Company. He may again, yet in his vigour, be amongst the foremost ministers of the Crown. He may give a practical contradiction to the assertion, that exiles in the East have dropped behind the age, that English ideas and associations are opponent to their nature, that they come back amongst Englishmen of keen intellect and refined perceptions, like the mummies of Egypt, or like massive statues exhumed from the depth of some cave temple. His shining talents, his great and diversified experience, may yet find, in the bustle of English politics, or the stirring events which are agitating Europe, their appropriate employment and scope. Retaining a lively remembrance of that marvellous Indian Empire, to the growth of which scarce any historian has done justice, and adding thereto a just appreciation of the symmetry of the British constitution, which surpasses even the dreams of the wisest of Greek philosophers, Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India, may gracefully descend from his vantage ground to a struggle with his compeers—and whether in the ranks of the opposition, he supports measures without undue subserviency, and denounces them without personal rancour, or whether he adds the weight of his influence, his name and his talent, to some high official conclave, he may contribute hereafter, for many a day, to maintain our England in her position as the Empress of every useful art and ennobling science, as the Herald of Philanthropy, as the Messenger of Truth to the farthest regions of the earth, and as the Island Queen in the great congress of the world.

FOREFATHERS OF MAHOMET, AND HISTORY OF MECCA.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval.* Paris, 1847. Vol. I.
2. *Life of Mohammed.* By A. Sprenger, M. D., Allahabad, 1851.
3. *Sirat Wâckidi.* (Arab. MS.)
4. *Sirat Tabari.* (Arab. MS.)
5. *Sirat Hishâmi* (Arab. MS.)

IN a previous article upon the Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia, we endeavoured to give a connected view of the progress of events at Mecca, from the most remote period to which our knowledge extends, down to the middle of the fifth century of our era; and about that period we left Cossai in the possession of all the important dignities of the city, both religious and political.

The social institutions of Mecca did not essentially differ from those of the wandering Bedouins. They were, to some extent, modified by the requirements of a settled habitation, and the peculiarities of the pilgrimage and local superstition; but the ultimate sanctions of society, and the springs of political movement, were in reality the same at Mecca then, (so wonderfully have they survived the corroding effects of time), as exist in the desert at the present day, and have been so graphically portrayed by the pen of Burkhardt.

It must be borne in mind that at Mecca there was not, before the establishment of Islam, any *Government* in the common sense of the term.* No authority existed whose mandate must be put into execution. Each tribe formed a republic of opinion, and the opinion of the aggregate tribes, who chanced to be acting together, was the sovereign law; but there was not any recognized exponent of the popular will; each tribe was free to hold back from that which was clearly decreed by the rest; and no individual was more bound than his collective tribe to a compulsory conformity with the desire of the public. Honor and revenge supplied the place of a more elaborate system: the former prompted the individual, by the desire of upholding the name and influence of his clan, to a compliance with its wishes; the latter provided for the respect of private right, by the prospect of an unrelenting pursuit of the injurer. In effect the will of

* See remarks by Sprenger (*Life of Mohammed*, pp. 20, 23).

the majority did form the general rule of action for all,* although there was a continual risk that the minority might separate, and assume an independent, if not opposing, course. The law of revenge, too, though in such a society necessary, was then, even as now, the curse of the Arabs. Blood once shed was not easily effaced: its price might be rejected by the heir, and life for life demanded. Retaliation followed retribution: the friends, the family, the clan, the confederated tribes, one by one in a widening circle, took up the claims of the sufferer, and identified them as their own; and thus an insignificant quarrel or unpremeditated blow not unfrequently involved whole tracts of country in a protracted and bloody strife. Still, in a system which provided no magisterial power to interfere with decisive authority in personal disputes, it cannot be doubted that the law of retaliation afforded a check (however defective) upon the passions of the stronger; and that acts of violence and injustice were repressed by the fear of retribution from the friends or relatives of the injured party. The benefit of the custom was further increased by the practice of *patronage* or guardianship. The weak resorted to the strong for protection; and when the word of a chief or powerful man had once pledged him to grant it, the pledge was fulfilled with chivalrous scrupulosity.

At first sight it might appear that, under this system, the chiefs possessed no shadow of authority to execute either their own wishes or those of the people. But in reality their powers, though vague and undefined, were large and effective. Their position always secured for them an important share in forming and giving expression to the public opinion, so that, excepting in rare and unusual cases, they swayed the councils and the actions of their tribes. It was chiefly by the influence gained from the local offices of the Kaaba and the pilgrimage, that the Sheikhs of Mecca differed from their brethren of the desert, and exercised a more systematic and permanent rule. It is important, therefore, carefully to trace downwards the history of these offices, which Cossai, with the hope of establishing a stable government, concentrated, first in his own person, and then in that of his eldest son. The offices are commonly reckoned five in number: I. *Sicāya* and *Rifāda*; the

* We meet with few instances of *punishments* inflicted by society upon offenders before Islam. In one case a robber's hands were cut off for the theft of treasure belonging to the Kaaba: another man was exiled for ten years on suspicion of connivance at the theft. (*Tabari*, p. 73.)

exclusive privilege of supplying water and food to the pilgrims. II. *Kiyâda*; the command of the troops in war. III. *Liwd*; the standard, or right of mounting the banner, and presenting it to the standard-bearer. IV. *Hijâba*; the charge of the Kaaba. V. *Dâr al Nadwa*; the presidency in the Hall of Council.*

Cossai had four sons, the two most distinguished of whom are called ABD AL DAR, and ABD MENAF† (the latter born about 430 A. D.). The narrative of the patriarch's last days is thus simply told by Wäckidi. In process of time Cossai became old and infirm. Abd al Dar was the oldest of his sons, but he lacked influence and power; and his brethren raised themselves up against him. Therefore Cossai made over all his offices to his first-born, saying—"Thus wilt thou retain thine authority over thy people, even though they raise themselves up against thee; let no one enter the Kaaba, unless thou hast opened it unto him; nor let any banner of the Coreish be mounted for war, but thou be the one who mountest it with thine own hands; let no man drink at Mecca, but from thy drawing; nor any pilgrim eat therein, except of thy food; and let not the Coreish resolve upon any business, but in thy Council Hall." So he gave him up the Hall of Council, and the custody of the Holy House, and the giving of drink and of food, that he might unite his brethren unto him. And Cossai died, and was buried in Al Hajûn.‡

* See *Sprenger's Life of Mohammed*, p. 6—*C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 237 et seq. Some make the *Liwd*, or Standardship, to imply the *Leadership* also; but we find these offices held separately by different persons. But supposing that they are reckoned as one, then the *Sicâya* and *Rifâda* might be regarded as distinct, to make up the *five* offices.

It has been already stated that Cossai did not keep in his own hands the lesser ceremonial offices of the pilgrimage, as the *Ifâdha* and *Ijâda*, or right of dismissal, and heading the procession on the tour to Arafat; but this tour was conducted under his superintendence, as he then gave the pilgrims water and food; and we read that he used to kindle a great fire at Muzdalifa, to guide the pilgrims on the night of their return thither from Arafat—"a practice," says Wäckidi, "continued up to the present day." (*Wäckidi*, p. 12½.)

† Cossai called two of his sons after his gods, *Abd Menâf* and *Abd al Ozza*; one after his house, *Abd al Dâr*; and one, who died young, after himself, *Abd al Cossai*. *Abd Menâf* was named *Al Camr* from his beauty; but it is said that his proper name was *Al Mughira*; his mother however dedicated him to *Menâf*, the greatest idol at Mecca; so that name prevailed over the other. (*Tabari*, pp. 25, 26.) From *Abd al Ozza* descended *Khadîj*, Mahomet's first wife.

‡ This is from *Wäckidi*, p. 12.—See also *Tabari*, p. 35. *Al Hajûn* is a hill "near Mecca, which became henceforth the burial-ground of the Quorayshites (if, indeed, it was not so before). (*Sprenger*, p. 26.)

Through the careful providence of his father, Abd al Dar contrived, notwithstanding his weakness, to retain at least a nominal supremacy. But he enjoyed little influence in comparison with his brother Abd Menâf, on whom the real management of public affairs devolved, and who laid out fresh quarters for the growing population of Mecca.* Upon the death of Abd al Dar, the whole of the offices of State and Religion passed into the hands of his sons; but they all died within a few years after, and his grandsons, who then inherited the dignities of the family (500 A. D.), were of too tender years effectually to maintain their rights.

Meanwhile the sons of Abd Menâf had grown up, and continued in possession of their father's influence. The chief of them were Al Muttalib, Hâshim, Abd Shams, and Naufal.† These conspired to seize from the descendants of Abd al Dar the hereditary offices bequeathed by Cossai. Hâshim took the lead, and grounded his claim on the superior dignity of his branch of the family. But the descendants of Abd al Dar, headed by Amir, his grandson, refused to cede any of their rights; and an open rupture ensued. The society of Mecca was equally divided by the two factions, one portion of the Coreish siding with the claimants, and the other with the actual possessors of the dignities; while but few remained neutral. Both parties swore that they would prosecute their claim, and be faithful among themselves, so long as their remained water in the sea sufficient to wet a tuft of wool. To add stringency to their oath, Hâshim and his faction filled a dish with aromatic substances, and having brought it close to the Kaaba, they thrust their hands therein as they swore, and rubbed them upon the Holy House. The

* This seems to be the real state of the case, although the accounts differ. Thus Wâckidi says, that after Cossai's death, Abd Menâf succeeded to his position and

ربا ما بعد الذي كان قصي قطع لقرمه
و ا خلط بكمه A tradition is given by Azraqi, that Cossai himself divided the

offices between Abd al Dâr and Abd Menâf, and allotted to the latter the giving of drink and food, and the leadership. But had it been so, then the descendants of Abd Menâf would have had no necessity to fight for those offices.

† He had six sons and six daughters. The eldest of the sons was Al Muttalib. (*Wâckidi*, pp. 13-14.) The three first mentioned in the text above were by one mother, Atika, of the Bani Cays Aylân. Naufal was by a female of the Bani Sâssân. Wâckidi mentions a third wife. C. de Perceval makes Abd Shams the eldest son. (See also *Tabari*, p. 22.)

opposite party similarly dipped their hands into a bowl of blood.*

The opponents now made ready for a bloody contest; and the ranks were already marshalled in sight of each other, when by an unexpected turn of events, they mutually called for a truce, upon condition that Hâshim and his party should have the offices of providing food and water for the pilgrims, and that the descendants of Abd al Dar should as hitherto retain the custody of the Kaaba, the Hall of Council, and the Bannership. Peace was restored upon these terms. †

HASHIM (born A.D. 464 †), thus installed in the office of entertaining the pilgrims, fulfilled it with a princely magnificence. He was himself possessed of great riches, and many others of the Coreish had also by trading acquired much wealth. He appealed to them as his grandfather Cossai had done:—"Ye are the neighbours of God, and the keepers of his house. The pilgrims who come honoring the sanctity of his temple are his guests, and it is meet that ye should entertain

* Hence the former were called *المطييين* the "sweet scented," or "those who pledged themselves in perfumes;"—the latter, *لعقة الدم*—"the lickers of blood." (*Wâkidi*, p. 13½.)

Sprenger calls the former party the *Liberals*, the latter the *Conservatives*. But on the part of the latter there was no greater conservatism than the natural desire to retain the dignities and power they already possessed: on the part of the former there was no greater liberalism than the assertion of their pretensions to a portion of those dignities and power. The principles of both were the same. Neither had any intention of effecting a change in the religious or political system. Both recognized the patriarchal-oligarchical form of the constitution, and both would continue it, without any intention of adopting a more efficient and enlightened régime. It was a simple struggle for power on the part of two branches of the dominant family. But Sprenger's principle of a spirit of enquiry and advance towards the truth, before Mahomet's time, prepared him to recognize in the stock of Abd Menâf the seeds of liberalism, which (as it appears to us) were no more there than in the stock of Abd al Dar.

† The *Leadership* is not here specified, and the inference might thence be drawn that it followed the *Bannership*. But we know from subsequent history, that the leadership actually fell to the lot of Abd Shams, and from him was inherited in regular descent by Omeiya, Harb, and Abu Sofîân. (See *Sprenger*, p. 26, note i.) The three offices retained by the descendants of Abd al Dar remained in that line. The custody of the Kaaba was generously continued by Mahomet to the party in possession at the opening of Islam, though hitherto one of his opponents. The Hall of Council was sold by Ikrîma, who had inherited it, to the Caliph Moâwîa, who made it the House of Government *دار الامارة* and so," adds Wâkidi, "it continues in the hands of the Caliphs even unto this day" (p. 13¾).

‡ This is according to C. de Perceval's calculations, which have our confidence as near approximations to fact. Sprenger places Hâshim's birth A.D. 448. (*Vide Asiatic Journal*, No. CCXXI., p. 352.)

them above all other guests. God hath specially chosen and exalted you to this high dignity: wherefore honour his guests and refresh them: For, from distant cities, on their lean and jaded camels, they come unto you fatigued and harassed, with hair dishevelled, and bodies covered with the dust and filthiness of the long way. Invite them, then, with hospitality, and furnish them with water in abundance. Hâshim set the example by a munificent expenditure from his own resources, and the Coreish were forward to contribute, every man according to his ability. A fixed cess was also levied upon all.* Water sufficient for the prodigious assemblage of pilgrims was collected in cisterns by the Kaaba from the wells of Mecca; and in temporary reservoirs of leather at the stations on the route to Arafat. The feeding commenced upon the day before the pilgrims started for Minâ and Arafat, and continued until the assemblage dispersed† During this period they were entertained with pottage of meat and bread, of butter and barley, variously prepared, and with the favourite national repast of dates.‡

Thus Hâshim supported the credit of Mecca. But his name is even more renowned for the splendid charity, by which he relieved the necessities of his fellow-citizens, reduced by a long-continued famine to extreme distress.§ He proceeded to Syria, and purchased an immense store of bread, which he packed in panniers, and conveyed upon camels to Mecca. There the victuals were cooked for distribution; the camels were slaughtered and roasted; and the whole parted among the people. Destitution and mourning were suddenly turned

* *Wâkidi*, pp. 13-14. The fixed cess is noted at 100 Heraclian Mithcals. Sprenger thinks that this may mean the *aureus* of Constantine, which Gibbon calculates at 11 shillings. The fixed contribution from each would thus exceed £50. The richer of the merchants may have given so much. It is certain that mercantile projects had begun to revive at Mecca, and especially among the Coreish. The profits of each expedition are stated to have generally doubled the capital stock employed. And as the ostentatious Arabs would generally expend all that they could on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage, the sum specified is not an unlikely one for the more extensive traders. But as a general and uniform cess on each person or head of a family, it appears excessive and improbable. The period alluded to, however, is early in the sixth century, and we cannot look for any great certainty of detail in such matters at that remote era.

† The day before starting is called يوم التروية and falls on the 8th of Dzul Hiji. The ceremonies concluded, and the multitude dispersed on the 12th of the same month.

‡ The foregoing account is chiefly from *Wâkidi*, p. 14.

§ On the liability of Mecca still to famine from long drought, see *Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia*, p. 240.

into mirth and plenty; and it was (the historian adds,) "as it were the beginning of new life after the year of scarcity."*

The foreign relations of the Coreish were managed solely by the sons of Abd Menáf. With the Roman authorities and the Ghassânide ruler, Hâshim himself concluded a treaty; and he received from the Emperor a rescript, authorizing the Coreish to go to and fro in security.† He also gained the friendship of the inhabitants on the road, by promising to carry their goods without hire.‡ His brother Abd Shams made a treaty with the Najâshy, in pursuance of which they traded with the land of Abyssinia: his other brothers, Naufal and Al Muttalib, concluded alliances, the former with the King of Persia, who allowed them to traffic in Irâc and Fars, the latter with the Kings of Himyar, who encouraged their operations in Yemen. Thus the affairs of the Coreish prospered in every direction.§

To Hâshim is ascribed the credit of regulating the mercantile expeditions of his people, so that every winter a caravan set out regularly for Yemen and Abyssinia, while in the summer a second visited Ghazza, Ancyra, and the other Syrian marts.||

The success and the glory of Hâshim exposed him to the envy of Omeiya, the son of his brother, Abd Shams. Omeiya was opulent, and he sought to expend his riches in a vain attempt to rival the splendour of his uncle's munificence.

* *Wâchidi*, p. 13—*Tabari*, p. 22 It is added by all the Mahometan historians, that this is the origin of the name *Hâshim*, i. e., he that broke up the victuals:—

هشم القويد But the meaning of the word is more likely to be a mere coincidence, and not the origin of the name of Hâshim, which was already in existence. Thus the leading opponent of our Hâshim, in the struggle for the offices, was Amr, son of *Hâshim*, son of Abd al Dar; so that already there was a cousin styled by the same name. The Arab poets, however, delighted in the pun upon the name; and we have fragments of poetry referring to it, handed down to us in the traditions. Hâshim's proper name is said to have been Amr.

† It is added that so often as he went to Anckira (*Ancyra*) he was admitted into the presence of the Emperor, who honored and esteemed him; but the legend, no doubt, originated in the desire to glorify this ancestor of the prophet. (*Wâchidi*, pp. 13-14—*Tabari*, p. 23.) The former says, that both the Caysar and the Najâshy honored and loved him.

‡ وهو الذي اخذ الحلف لقريش من قيصر لان تختلف
 آمنه واما من على الطريق فالنعم علي ان تحمل قریش بضائعهم
 ولا كراعلي اهل الطريق وكتب له قيصر كتابا

(*Wâchidi*, p. 14.) The meaning of this passage seems to be as we have given it in the text.

§ *Tabari*, p. 23.

|| *Wâchidi*, p. 13—*Tabari*, p. 22.

The Coreish perceived the endeavour, and turned it into ridicule. Omeiya was enraged. "Who is Hâshim?" said he, and he defied him to a trial of superiority.* Hâshim would willingly have avoided a contest with one so much his inferior both in years and in dignity; but the Coreish, who loved such exhibitions, would not excuse him; so he was forced to consent, with the stipulation, however, that the vanquished party should lose fifty black-eyed camels, and be ten years exiled from Mecca. A Khozâite soothsayer was appointed umpire; and having heard the pretensions of both, pronounced Hâshim to be the victor. Then Hâshim took the fifty camels, and slaughtered them in the vale of Mecca, and fed with them all that were present. But Omeiya set out for Syria, and remained there the full period of his exile.†

Hâshim was now advanced in years, when on a mercantile trip to the north, he visited Medina with a party of Coreish. As he traded there in the *Nubathean market*,‡ he was attracted by the soft figure of a female, who from a lofty position was directing her people how to buy and sell for her. She was discreet, and withal comely; and she made a tender impression upon the heart of Hâshim. He enquired of the people whether she was married or single; and they answered that she had been married to Oheih, and had borne him two sons, but that he had then divorced her. The dignity of this lady, they added, was so great in her tribe, that she would not marry

* It is difficult to express in any language, but the Arabic, the idea conveyed by

منافرة It was a vain-glorious practice of the Arabs, in which one party challenged another, claiming to be more noble and renowned, brave and generous, than he. Each brought forward his ambitious pretensions, and the arbiter judged accordingly.

† *Wâkidi*, p. 13½ — *Tabari*, p. 14. The Mahometan historians add: "This was the beginning of the enmity between Hâshim and Omeiya," meaning between the Omeiyads and Abbassides. To give a mysterious and a sort of predestined appearance to this conclusion, it is pretended that Hâshim and Abd Shams (Omeiya's father) were twins; that the one first born came forth with his finger adhering to the forehead of his fellow: and that on being severed, blood flowed from the wound. The soothsayers were consulted, and declared that there would be bloodshed between them or their descendants. (*Tabari*, p. 23.) *Wâkidi* does not give this legend. It is an evident Abbasside fable. The envy of Omeiya, and the rivalry between the branches of Hâshim and Abd Shams, need no such reconcile explanation. They were the natural result of the retention of power and office by one of two collateral lines. The Hâshimites had the chief dignities of giving food and drink to the pilgrims. The Omeiyads possessed only the leadership in battle. What more natural than that the latter should envy the former?

‡ That one of the marts at Medina should have been then currently called by this name, is proof that the Nabatheans long before had extensive mercantile dealing so far south as Medina.

any one, unless it were stipulated that she should remain mistress of her own concerns, and have the power of divorce if she disliked her husband. This was Salma, the daughter of Amr, a Khazrajite of the Bani Najjâr.*

So Hâshim demanded her in marriage; and she consented, for she was well aware of his nobility and renown. And he married her; and made a great feast to the Coreish, of whom forty were present with the caravan: he also invited some of the Khazrajites. After a few days' rest, the caravan proceeded onwards to Syria; and on its return, Hâshim carried his bride with him to Mecca. As the days of her pregnancy advanced, she retired to her father's house at Medina, and there (A. D. 497) brought forth a son, who, from the white hair which covered his infantile head, was called *Shēba* al Hamd. Not long after, Hâshim made another expedition to the north, and while at Gezsa (*Gasa*), he sickened and died. The event occurred early in the sixth century of our era.†

* We have already made mention of Oheihā as one of the leaders of Medina, and also of Salma, in a former article on the "Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia."

† *Wâckidi*, p. 14—*Tabari*, p. 15. The account of the latter varies somewhat from *Wâckidi*. *Tabari* makes Hâshim, on his visit to Medina, to abide in the house of Amr Salma's father, where he saw and fell in love with the comely widow. She made the stipulation that she was not to bring forth a child except in her father's house. Hâshim, after contracting the alliance, proceeded on his journey to Syria, and the marriage was not consummated till his return. When he carried Salma to Mecca. These facts, and the birth of *Shēba* at Medina, are not mentioned by *Wâckidi*.

Hâshim's death could not have occurred very immediately after the birth of *Shēba*, as he is said to have had another child by Salma, a daughter called *Ruckeyā*, who died in infancy; but it is possible she may have been born before *Shēba*. Hâshim had also another daughter of the same name by another wife; he appears to have had in all five wives, by whom four sons and five daughters were born to him. (*Wâckidi ibidem*.) But the only child of any note was *Shēba* or *Abd al Muttalib*.

Hâshim was probably between fifty and sixty when he died. Sprenger has satisfactorily shown that the absurd tradition of his being at death only twenty or twenty-five years old, originated in a corrupt copy of a tradition in *Wâckidi*, where it is stated that *Abu Ruḥm*, who carried back the property left by Hâshim at Gasa to his family at Mecca, was then only twenty years old.

Sprenger, however, seems to be wrong in attributing the name of *Shēba* to Hâshim's being grey-headed when Salma bore him a son. The view taken in the text is that of native authority, and is besides the most natural.

C. de Perceval considers that Hâshim died A. D. 510, and supposes *Shēba* to have been then thirteen years old (having been born A. D. 497). But *Tabari* makes the lad only seven or eight years of age, when some time later, he quitted Medina (p. 15). Hâshim may therefore have died earlier.

We follow C. de Perceval in placing *Shēba*'s (*Abd al Muttalib*'s) birth in 497 A. D. He died aged eighty-two, in 579 A. D. Sprenger, by *lunar* years, brings the calculation of his birth to 500 A. D., but we prefer the *luni-solar* system of C. de Perceval.

Hâshim left his dignities to his elder brother, Al Muttalib,* who conducted the entertainment of the pilgrims in so splendid a style, as to deserve the epithet *Al fuidh*, "the munificent." Meanwhile his little nephew, Shéba, was growing up, under the care of his widowed mother, at Medina. Several years after his brother's death, Al Muttalib chanced to meet a traveller from Medina, who described, in glowing terms, the noble bearing of the young Meccan. Al Muttalib's heart smote him, because he had so long left his brother's son in that distant locality, and he set out forthwith to bring him to Mecca. Arrived at Medina, he enquired for the lad, and found him practising archery among the boys of the city. He knew him at once from his likeness to his father: he embraced and wept over him, and clothed him in a suit of Yemen raiment. His mother then sent to invite him to her house, but he refused to untie a knot of his camel's accoutrements, until he had carried off the lad to Mecca. Salma was taken by surprise at the proposal, and was passionate in her grief; but Al Muttalib reasoned with her, and explained the advantages which her son was losing by his absence from his father's house. Salma, seeing him determined, at last relented; and thus, after Al Muttalib had sojourned with her three days, he set out for home with his nephew. He reached Mecca during the heat of the day; and as the inhabitants from their houses saw him return with a lad by his side, they concluded it was a slave he had purchased, and they exclaimed, *Abd Al Muttalib!*—"Lo, the servant of Al Muttalib!" "Out upon you," said he; "it is my nephew, Shéba, the son of Amr (Hâshim)." And as each scrutinized the features of the boy, they swore—"By my life! it is the very same."

In this incident is said to have originated the name of ABD AL MUTTALIB, by which the son of Hâshim was ever after called.†

* Al Muttalib and Hâshim, and their descendants, kept together on the one hand; as did Abd Shams and Naufal, and their descendants, on the other. Each body, Wâckidi adds, acted in all their proceedings "as one hand."

† *Wâckidi*, pp. 14-15—*Tabari*, pp. 15-17. The accounts vary considerably. The former makes Thâbit, father of the Poet Hassan, to give the tidings of his nephew to Al Muttalib: the latter, makes a Meccan of the Bani al Hârith to do so. Tabari also varies (p. 16) in representing Al Muttalib as carrying off his nephew clandestinely; and thus omits the interview with his mother; but at page 17 he gives another account more like Wâckidi's. He also makes Al Muttalib at first represent his nephew at Mecca to be *really* his slave, and then surprise the Coreish by leading him about the streets of Mecca well-dressed, and proclaiming that he was Hâshim's son. There seems some reason to doubt this origin, or Abd al Muttalib's name: however, as it is universally received by Mahometans

Al Muttalib proceeded in due time to instal his nephew in the possession of his father's property : but Naufal, another uncle, interposed, and violently deprived him of his paternal estate. Abd al Muttalib (who would appear now to have reached the years of discretion,) appealed to his tribe to aid him in resisting these unjust pretensions ; but they declined to interfere. He then wrote to his maternal relatives at Medina, who no sooner received the intelligence, than eighty mounted men of the Bâni Najjâr, with Abu Asâd at their head, started for Mecca. Abd al Muttalib went forth to meet them, and invited them to his house, but Abu Asâd refused to alight until he had called Naufal to account. He proceeded straight to the yard of the Holy House, and found him seated there among the chiefs of the Coreish. Naufal arose and welcomed the stranger ; but he refused his welcome, and drawing his sword, sternly declared that he would plunge it into him, unless he forthwith reinstated the orphan in his rights. The oppressor was daunted and agreed to the concession, which was ratified by oath before the assembled Coreish.*

Some years after, Al Muttalib died on a mercantile journey to Yemen;† and then Abd al Muttalib succeeded to the office of entertaining the pilgrims. But for a long time he was devoid of power and influence ; and having but one son to assist him

writers, we have thought it as well to adopt it in the text. There is a good deal of fragmentary poetry on the subject. The following lines describe Al Muttalib's emotion when he recognized his nephew at Medina :—

عرفت شيبة والنجار قد † حلفت ا بلى ها حوله بالذبل تلتفل *
 عرفت اجلاره ماذا شيمة فقام مني عليه ر ابل سـيل *

Wâck. di, p. 140.

See *Tabari*, pp. 17-21. These incidents are not given by Wâckidi ; and there is ground for suspecting, at the least, exaggeration in them, arising from the Abbasside desire of casting disrepute upon the Omeiad branch. Abd al Muttalib being represented as himself asserting his rights and sending a message to his Medina relatives (which is given by Tabari as a poetical fragment, p. 20,) we must regard him as now grown up. But we do not see any ground for holding the rights of which he was dispossessed to be those of entertaining the pilgrims, as Sprenger supposes. (*Life of Mohammed*, p. 30.) In that case we should have to consider his uncle, Al Muttalib, as dead, which from the narrative does not appear likely. The whole story, however, may be regarded, for the reason specified above, with some degree of doubt.

† Tradition states that Hâshim was the first of Abd Menâf's sons who died ; then Abd Shams, at Mecca, where he was buried, at Ajyâd ; then Al Muttalib as above ; and lastly, Naufal at Salmân in Irâc. (See *Tabari*, p. 25.)

* Var read. جعلت

in the assertion of his claims, he found it difficult to cope with the opposing faction of the Coreish. It was during this period that he discovered the ancient well of Zamzam. Finding it inksome to procure water from the scattered wells of Mecca, and store it in cisterns by the Kaaba, and perhaps aware by tradition of the existence of a well in the vicinity, he made diligent search, and at last came upon the circle of its venerable masonry.* It was a remnant of the palmy days of Mecca, when an unfailing stream of commerce flowed through it: centuries had elapsed since the trade had ceased, and with it followed the desertion of Mecca, and the neglect of the well. It became choked either by accident or design, and the remembrance of it was now so uncertain, that its very position was unknown. Mecca had again arisen to a comparatively prosperous state, and the discovery of the ancient well was an auspicious token of increasing advancement.

As Abd al Muttalib, aided by his son, Harith, dug deeper and deeper, he came upon two golden gazelles, with some swords and suits of armour. The rest of the Coreish envied these treasures, and demanded a share in them: they asserted also their right to the well itself, which they declared had been possessed by their common ancestor Ismael. Abd al Muttalib was not powerful enough to resist this oppressive claim: but he agreed to refer their several pretensions to the decision of the arrows of HOBAL, the god whose image was within the Kaaba.† Lots were therefore cast for the Kaaba and for the respective claimants: the gazelles fell to the share of the Kaaba, and the swords and suits of armour to Abd al Muttalib, while the

* *Hisdhmi*, p. 21—*Wäckidi*, p. 15. The event is encircled by a halo of miraculous associations. Abd al Muttalib receives in a vision the heavenly behest to dig for the well, couched in enigmatical phrases, which after being several times repeated, he at last apprehends. The Coreish assemble to watch his labours; his pick-axe strikes upon the ancient masonry, and he utters a loud *Takbir* (Allāhu Akbar—*Great is the Lord*!) The Coreish then insist on being associated with him in the possession of the well. Abd al Muttalib resists the claim, which they agree to refer to a female soothsayer in the highlands of Syria. On their journey thither, their water is expended in a wild desert, where no springs are to be found. They prepare to dig graves for themselves and await death, when lo! the camel of Abd al Muttalib strikes her hoof on the ground, and a fountain straightway gushes forth. The Coreish, with a flood of thanksgiving, acknowledge that God has by this miracle shown that the well Zamzam belonged solely to Abd al Muttalib, and all return to Mecca. The dispute about the gazelles and other property is represented as following the above incident. After an absurd story of this sort, what reliance is to be placed on Wäckidi's judgment or common sense? Sprenger has rightly thrown the whole of these fables into his legendary chapter. (*Life of Mohammed*, p. 58.)

† The image of Hobal was over the well or sink within the Kaaba. In this sink were preserved the offerings and other treasures of the Temple. (*Tubari*, p. 6.)

arrows of the Coreish were blank.* The latter acquiesced in the divine decision, and relinquished their pretensions to the well. Abd al Muttalib beat out the gazelles into plates of gold, and fixed them by way of ornament to the door of the Kaaba.† He hung up the swords before the door as a protection to the treasures within; but at the same time added a more effectual guard in the shape of a lock and key, which (they say) were made of gold.

The plentiful flow of fresh water, soon apparent in the well Zamzam, was a great triumph to Abd al Muttalib. All other wells in Mecca were deserted for supplies to quench thirst, and this alone resorted to.‡ From it alone he carried water for the

* Wäckidi is the only authority who states the number of the weapons, viz., seven swords and five suits of armour (p. 15.) The story of their being cast here by Modhād, the last Jorhomite king, has been related in a former Article—"Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia." In casting the lots on this occasion, six arrows were used; two yellow for the Kaaba; two black for Abd al Muttalib; and two white for the Coreish (*Hiskāmi*, p. 23.) The mode of casting the arrows is described by Tabari (pp. 6-7) and by C. de Perceval (*Essai*, Vol. I., pp. 261-265). There were fixed responses written upon the several arrows, from which some sort of oracle could be gathered in any matter, domestic, social, or political:—either in digging for water, circumcising a lad, fixing his paternity, taking a wife, going to war, concluding a treaty, &c., &c.

† These were soon after stolen by three Coreishites, but recovered. (*Wäckidi*, p. 154.) Tabari (p. 73) gives an account of a sacrilegious theft, which we understand to be this one. On account of it, the supposed offender had his hands cut off, and one of the Coreish was expatriated for ten years.

‡ See note at page 50 of the Article on the "Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia," in No. XXXIX. of this *Review*. Burkhardt is there quoted as stating that the water of Zamzam is "perfectly sweet, and differs very much from that of the brackish wells dispersed over the town." The names of some of these other wells, and their diggers, are mentioned by C. de Perceval (Vol. I., p. 262.) The statement of Ali Bey somewhat differs. He makes the water to be "a little brackish and heavy, but drinkable;" and he says that the wells in the city are of the same depth, and their "water of the same temperature, taste, and clearness, as that of Zamzam." He therefore believes them all to originate in "one sheet," supplied by the filtration of rain water. But his testimony is mingled with some degree of religious fervour. "The city wells," he says, "spring from the same source as the water of Zamzam; they have the same virtue in drawing down the divine favour and blessing as the miraculous well. God be praised for it!" (Vol. II., p. 98.) We prefer the calm and impartial testimony of Burkhardt. In another part of his work, the latter repeats, that excepting Zamzam, the well-water throughout Mecca "is so brackish, that it is used only for culinary purposes;" and he adds, that even the fresh water of Zamzam "is heavy to the taste and impedes digestion." (*Travels*, p. 106.) Elsewhere he says:—"It seems probable that the town of Mecca owes its origin to this well; for many miles round, no sweet water is found, nor is there, in any part of the country, so copious a supply." (*Ibid*, p. 145.) But as the whole of Mecca cannot be supplied from this well, a stream of good water is now brought by a conduit from the hills about Arafat. This, however, is often out of repair, and then "during the pilgrimage sweet water becomes an absolute scarcity; a small skin of water (two of which a person may carry), being then often sold for one shilling—a very high price among Arabs." (*Ibid*, p. 107.) This proves that all the other wells, but Zamzam, must be unfit for drinking.

pilgrims to Arafat and Minâ; and it soon acquired the renown of sacredness in connection with the rites of the Kaaba. The fame and influence of Abd al Muttalib now began to wax greater and greater; a large family of powerful sons added to his dignity; and at last he became, and continued to his death, the virtual chief of Mecca.*

But during his early troubles, while supported by his only son, Harith, he had experienced such weakness and inferiority in contending with the large and influential families of his opponents, as led him to vow, that if Providence should ever grant him ten sons, he would devote one of them to the Deity. Years rolled on, and the rash father at last found himself surrounded by the longed-for number, the sight of whom daily reminded him of his vow. He bade his sons accompany him to the Kaaba: each was made to write his name upon a lot, and the lots were made over to the intendant of the temple, who cast them in the usual mode. The fatal arrow fell upon ABDALLAH, the youngest and the best beloved of Abd al Muttalib's sons. The vow devoting him to the Deity must needs be kept, but how else shall it be fulfilled than by the use of the sacrificial knife? His daughters wept and clung around the fond father, who was willingly persuaded to cast lots between Abdallah and a ransom of ten camels, the current fine for the blood of a man. If the Deity should accept the ransom, what scruple need the father feel in sparing his son? But the lot a second time fell upon Abdallah: again, and with equal fortune, it was cast between him and twenty camels. At each successive cast, as Abd al Muttalib added ten camels to the stake, the Deity appeared inexorably to refuse the vicarious offering, and require the blood of the son. But at the tenth throw, when the ransom had now reached 100 camels, the lot fell upon them. The father joyfully released Abdallah from his impending fate; and taking the camels, he slaughtered them between Safa and Marwa. The inhabitants of Mecca feasted upon them; and the residue was left to the beasts and to the birds: for Abd al Muttalib's family refused to taste of them. It was this Abdallah who became the father of the prophet.†

* Sprenger, however, considers that the Omeiad family had the pre-eminence. "It is certain that Harb, and after him Abu Sofîân, surpassed the family of Hâshim in wealth and influence, and that they were the chiefs of Mecca" (p. 31). Notwithstanding Sprenger's great authority, we believe Abd al Muttalib to have been the virtual chief of Mecca; after his death, there was a dead uniformity among the several families, and no real chief or Great man.

† The above account is from *Wâchidi*, p. 16. See also a paper in the *Zeitschrift Morgens landische Gesellschaft*, VII. I, p. 34. Abd al Muttalib had six daughters, and it was one of them who made the proposal to cast lots for the camels.

The prosperity and fame of Abd al Muttalib attracted the envy of the rival branch of Omeya, whose son Harb challenged him to a trial of their respective merits. The Abyssinian king having declined to be the umpire, the judgment was committed to a Coreishite, who declared that Abd al Muttalib was in every respect the superior. Harb was deeply mortified, and

Wâkîni, however, gives another account, which is that commonly received. (*Conf. Hishâmî, p. 24—Tabarî, pp. 6-11—C. de Perceval, vol. I. pp. 264-267—West, p. 8*) According to this version, the Coreish held back Abd al Muttalib just as he was about to plunge the knife into his son, and offered to give a ransom, but he would not listen; and they at last persuaded him to refer the matter to a divineress at Kheibar, who indicated the plan of ransom described in the text. Whatever may have been the facts of the case, they have been greatly over-coloured and distorted by tradition, so much so, that Sprenger has placed the entire incident in his legendary chapter (p. 56.) But we believe the story to be founded on real facts. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine an adequate motive for the entire invention of such a tale because the Mahometans regard the vow as a sinful one, the illegality of which rendered it null and void. (*Tabarî, p. 5*.) No doubt they afterwards dressed the incident in exaggerated and meretricious colors, and pretended a resemblance between it and Abraham's intended sacrifice of Ismael; and thus they make Mahomet to say that he was "the son of two sacrifices:—"

أَبْنَىٰ نِ بَلْحَمِي But (had there been no facts to found the story on) the desire to establish such an analogy would have led to a very different fiction; for Abraham was *commanded* to offer up his son, and the Mahometans believe he acted piously in obeying; whereas they hold Abd al Muttalib to be wrong both in the vow, and in his attempt to fulfil it.

We must doubt whether the vow was really to *immolate* a son, and whether there was ever any attempt to put a sacrifice of human life into execution. We believe that human sacrifices to the Deity were unknown in Mecca. The truth we suppose to be, that Abd al Muttalib vowed he would *devote* a son to Hobal

نَدَّارِ would probably be the word employed; and the idea of a son devoted to the service of God might have become known among the Arabs from its currency among the Jews. But the custom, however natural to the Judaical system, would not mould itself to the mongrel and idolatrous creed of the Kaaba. How was the devotion of a son to the service of God to be carried out at Mecca? The question was referred to the idol, who simply chose one of the sons. In this difficulty, recourse may have been had to a divineress. But the warm imagination of the traditionists has conjured up a theatrical appeal to the sacrificial knife, which we believe never existed.

The sacrifice of human beings in Arabia was only *incidental*, and in the case of violent and cruel tyrants, where it is alleged to have been done *uniformly and on principle*, the authority seems doubtful. Of the former class, are the immolation of a Ghassanide Prince to Venus by Mundzir, king of Hira (*C. de Perceval, Vol. II. p. 101*—Article on the "Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia," p. 28, note 4); and the yearly sacrifice by the same prince on his "evil day," in expiation of the murder of two friends, (*Ibid.*, p. 104, *et seq.*—*Pococke's Spec. History of Arabia*, p. 73.) Of the second description is the uncertain tale of one Naaman sacrificing, with his own hand, men to his deities (*Evagrius* vi. 21—*Pococke's Specimen*, p. 87); and the story of Porphyry that at Dumaetha (Dumat al Jandi?) κατ' ἐρωτὸς ἐκαστον ναῖδα εὐχεν. See two notes of Gibbon on this subject (Chap. L.) He appears to believe in the practice of human sacrifice in Arabia (as it seems to us, however, on insufficient grounds); but with philosophical discrimination he adds: "the danger and escape of Abdullah is a tradition rather than a fact."

abandoned the society of his rival, whose companion he had previously been.*

Abd al Muttalib gained an important increase of stability to his party, by concluding a defensive league with the Khozâite inhabitants of Mecca. They came to him and represented, that as their quarters adjoined, the advantages of such a treaty would be great for both parties. These advantages Abd al Muttalib was not slow in perceiving. With ten of his adherents, he repaired to the Kaaba, where they met the Khozâites and mutually pledged their faith. The league was then reduced to writing, and hung up in the Holy House. None of the descendants of Abd Shams or Naufal were present, or indeed knew anything of the transaction until it was thus published.† The combination was permanent, and, in after times, proved of essential service to Mahomet.

In the year 570 A. D., or about eight years before the death of Abd al Muttalib, occurred the memorable invasion of Mecca by Abraha, the Abyssinian viceroy of Yemen.‡ It has been already related how the despote done to the cathedral of Abraha made him resolve to attack Mecca and raze its temple to the ground. He set out with a considerable army—in its train was led an elephant, a circumstance so singular and remarkable, that the commander, his host, the invasion, and the year, are to this day denominated as those “of the Elephant.”§ A prince of the old Himyar stock, with

* *Wâkidi*, p. 16—*Tabari*, p. 25—*Sprenger*, p. 31. Nofail was of the stock of the Hani Adi, and an ancestor of Omar. The story much resembles that of Hâshim's contest with Omeiya, and one is half tempted to think it may be a spurious reproduction of it, the more strongly to illustrate the enmity of the two branches; but the suspicion is not sufficiently great to deprive the narrative of a place in our text. When Harb gave up the society of Abd al Muttalib, “he took to that of Abdallan ibn Jolâân of the branch of Faym, son of Murra.”

Another contest of a somewhat similar nature is related between Abd al Muttalib and a chief of Tâif, on account of a spring of water claimed by the former. An Odsarite soothsayer, in the south of Syria, decided in favor of Abd al Muttalib; but the story is accompanied by several marvellous and suspicious incidents. Thus, on the journey northwards, a fountain of water gushed from a spot struck by the heel of Abd al Muttalib's camel—an evident reproduction of the legend of Abd al Muttalib's similar journey to adjudicate the claims of Coreish against him.

† *Wâkidi*, p. 15½—*Sprenger*, p. 31. There were present seven of the immediate family of Abd al Muttalib, Arcam, and two other grandsons of Hâshim.

‡ The authorities are *Wâkidi*, pp. 16½-17, and *Fîshâmî*, pp. 15-19. C. de Perceval has given the circumstances of this expedition in more detail than the character of the traditions warrant. (Vol. I. pp. 268-279.)

§ *Wâkidi* gives a tradition (p. 19) that there were thirteen elephants with the army, besides this famous one called Mahmûd; and that the latter was the only one that escaped death from the shower of stones. But this would seem to oppose the drift of tradition generally on the subject. *Wâkidi* adds that Abraha sent expressly for the famous elephant Mahmûd to join his expedition.

an army of Arab adherents, was the first to oppose the advance of the Abyssinian. He was defeated, but his life was spared, and he followed the camp as a prisoner. Arrived at the northern limits of Yemen, Abraha was attacked by the Bani Khuthâm (descendants of Modhar), under the command of Nofail; but he too was discomfited, and escaped death on condition of guiding the Abyssinian army. Thence the conqueror proceeded to Táif, three days' march from Mecca; but the Bani Thackif, its inhabitants, deputed men to say that they had no concern with the Kaaba which he had come to destroy, and that, so far from opposing the project of Abraha, they would furnish him with a guide.* For this purpose they sent him a man called Abu Rughâl, and the Viceroy moved onwards. At Mughammis, between Táif and Mecca, Abu Rughâl died; and centuries afterwards, the Meccans marked their abhorrence of the traitor by casting stones at his tomb as they passed.

From Mughammis, Abraha sent forward an Abyssinian with a body of troops to scour the Tehâma, and carry off what cattle they could find. They were successful in the raid, and among the plunder, secured 200 camels belonging to Abd al Muttalib. An embassy was then despatched to the inhabitants of Mecca:—"Abraha" (such was the message) had no desire "to do them injury; his only object was to demolish the Kaaba: that performed, he would retire without shedding the blood of "any one." The Meccans had already resolved, that it would be vain to oppose the invader by force of arms; but to the destruction of the Kaaba, they refused to give their assent. The embassy, therefore, prevailed on Abd al Muttalib and the chieftains of some of the other Meccan tribes† to return, repair to the Viceroy's camp, and there plead their cause. There Abd al Muttalib was treated with distinguished honour. To gain him over, Abraha restored his plundered camels, but obtained for him no satisfactory answer regarding the Kaaba.‡

* They had a goddess, *Lat*, of their own, which they honored nearly in the same way as the Meccans did that at the Kaaba. (*Hishami*, p. 16)

† Of these the chiefs of the Bani Bakr and Hodzeil are mentioned. The Bani Bakr here mentioned are not the tribe collateral with the Taghlibites, but the stock descended from Bakr, son of Abd Monâf, son of Kinana, and nearly allied to the Coreish.

‡ He is said to have descended from his masnad and seated himself by Abd al Muttalib. But many of these details were probably invented by the traditionalist to glorify the grandfather of the prophet. Abraha is said to have asked him what favour he could do him: Abd al Muttalib replied, to restore to him his camels. The Viceroy was mortified. "I looked upon you," said he, "at first with admiration: but now you ask as a favour the return of your own property, and make no solicitation regarding the Holy House, which constitutes your glory, and is the pillar of your own religion and that of your forefathers." Abd al Muttalib answered:—"Of the camels I am myself the master, and therefore I asked for them: as for the Kaaba, another is its master, who will surely defend it, and to him I leave its defence." The speech of Abraha is convenient as affording

The chiefs who accompanied him, offered a third of the wealth of the Tehâma, if he would desist from his designs against their temple, but he refused. The negotiation was broken off, and the chieftains returned to Mecca. By Abd al Muttalib's advice, the people made preparations for retiring in a body to the hills and defiles in the vicinity, which they did the day before the expected attack. As Abd al Muttalib leant upon the ring of the door of the Kaaba, he is said to have prayed to God aloud, that he would defend his own house, and not suffer the cross to triumph over the Kaaba. This done, he relaxed his hold, and betaking himself to the neighbouring heights, watched what the end might be.*

Meanwhile a pestilential distemper had shewn itself in the Viceroy's camp. It broke out with deadly pustules and frightful blains, and was probably an aggravated form of small-pox. In confusion and dismay the army commenced its retreat. Their guides abandoned them, and it is pretended that the wrath of Heaven further manifested itself in a flood which swept off multitudes into the sea. But the pestilence alone is a cause quite adequate to the effect produced.† No one, they say, smitten by it, ever recovered; and

an occasion for Abd al Muttalib's prophetic defiance; but it is not the speech of a Prince who came to destroy the Kaaba, and whose objects would be to depreciate and not to extol it. We regard the conversation as fabricated. It is enough in this narrative to admit the main events without holding to the details of every speech and conversation, as the effort throughout is patent to magnify Abd al Muttalib, Mecca, and the Kaaba.

Some accounts represent Abd al Muttalib as gaining admittance to Abrahah through Dzû Nafas, the Himyar prisoner noticed above, whose friendship he had formed in his mercantile expeditions to Yemen. (See *C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 241.) It was on one of these expeditions that Abd al Muttalib is said to have learnt in Yemen to dye his hair black: the people of Mecca were delighted with his appearance, and the custom was thus introduced there. (*Wâckidi*, p. 15½; *Sprunger*, p. 86.) Wâckidi represents Abd al Muttalib as withdrawing from Mecca, on Abrahah's approach to Hira, (afterwards Mahomet's sacred retreat); and from thence letting loose his 200 recovered camels as devoted to the Deity, in the hope that some one of the enemy might injure them in the Tehâma, and the Deity be thereby prompted to revenge the insult upon the enemy's army.

* No doubt, these events, too, are highly coloured by legendary growth, or traditional fiction, in order to cast a mysterious and supernatural air over the retreat of Abrahah.

† No one appears to have pursued the retreating army. They sought Nofall to guide them back; but in the confusion he escaped to one of the surrounding heights, whence, it is pretended, he divided the fugitives in these words—

ابن المفرو الا له الطالبي * ولا شرم المغلوب ليس العالبي

"Whither away, do ye flee, and no one pursuing! Al Ashram (Abrahah) is the vanquished one, not the vanquisher." (*Eishâmî*, p. 18.)

A contemporary poet, a Coreishite, named Abdulla, son of Zibara, estimates the killed at 60,000, in these exaggerated verses.

سكنوا العالم يوربوا ارضهم * بل لم يعش بعد الاياب سقيمها

Abraha himself, a mass of malignant and putrid sores, died miserably on his return to Sanâ.*

The unexpected disappointment of the hostile designs and grand preparations of Abraha increased the reverence with

* His body was covered with pustules, and as they dropped off, matter flowed forth, followed by blood: "he became like an unfledged bird; and did not die until his heart separated from his chest" (*Hishâmi*, p. 18.) This is no doubt overdrawn.

The accounts of Wâkidi and Hishâmi leave no room to question the nature of the disease as having been a pestilential form of small-pox. Wâkidi, after describing the calamity in the fanciful style of the Coran, adds—

فكان ذلك اول ما كان الجدي والحصبة والاشجار المرّة

"And that was the first beginning of the small-pox, and the pustular disease, and a kind of bitter trees" (p. 17). Similarly Hishâmi, ان اول ما رأت الحصبة

والجدي بارض العرب ذلك العام وانه اول ما رآه مرايرا لشجر
 والجدي والحصبة The word الحصبة signifies likewise small stones,

and the name as applied to the small-pox is probably derived from the gravelly appearance and feeling of the hard pustules: (such a feeling is believed to be common at some stages of the disease, so much so that the patient on setting his foot to the ground, feels as if he were standing on gravel.) The name, coupled with this derivation, without doubt, gave rise to the poetical description of the event in the Coran:—"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the army of the Elephant? Did he not cause their stratagem to miscarry? And he sent against them flocks of little birds, which cast upon them small clay stones, and made them like unto the stubble of which the cattle have eaten." (*Sura CV*.—See No. XXXVII of this Review, p. 61.—*Canon III*, B.) This passage, as Gibbon well says, is "the seed" of the marvellous details given regarding Abraha's defeat.

Hishâmi describes the stones showered upon the enemy as being like grains of corn and pulse امثال الحمص والعدس (p. 18); and it is remarkable that the latter expression signifies also a species of deadly pustule. It would seem that not all who were struck (or sickened) died; for Ayesha says that she saw at Mecca the *mahout* and the driver of the elephant, وقائد الفيل وسائسهما both blind, and sitting, begging food of the people. (*Hishâmi*, p. 19.) The story is the more likely: for blindness is a very common effect of small-pox.

The other miraculous part of the story is, that when the army was about to advance upon Mecca, Nofail, the Khuthamite guide, whispered in its ear: it forthwith sat down, and no persuasion or compulsion would induce it to stir a step towards Mecca, while it would readily proceed in every other direction. The germ of this story lies in a saying of Mahomet's at Hodeibia. His camel sat down there fatigued; and as the place was at such a convenient distance from Mecca, as to prevent a collision between the Meccans and his army, Mahomet took advantage of the circumstance and said:—"Nay! Al Cuswa (that was his camel's name) is not worn out; but he that restrained the elephant from advancing upon Mecca, the same hath held her back also." (*Wâkidi*, p. 1184.)—(*Hishâmi*, p. 321.) Hence the traditionists invented a variety of stories illustrative of the manner in which God was supposed to have "held back the elephant." Yet Mahomet's meaning seems to have been simply metaphorical:—"He who by his providence restrained the elephant, or the possessor of the elephant, from advancing upon Mecca, the same," &c. It is possible that the fable of the elephant's unwillingness to move against Mecca may have been current in Mahomet's time; but it is incomparably more likely to have been the fiction of the traditionists, grounded on the saying of Mahomet alluded to.

which the Arab tribes regarded the Coreish and the other inhabitants of Mecca. These became vain-glorious, and sought to mark their superiority over all others by special duties and exemptions. "Let us," said they, "release ourselves from "some of the observances imposed upon the common mass ; "and forbid ourselves some of the things which to them are "lawful." Thus (say the Arab historians) they gave up the yearly pilgrimage to Arafat, and the ceremonial return therefrom, although they still acknowledged those acts to be an essential part of the religion of Abraham, and binding upon all others : they also denied themselves the use of cheese and butter, while in the pilgrim-state, and abandoning tents of camels' hair, restricted themselves to leather ones. Upon pilgrims who came from beyond the sacred limits (*haram*.) they imposed new rules for their own aggrandisement. Such visitors, whether they came for the great or the little pilgrimage, were to eat no food brought with them from without the sacred boundary ; and they were forbidden to perform the ceremonial circuits of the Kaaba, unless naked, or clothed in vestments provided by the Meccans alone, who formed the league.* This association, called the HOMS, included the Coreish, a collateral branch, the Bani Kanâna, and the Khozâites. To them the privileges of the league were restricted. All others were subjected to the dependence on them, involved in the solicitation of food and raiment.†

There appears to be some doubt as to the period when these innovations were introduced ; ‡ but under any circumstances

* If persons of rank came as pilgrims, and no Meccan garments were available, they were permitted to go through the ceremony in their own vestments ; but they were to cast them off immediately after, and never again to use them.

The common pilgrims, who could not get clothes, made the circuits of the Kaaba entirely naked : the women with only a single loose shift.

† The word *Homs*, says Wâckidi, refers to something *new* added to a religion, (p. 124). Its etymological derivation seems to be the bringing into play a *fresh stringency* in the pilgrim ceremonial. Sprenger gives its meaning as the "alliance of certain tribes by religion" (p. 36). This was no doubt an incidental feature of the imposition of the new practices, though it would not appear to be the main and original idea.

‡ Hishâmi says, "I know not whether the Coreish introduced the innovation before or after the attack of Abrahâ" (p. 43). Wâckidi places his account of the *Homs* league, under the chapter of Cossai, but he does not say that it was introduced in his time : he mentions the practice *incidentally*, and rather in connection with the meaning of the word "Coreish," and as showing that they formed a portion of the league : hence no chronological deduction can be surely drawn from the position of the narrative, such parenthetical episodes being often introduced, thus irregularly in the Arab histories. Sprenger does not therefore go upon certain ground when he quotes Wâckidi, as assigning the beginning of the custom to the era of the Cossai (p. 36, note i). He supposes that the *Homs*' practices being then introduced, were again *revised* in the year of the Elephant ; but the supposition appears to us unnecessary.

they give proof that the Meccan superstition was active and vigorous, and that its directors possessed over the Arabs a prodigious influence.* The practices then begun were superseded only by Islam; and (adopting the latest date of their introduction) they must have continued in force above half a century. The reverence for the Meccan system, which suffered the imposition of such oppressive customs, must needs have been grossly superstitious, as well as universally prevalent. But the effect of the new practices themselves may perhaps have been adverse to the Meccan system. If the pilgrimage were really of divine appointment, what human authority could grant a dispensation to relax any part of its observances; and in a country where the decent morals of Christianity and Judaism were known and respected, what could be gained by the outrage of society in causing the female sex to perform a public ceremony in an insufficient dress, and the men entirely naked? Here were fair points for the reformer to take exception at, and they would avail either for the denunciation of the entire superstition, or for insisting upon a return to the practices of a purer and more scrupulous age.†

Let us now glance for a moment at the state of parties in Mecca, towards the latter days of Abd al Muttalib.

* We cannot understand on what principle Sprenger regards this league as a symptom of the declining power of the Meccan superstition, a vain effort which sought "a remedy in reforming the faith of the Haram" * * * "the last spark of the life of whose confederation seemed to be on the point of being extinguished" (p. 36). To us, the facts convey a conclusion totally the reverse.

† Mahomet was not slow in availing himself of the last of these arguments. He abolished all the restrictions, as well as the relaxations of the Homs league. These practices are indirectly reprobated in Sura II., vv. 199-200 (where he enforces the necessity of the pilgrimage to Arafat), and in Sura VII., vv. 28 and 32 (where proper apparel is enjoined, and the free use of food and water). It is said that Mahomet himself, before he assumed the prophetic office, used to perform the pilgrimage to Arafat, thus disallowing the provisions of the association.

Besides the Homs, there were other practices, some of them with less likelihood said to be modern innovations. Such were the arbitrary rules regarding the dedication of camels as hallowed and exempt from duty, when they had come up to a certain standard of fruitfulness; involving some curious rules as to their flesh being wholly illicit, or lawful to men only in certain circumstances to women only in others. The dedicated mother camel was called *Saba* (and in some cases *Wastla*, which included goats or ewes); the eleventh, or dedicated female young one, *Baktra*; *Hami*, the dedicated stallion. But Ibn Ishac and Ibn Hisham are not agreed on the details of these customs. It is pretended that Amr Ibn Lobay (in the third century A. D.) introduced the practice; but it, no doubt, grew up long before that time, and is founded, as C. de Perceval says, in the Arab affection for the camel, and reverence for such animals as greatly added to the breed (Vol. I, pp. 225-226.—*Sale, Prel. Disc.* pp. 151-153.—*Hisham*, pp. 29-30.)

Mahomet inveighed strongly against these arbitrary distinctions which God had not enjoined. (See *Sura V.*, v. 112; *Sura VII.*, v. 144; *Sura X.*, v. 59).

There had formerly been two leading factions, the descendants of Abd al Dar, and those of Abd Menâf, the two sons of Cossai. The former were originally possessed of all the public offices; but since the struggle with Hâshim, about seventy years before, when they were stripped of several important dignities, their influence had departed, and they had sunk into a subordinate and insignificant position. The offices retained by them were still undoubtedly valuable; but they were divided among separate members of the family; the benefit of combination was lost; and there was no steady and united effort to improve their advantages towards the acquisition of social influence and political power.*

The virtual chiefship of Mecca was thus in the hands of the descendants of Abd Menâf. But amongst these, two parties had arisen: the families, to wit, of the two brothers, Hâshim and Abd Shams. The grand offices of giving of food and water to the pilgrims secured to the Hâshimites a commanding and a permanent influence, vastly increased by the able management of Hâshim, of Al Muttalib, and now of Abd al Muttalib; and the latter, like his father Hâshim, appears to have been regarded as the chief of the Meccan Sheikhs. But the Abd Shams family, with their numerous and powerful connexions, were jealous of the power of the Hâshimites, and (as we have seen) repeatedly endeavoured to humble them, or to cast a slur upon their high position. One office, that of the leadership in war, was secured by this family, and contributed much to its splendour. It was, moreover, rich and successful in merchandise, and by some is thought to have exceeded in influence and power even the Hâshimite branch.†

But the "year of the Elephant" had already given birth to a personage, destined, within half a century, to eclipse all the distinctions either of Hâshimite or Omeyad race. To the consideration of this momentous event, we hope in a future article to recur.

* The custody of the Holy House, the presidency in the Hall of Council, and privilege of binding the banner on the leader's spear, offices secured to the branch of Abd al Dar, might all have been turned to important account, if the advice of their ancestor Cossai had been followed. But division of authority, want of ability, and adverse fortune, appear all along to have depressed this family.

† *Sprenger's Life of Mohammed*, p. 31.

THE BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF MAHOMET.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval.* Paris, 1847. Vol. I.
2. *Life of Mohammad* By A. Sprenger, M.D., Allahabad, 1851.
3. *Strat Wäckidi, Arabic MS.*
4. *Strat Tabari, ditto ditto.*
5. *Strat Hishâmi, ditto ditto.*

IN previous papers we have traced the history of Mecca, and of the ancestors of Mahomet, from the earliest times of which we have any account, down to the famous *year of the elephant* (570 A. D.) which marks the deliverance of the sacred city from the invading army of Abraha, the Abyssinian Viceroy of Yemen. Before proceeding farther, we propose to take a survey of the valley of Mecca, and the country immediately surrounding it.

Within the great mountain range which skirts the Red Sea, and about equidistant, by the caravan track, from Yemen and the Gulf of Akaba, lies the holy valley. The traveller from the sea-shore, after a journey of fifty or sixty miles, reaches it by an almost imperceptible ascent, chiefly through sandy plains, and defiles hemmed in by low hills of gneiss and quartz, which rise in some places to the height of 400 or 500 feet.* Passing Mecca, and pursuing his eastward course, he would proceed, with the same gentle rise, and between hills partly composed of granite, through the valley of Minâ, and in five or six hours reach the sacred eminence of Arafat. From thence the mountains begin to ascend to a great height, till about eighty miles from the sea, the granite peaks of Jebel Kora crown the range, and Tâif comes in sight, thirty miles farther eastward. Between Jebel Kora and Tâif, the country is fertile and lovely. Rivulets every here and there descend from the hills, and the plains are clothed with verdure, and adorned by large shady trees. Tâif is famous for its fruits: the grapes are of a "very large size and delicious flavour;" and there is no want of variety to tempt the appetite; for figs, peaches and pomegranates, apricots, quinces, apples and almonds, grow in abundance and perfection. Far different is

* *Burkhardt's Arabia*, pp 58-62. The journey was performed in nineteen hours on a camel. Burkhardt, however, rode it upon an ass in thirteen hours. He estimates the distance at sixteen or seventeen hours' walk, or about fifty-five miles from Jedda. For the characters of the rocks, see *Burkhardt*, p. 62, and *All Bey*, Vol. II., p. 118.

it with the frowning rocks and barren valleys, which for many a mile surround Mecca. Stunted brushwood and thorny acacias occasionally relieve the eye, and furnish scanty repast to the hardy camel; but the general features are only rugged rocks and sandy or stony glens, from which the peasant in vain looks for the grateful returns of tillage. Even at the present day, when the riches of Asia have for twelve centuries poured into the city, and a regular supply of water is secured by a canal of masonry from the mountains East of Arafat, Mecca can hardly boast a garden or a cultivated field, and only here and there a tree.*

In the vicinity of Mecca, the hills are formed of quartz and gneiss: but eastward strata of granite appear, and within one or two miles of the city, lofty and rugged peaks (as the Javal Nûr or *Hird*)† begin to shoot upwards in grand and commanding masses. The valley of Mecca is a little more than a mile and a half in length: the general direction is from north to south;

* Burkhardt (p. 127) noticed a few acres to the North of the town "irrigated by means of a well, and producing vegetables." Some trees also grow in the extreme southern quarter, where Burkhardt first took up his abode:—"I had here," he says, "the advantage of several large trees growing before my windows, the verdure of which, among the barren and sun-burnt rocks of Mecca, was to me more exhilarating than the finest landscape could have been under different circumstances" (p. 101). But of the town generally, he says:—"It is completely barren and destitute of trees" (p. 103); and "no trees or gardens cheer the eye" (p. 104). So Ali Bey;—"I never saw but one flower the whole of my stay at Mecca, which was upon the way to Arafat." (Vol. II., p. 99.) "It (Mecca) is situated at the bottom of a sandy valley surrounded on all sides by naked mountains, without brook, river, or any running water, without trees, plants, or any species of vegetation. (Vol. II., p. 112.) Again:—"The aridity of the country is such that there is hardly a plant to be seen near the city, or upon the neighbouring mountains. We may not expect to find at Mecca anything like a meadow, or still less a garden..... They do not sow any grain, for the too ungrateful soil would not produce any plant to the cultivator. The soil refuses to yield even spontaneous productions, of which it is so liberal elsewhere. In short, there are but three or four trees upon the spot, where formerly stood the house of Abu Taleh, the uncle of the prophet; and six or eight others scattered here and there. These trees are prickly, and produce a small fruit similar to the jujube, which is called nebbak by the Arabs." (Vol. II., p. 110.)

And of its environs, Burkhardt writes:—"As soon as we pass these extreme precincts of Mecca, the desert presents itself; for neither gardens, trees, nor pleasure-houses line the avenues to the town, which is surrounded on every side by barren sandy valleys, and equally barren hills. A stranger placed on the great road to Taïf, just beyond the turn of the hill in the immediate neighbourhood of the sheriff's garden house, would think himself as far removed from human society, as if he were in the midst of the Nubian desert." (p. 131.) This, however, he ascribes to indolence and apathy, seeing that water "can be easily obtained at about thirty feet below the surface." But there must, nevertheless, be some natural defect in the gravelly and sandy soil of Mecca, else the munificence of the Moslem rulers, and the notorious avarice of its inhabitants, would long ere this have planted trees and gardens to produce a profit, or to beautify the town.

† *Burkhardt*, p. 175, and note.

but at the upper or northern extremity, where the way leads to Arafat and Táif, it bends to the eastward; and the southern or lower end, where the roads branch off to Yemen, Jedda, and Syria,* there is a still more decided bend to the westward. At the latter curve the valley opens out to a breadth of about half a mile, and it is in the spacious amphitheatre thus shut in by rocks and mountains, that the Kaaba, and the main portions of the city, both ancient and modern, were founded. The surrounding rocks rise precipitously two or three hundred feet above the valley, and on the eastern side they reach a height of five hundred feet. It is here that the craggy defiles of *Abu Cobeis*, the most lofty of all the hills encircling the valley, overhang the quarter of the town in which Abd al Muttalib and his family lived. About three furlongs to the north-east of the Kaaba, the spot of Mahomet's birth is still pointed out to the pious pilgrim as the *Sheb Maulûd*; and hard by is the *Sheb Ali* (or quarter in which Ali resided), built, like the other, on the declivity of the rock.†

Though within the tropics, Mecca has not the usual tropical showers. The rainy season begins about December; the clouds do not discharge their precious freight with continuousness or regularity; but sometimes the rain descends with such excessive violence as to swamp the little valley with the floods from Arafat. Even in the summer, rain is not unfrequent. The seasons are thus very uncertain, and the horrors of a continued drought are occasionally experienced. The heat, especially in the months of autumn, is very oppressive.‡ The surrounding ridges intercept the zephyrs that would otherwise reach the close and sultry valley; the sun beats with violence on the bare and gravelly soil, and reflects an intense and distressing glare. The native of Mecca, acclimated to the narrow valley, may regard with complacency its inhospitable atmosphere,§

* The high road to Medina and Syria takes this southerly circuit. A direct road has been made through a dip in the mountain to the north-west of the city. This is facilitated by steps cut out of the rock:—a modern work, ascribed to one of the Barmecide family. (See *Burkhardt*, p. 129.)

† The above description is taken from *Burkhardt* and Ali Bey, chiefly from the former.

‡ *Burkhardt* says it is most severe from August to October. He mentions a suffocating hot wind in September. (p. 240.) Ali Bey says, "It may be imagined how great must be the heat in summer, when in the month of January, with the windows open, I could scarcely endure the sheet of the bed upon me, and the butter, at the same period, was always liquid like water." (Vol. II., p. 112.)

§ Some years after the Hegira, the refugees began to long for their native Mecca, and some touching verses are preserved, expressive of their fond affection for its sterile soil, and the springs in its vicinity.

but the traveller, even in the depth of winter, complains of a stifling closeness and suffocating warmth.

Such is the spot, barren and unpromising though it be, on which the Arabs look with a fond and superstitious reverence, as the cradle of their destiny, and the arena of the remote events which gave birth to their Faith. Here Hagar alighted with Ishmael, and paced with troubled steps the space between the little hill of Sasâ (a spur of Abu Cobeis) and the eminence of Marwâ, which, on the opposite side of the valley, is an offshoot of the lower range of Keyckâân. Here the Jorhomites established themselves upon the falling fortunes of the ancestors of the Coreish; and from hence they were expelled by the Khozâa, the new invaders from the south. It was in this pent-up vale that Cossay nourished his ambitious plans, and in the granite defiles of the neighbouring Minâ, asserted them by a bloody encounter with the Bani Sâfa: and here he established the Coreish in supremacy. It was hard by the Kaaba that his descendants, the Bani Abd al Dâr, and Bani Abd Menâf, were drawn up in battle array to fight for the sovereign prerogative. It was here that Hâshim exhibited his glorious liberality, and on this spot that Abd al Muttalib toiled with his single son till he discovered the ancient well Zamzam. Thousands of such associations crowd upon the mind of the weary pilgrim, as the minarets of the Kaaba rise before his longing eyes; and in the long vista of ages, reaching even to Adam, his imagination pictures multitudes of pious devotees from all quarters and in every age, flocking to this little valley, to make their seven circuits of the holy house, to kiss the mysterious stone, and drink of the sacred water. Well, then, may the Arab regard the fane, and its surrounding rocks, with awe and admiration.

At the period of the retreat from Mecca of Abraha,* with his Abyssinian army, Abd al Muttalib (as we have seen in a previous article) now above seventy years of age, enjoyed the rank and consideration of the foremost chief of Mecca. Some little time previous to this event, he had taken his youngest son, ABDALLAH† (born 545 A. D.), then about four and twenty years of age, to the house of Wuhejb, a distant kinsman of

* By Caussin de Perceval's calculations, this event occurred in June 570 A. D.

† Abdallah, *servant of God* (corresponding with the Hebrew *Abdiel*), was a name common among the ante-Mahometan Arabs. (*Conf. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 126, Vol. II., pp. 226, 434, and 436). Mahomet's nurse, Halima, was the daughter of a person called Abdallah, and had a son of the same name. (*Vide Wâhidî*, p. 287½.)

the Coreishite stock (being descended from Zohra, brother of the famous Cossay :) and there affianced him to AMINA, the daughter of Wahb, brother of Wuheib, under whose guardianship she lived. At the same time Abd al Muttalib, notwithstanding his advanced age, bethought him of a matrimonial alliance on his own account, and married Hâlah, daughter of Wuheib and cousin to Amina. The famous Hamza was the first fruit of this marriage.*

As was customary, when the marriage was consummated at the home of the bride, Abdallah remained with her there for three days.† Not long after, he set out, during the pregnancy of his wife, on a mercantile expedition to Ghazza (Gaza), in the south of Syria. On his way back he sickened at Medina, and was there left behind by the caravan, with his father's maternal relatives of the Bani Najâr.‡ Abd al Muttalib, learning of Abdallah's sickness from his comrades, despatched his son Hârith to take care of him: but on reaching Medina, he found that his brother had died about a month after the departure of the caravan, and was buried in the house of Nâbigha, in the quarter of the Bani Adî.§ And his father and brethren grieved sore for him. Abdallah was five and twenty years of age at his death, and Amina had not yet been delivered. || He left behind him five camels fed on wild shrubs,¶ a flock of goats, and a slave girl called *Omm*

* Hamza is said to have been four years older than Mahomet. (*Vide Wâckidi*, p. 20, *margin*.) This would either imply that Abdallah was married at least four years before Mahomet's birth, which is not likely, and is opposed to the tradition of Amina's early conception; or that Abd al Muttalib married Hâlah at least four years before his son married Amina, which is also opposed to tradition.

† We reject the absurd story (of which there are many versions inconsistent with each other) of a woman offering her embraces, without success, to Abdallah, while on his way to Wuheib's house, but declining his advances on his return thence, because the prophetic light had departed from his forehead. It falls under the Canon II. D. Some make this woman to be a sister of the Christian Waraca, who having heard from her brother tidings of the coming prophet, recognized in Abdallah the prophetic light, and coveted to be the mother of the prophet! This fable perhaps gave rise to the later legend that many Meccan damsels died of envy the night of Abdallah's marriage. (*See Calcutta Review*, No. XXXIV., p. 430.)

‡ It will be remembered that Abd al Muttalib's mother (Hâshim's wife,) belonged to Medina, and to this tribe.

§ The Bani Adî were the family to which Solmâ, Abd al Muttalib's mother, belonged.

|| This account is from Wâckidi, (p. 18); he mentions other accounts, such as that Abdallah went to Medina to purchase dates; that he died eighteen months (others say seven months) after Mahomet's birth: but he gives the preference to the version transcribed in the text.

¶ خمس اجمال اوارك يئني لا كال اراك (*Wâckidi*, p. 1836); that is to say, camels not reared and fed at home, and therefore of an inferior kind.

Ayman (and also *Baraka*), who tended the infant born by his widow. This little property, and the house in which he dwelt, were all the inheritance Mahomet received from his father; but, little as it was, the simple habits of the Arab required no more, and instead of being evidence of poverty, the possession of the female slave is rather an indication of prosperity and comfort.*

Passing over, as fabulous and unworthy of credit, the marvellous incidents related of the gestation of the prophet, and his first appearance in the world,† it suffices to state that the widowed Amina gave birth to her infant in the autumn of the year 570 A.D. It is a vain attempt to fix with certainty the precise date of the birth, for the materials we possess are too vague and discrepant to be subjected to so close and stringent a calculation. We may be content to know that the event occurred about fifty-five days after the attack of Abrahā,‡ and may accept, as an approximation, the date of M. Caussin de Perceval (in whose calculations we have already expressed our general concurrence), *viz.*, the 20th of August, 570 A.D.§

* See *Sprenger*, p. 81. The house was sold by a son of Abu Tālib, to one of the Coreish, for twenty dinars. (*Tabari*.)

† Specimens of these are given in No. XXXIV, Article VI. of this *Review*, p. 404 *et seq.* The stories there narrated are however modern; but the most ancient biographies likewise contain many absurd tales. They say that at the moment of the birth, a light proceeded from Amina which rendered visible the palaces and streets of Hozra, and the necks of the camels there. (Wāckidi, p. 18½—*Hishāmi*, p. 30.) This evidently originated in the mistaken application of some metaphorical saying, such as, that, "light of Islam to proceed hereafter from the infant now born has illuminated Syria and Persia." It is remarkable that the "honest," but credulous Wāckidi leaves Hishāmi far behind in his relation of these miracles. Thus his traditions make Mahomet as soon as born to support himself on his hands, seize a handful of earth, and raise up his head to heaven. He was born clean, and circumcised, whereat Abd al Muttalib greatly marvelled. So of Amina, it is said, that she felt no weight or inconvenience from the embryo: that heavenly messengers came to her, and saluted her as the mother elect of him who was to be the prophet and lord of his people: that she was desired by them to call the child *Ahmad*; that alarmed by these visions, she, at the advice of her female acquaintance, hung pieces of iron as charms on her arms and neck, &c. (Wāckidi, p. 18.) Sprenger infers from these traditions, that the mother had a weak and nervous temperament, which descended to her son. But we discard the traditions themselves as utterly untrustworthy, both on account of the *period* and the *subject-matter* of which they treat. (See *Canons I. A., and II. D., in Article I., No. XXXVII. of this Review.*)

One tradition makes, Amina say, "I have had children, but never was the embryo of one heavier than that of Mahomet." Wāckidi (p. 18) rejects this tradition, because he says, Amina never had any *child* except Mahomet; but its very existence is a good illustration of the recklessness of Mahometan traditionists.

‡ Vide Wāckidi, p. 18¾.

§ We know accurately the date of Mahomet's death, but we cannot calculate backwards with certainty, even to the *year* of his birth, because his life is variously stated as extending from sixty-three to sixty-five years, and, besides this, there

No sooner had Amina given birth to the infant, than she sent to tell Abd al Muttalib. And the messenger carrying the good tidings of a grandson, reached the chief while he sat in the sacred enclosure of the Kaaba, in the midst of his sons and the principal men of his tribe: and he was glad, and arose, and they that were with him. And he went to Amina, and she told him all that had come to pass. So he took the young child in his arms, and went to the Kaaba. And as he stood beside the holy house, he gave thanks to God. Now the child was called MOHAMMAD.

is a doubt whether the year meant is a lunar, or a luni-solar one. See note on p. 49, *Calcutta Review*, No. XVI.

The Arab historians give various dates, as the fortieth year of Kesra's reign, or the 880th of the Seleucide Dynasty, which answered to 570 A. D.; others the forty-first, the forty-second, or the forty-third of Kesra's reign, or the 881st, 882nd, and 883rd of Alexander. M. de Sacy fixes the date as the 20th of April A. D. 571; on the principle that the lunar year was always in force at Mecca. But he adds,—"En vain chercheroit-on à déterminer l'époque de la naissance de Mahomet d'une manière qui ne laissât subsister aucune incertitude." See the question discussed, p. 43 et seq. *Memoire des Arabes avant Mahomet*, Tome XLVIII. *Mem. Acad. Inscrit. et Belles Lettres*."

Herr v. Hammar fixes the birth in 569 A. D.; and Sprenger notes two dates as possible, viz., 13th April 571, and 13th May 567 A. D. (*Life*, p. 74.)

The common date given by Mahometan writers is the 12th of Rabi I.; but other authorities give the 2nd, and others again the 10th of that month (*Wâkidi*, p. 18½). It is scarcely possible to believe that the date could, under ordinary circumstances in Meccan society, as then constituted, have been remembered with scrupulous accuracy.

There are two circumstances affecting the traditions on this head which have not attracted sufficient notice. The first is that *Monday* was regarded as a remarkable day in Mahomet's history, on which all the great events of his life occurred. Thus an old tradition:—"the prophet was born on a *Monday*; he elevated the black stone on a *Monday*; he assumed his prophetic office on a *Monday*; he fled from Mecca on a *Monday*; he reached Medina on a *Monday*; he expired on a *Monday*." (*Tabi'i*, p. 214—*Wâkidi*, p. 37—*Hishâmi*, p. 173. *marg. gloss*) Nay, *Wâkidi* makes him to have been *conceived* on a *Monday*! (p. 18.) This conceit no doubt originated on Mahomet's death, and one or two of the salient incidents of his mature life, really falling on a *Monday*; and hence the same day was superstitiously extended backwards to unknown dates. When *Monday* was once fixed upon as the day of his birth, it led to calculations thereon (see *Sprenger*, p. 75, *note*) and that to variety of date.

Secondly, something of the same spirit led to the assumption that the prophet was born in the same month, and in the same day of the *month*, as well as of the *week* on which he died; and thus the popular tradition is that which assigns *Monday*, the 12th of *Rabi I.*, as his birth-day. But that such minutiae as the day either of the month or week, were likely to be remembered so long after, especially in the case of an orphan, is inconsistent with Cannon I. A. of the Article in No. XXXVII. of this *Review*, above quoted.

* The above account is given in the simple words of *Wâkidi* (p. 19). Though some of the incidents are perhaps of late growth (as the visit to the Kaaba), yet they are introduced because possible. In the original, however, are several palpable fabrications: as, that Amina told Abd al Muttalib of her visions, and the command of the angel that the child should be called *Ahmad*. The prayer of Abd al Muttalib at the Kaaba is also apocryphal, being evidently composed in a Mahometan strain.

This name was rare among the Arabs, but not unknown. It is derived from the root *Hamd* [حمد] and signifies "The Praised." Another form of it is *AHMAD*, which having been erroneously employed as the translation of *The Præclate* in some Arabic version of the New Testament, became a favourite term with Mahometans, especially in addressing Jews and Christians : for it was (they said) the title under which their Prophet had been predicted.* Following the established usage of Christendom, we speak of Mohammad as MAHOMET.

It was not the custom for the higher class of women at Mecca to nurse their own children. They procured nurses for them, or gave them out to nurse among the neighbouring Bedouin tribes, where was gained the double advantage of a

* It may be of some importance to show to the Mahometans, that the name was known and used in Arabia before Mahomet's birth. We have seen that his grandfather was called Sheba al *Hamd* which is the same word. The precise form of Ahmad was very rare, but we find it in use among the Bani Bakr ibn Wâil, about thirty or forty years before Mahomet. (Vide *C de Perceval*, Vol. II., p. 378.) We have a *Mohammad*, son of Sofîân, of the Tamîn tribe, born before 500 A. D. (*Idem*, p. 297.) We meet also with a Mohammad, of the tribe of Aws, born about 530 A. D. (*Idem*, Table VII.) and among the followers of the prophet killed at Kheibar we find a *Mahmud* ibn Maslama (elsewhere called *Mohammad* ibn Maslama,) whose name could not have had any connexion with that of Mahomet ; he was also an Awsiite. (*Hishkîmi*, p. 341—*Wâckidi*, p. 121.) *Wâckidi*, in a chapter devoted to the subject, mentions *five* of the names before the prophet ; 1. Mohammad ibn Khoâssya, of the Bani Dzakwan, who went to Abrahâ, and remained with him in the profession of Christianity : a verse by the brother of this man is quoted, in which the name occurs ; 2. Mohammad ibn Saffin, of the Bani Tamîn ; 3. Mohammad ibn Joshâmî, of the Bani Suwâat ; 4. Mohammad al Asiyyadi ; 5. Mohammad al Focklmî. But with the usual Mahometan credulity and desire to exhibit anticipations of the prophet. *Wâckidi* adds, that these names were given by such Arabs as had learnt from Jews, Christians, or soothsayers, that a prophet was about to arise in Arabia so called, and the parent in the fond hope that his child would turn out to be the expected one, called him by that name ! In the second instance, this intelligence is said to have been imparted by a Christian Bishop.

The word Ahmad, it appears, occurred by mistake in an Arabic translation of John's Gospel for "the Comforter," *παρακλητος* for *παρακλητος* or was forged as such by some ignorant or designing monk in Mahomet's time. Hence the partiality of this name, which was regarded as the fulfilment of a promise or prophecy.

Wâckidi has a chapter devoted to the titles of the prophet. Among these are

ما هي وعاقب وخا شر خا تم the last of these means "obliviator," or

"blotter out : " and is thus interpreted حي قان الا مما بق سائ من اتبعه

و اما لما "because God blots out through him the sins of his followers": or

as farther explained " blot out through him unbelief." (*Wâckidi*, p. 74.)

robust frame, and the pure speech and free manners of the desert.*

The infant Mahomet, shortly after his birth, was made over to Thueiba, a slave woman of his uncle Abu Lahab, who had lately nursed Hamza.† Though he was suckled by her only for a few days, he retained in after life a lively sense of the connection thus formed. Both Mahomet and Khadija used to express their respect for her, and the former continued to make her presents and gifts of clothes, until the seventh year of the Hegira, when, upon his return from Kheibar, he had tidings of her death; and he asked after her son Masrûh, his foster-brother, but he, too, was dead, and she had left no relatives.‡

After Thueiba had suckled the child for probably not more than a few days, § a party of the Bani Saâd (descended from the Hawazin stock,||) arrived at Mecca with ten women of their tribe, who offered themselves as nurses for the Meccan infants. They were all soon provided with children, excepting Halîma, who at last consented to take the orphan Mahomet; for it was to the father the nurses chiefly looked for a liberal reward, and the charge of the fatherless child had been before declined by

* Burkhardt states that this practice is common still among the Shereefs of Mecca. At eight days old, the infant is sent away, and excepting a visit at the sixth month, does not return to his parents till eight or ten years of age. The Hodheil, Thakîf, Coreish, and Harb, are mentioned as tribes to which the infants are thus sent; and (which is a singular evidence of the stability of Arab tribes and customs) to these is added the *Bani Saâd*, the very tribe to which the infant Mahomet was made over. (*Burkhardt's Travels*, pp. 229-231.) Weil assigns another reason for this practice, *vis.*, the anxiety of the Meccan mothers to have large families, and to preserve their constitutions. (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 24, note 7.)

† Foster-relationship was regarded by the Arabs as a very near tie, and therefore all those are carefully noted by the biographers who had been nursed *with* Mahomet (or as Sprenger puts it, "with the same milk"). Ali, when at Medina, proposed to Mahomet that he should marry Hamza's daughter, and praised her beauty to him; but Mahomet refrained, saying that a daughter of his foster-brother was not lawful for him. (*Wâckidi*, p. 20.)

‡ These pleasing traits of Mahomet's character will be found at page 20 of *Wâckidi*. It is added that Khadija sought to purchase her, that she might give her liberty, but Abu Lahab refused. After Mahomet, however, had died from Mecca, he set her free. The credulous traditionists relate that on this account Abu Lahab experienced a minute remission of his torments in hell.

§ So *Wâckidi* ٢٤ ١ (p. 20, Weil, p. 25 note 8) adduces traditions, but apparently not good ones for a longesperiod. If the nurses used (as is said) to come to Mecca twice a year, in spring and in harvest, they must have arrived in autumn, not long after the date which we have adopted as that of Mahomet's birth.

|| Descended from Khawafa, Cays Aylân, Modhar, and Maâdd, and therefore of the same origin as the Coreish.

the party. The legends of after days have encircled Halîma's journey homewards, with a halo of miraculous prosperity, but this it does not lie within the object of our story to relate.*

The infancy, and part of the childhood of Mahomet, were spent with Halîma and her husband,† among the Bani Saâd. At two years of age she weaned him, and took him to his mother, who was so delighted with the healthy, robust appearance of her infant (for he looked like a child of double the age), that she said, "take him with thee back again to the desert, for I fear the unhealthy air of Mecca." So she returned with him. When another two years were ended, some strange event occurred to the boy which greatly alarmed Halîma. It was probably a fit of epilepsy; but the Mahometan legends have invested it with so many marvellous features, that it is difficult to discover the real facts.‡ It seems clear, however, that Halîma and her husband were uneasy, and the former desiring to get rid of a charge which Arab superstition regarded as under the influence of an evil spirit, carried the child back to its mother. With some difficulty, Amina obtained from her an account of what had happened, calmed her fears, and entreated her to resume the care of her boy. Halîma

* Thus Amina said to the nurse that for three nights she had been told in a vision, that one of the family of Abu Dzueib was destined to nurse her infant: when, to her astonishment, Halîma said, *that is my husband's name!* Neither Halîma nor her camel had any milk for her own child on their journey to Mecca, but no sooner had she received the infant Mahomet, than she had abundance for both, and so had the camel. Her white donkey could hardly move along to Mecca for weakness, but on their way home it outstripped all the others, so that their fellow-travellers marvelled exceedingly. It was a year of famine, yet the Lord so blessed Halîma for the little Mahomet's sake, that her cattle always returned fat and with plenty of milk, while those of every other were lean and dry:—and many such other stories. See the legend as given by Sprenger, p. 143; Wâckidi, p. 204; and Hishâmi (who here indulges more in the marvellous than Wâckidi,) p. 31.

† Wâckidi makes the husband's name Abu Dzueih, (p. 204); but some call him Hârith, and name Halîma's father Abu Dzueib.

‡ The following is the account of Wâckidi, who is more concise than the other biographers on the subject.

"When he had reached four years of age he was one morning playing with his (foster) brother and sister among the cattle, close by the encampment. And there came to him two angels, who cut open his body and drew forth from thence the black drop, and cast it from them, and washed his inside with water of snow, which they had in a gold platter. Then they weighed him against a thousand of his people, and he outweighed them all together: and the one of them said unto the other, "let him go, for verily if thou wert to weigh him against the whole of his people, he would outweigh them all." His (foster) brother seeing this ran screaming to his mother, who with her husband hastened to the spot and found the lad pale and affrighted. (Wâckidi, p. 204.)

loved her foster-child, and was not unwillingly persuaded to take him once more to her encampment. There she kept him for about a year longer, and never suffered him to go far out of her sight. But her apprehensions were renewed by fresh symptoms of an unusual nature, and she set out to restore the boy to his mother, when he was about five years of age.* As she reached the upper quarter of Mecca, the little Mahomet strayed from her, and she could not find him. Abd al Mutta-lib, to whom in this difficulty she repaired, sent one of his

Hishâmi and other later writers add that her husband concluded he had "had a fit," (اصيب) and advised her to take him home to his mother. Arrived at Mecca, she confessed after some hesitation what had occurred. "Ah!" exclaimed Amina, "didst thou fear that a devil had possessed him?" — عليا الشيطان — she proceeded to say that such could never be the case with a child whose birth had been preceded and followed by so many prodigies, recounting them in detail. Then she added, "leave him with me, and depart in peace, and heaven direct thee!" From this Sprenger rightly concludes (p. 78) that according to Hishâmi the child did not return with Hâfima: but Wâckidi explicitly states the reverse.

This legend is closely connected with Sura XCIV. v. I. "Have we not opened thy breast?" — *i.e.*, given thee relief. These words were afterwards construed literally, into an actual opening, or splitting up of his chest; and, coupled with other sayings of Mahomet as to his being cleansed from the taint of sin, were wrought up into the story given above.

It is possible, also, that Mahomet may have himself given a more developed nucleus for the legend, desiring thereby to enhance the superstitious attachment of his people, and conveniently referring the occasion of the cleansing and its romantic accompaniments to this early fit. But we can not, with any approach to certainty, determine whether any, and if so, what part of the legend, owes its paternity to Mahomet directly; or whether it has been entirely fabricated upon the verse of the Coran referred to, and other metaphorical assertions of cleansing construed literally.

* When Hâfima took back the child to Mecca after its first attack, she told Amina that nothing but the sheerest necessity would make her part with it:—

انا لا اتركه الا عبي جلع الفلأ (Wâckidi, p. 206). She then took him

back with her, and kept him close in sight. She was, however, again startled (as the legend goes) by observing a cloud attendant upon the child, sheltering him from the sun, moving as he moved, and stopping when he stopped. This alarmed her:—

فاقرعها في لك ايضا من امره If there be any thing in the tradition, it probably implies a renewal of symptoms of the former nature.

It appears extremely probable that these legends originated in some species of fact. One can hardly conceive their fabrication out of nothing, even admitting that the 94th Sura, and other metaphorical expressions may have led to the marvellous additions.

We have given in the text what appears to us the probable narrative, but it must be confessed that the ground on which we here stand is vague and uncertain.

family to the search, who discovered him wandering in Upper Mecca, and restored him to his mother.*

If we are right in regarding the attacks which alarmed Halima as fits of a nervous or epileptic nature, they exhibit in the constitution of Mahomet the normal marks of those excited states, and ecstatic swoons, which perhaps suggested to his own mind the idea of inspiration, as by his followers they undoubtedly were taken to be evidence of it. It is probable that in other respects, the constitution of Mahomet was rendered more robust, and his character more free and independent, by his five years' residence among the Bani Saád. At any rate, his speech was thus formed upon one of the purest models of the beautiful language of the peninsula; and it was his pride in after days to say, "Verily, I am the most perfect Arab amongst you; for I come of the Coeish, and my tongue is that of the Bani Saád."† When his success came to depend in great measure upon his eloquence, a pure language, and an elegant dialect, were advantages of essential moment.

Mahomet ever retained a grateful impression of the kindness he had experienced as a child among the Bani Saád. Halima visited him at Mecca after his marriage with Khadija; "and it was" (the tradition runs) "a year of drought, in which much cattle perished; and Mahomet spake to Khadija, and she gave to Halima a camel accustomed to carry a litter, and forty sheep; so she returned to her people." Upon another occasion he spread out his mantle (a token of special respect,) for her to sit upon, and placed his hand upon her in a familiar and affectionate manner.‡ Many years after, when, on

* *Wáckidi*, p. 20½ and 21. Hishâmi makes the person who found him to be the famous Waraca: but Wáckidi represents Abd al Muttalib as sending one of his grandsons to the search. The latter also gives some verses purporting to be Abd al Muttalib's prayer to the deity at the Kaaba to restore the child; but they are apocryphal.

أنا أعر بكم أنا من قريش ولساني لسان بني سعد ابن بكر †

Wáckidi, p. 21.—See *Hishâmi*, p. 34. Sprenger translates the opening verb: "I speak best Arabic," (p. 77); but it has probably a more extensive signification.

أدخل يده في ثيابها وضعها علي صدرها وقضي حاجتها ‡

Wáckidi, p. 21. It is added that Abu Bakr and Omar treated her with equal honor, omitting, however, the actions of familiar affection referred to in the extract just quoted. But to, what period this refers is not apparent; she could hardly have survived to their caliphate: indeed we understand her to have been dead before the taking of Mecca and siege of Thif.

the expedition against Táif, he attacked the Bani Hâwazin, and took a multitude of them captive, they found a ready access to his heart by reminding him of the days when he was nursed among them.* About the same time a woman called Shîma (by others Judâma) was brought in with some other prisoners to the camp, and when they threatened her with their swords, she declared that she was the prophet's foster sister. Mahomet enquired how he should know the truth of this, and she replied:—"Thou gavest me this bite upon my back, once upon a time, when I carried thee on my hip." The prophet recognized the mark, spread his mantle over her, and made her to sit down by him. He gave her the option of remaining in honor and dignity with him, or of returning with a present to her people, and she preferred the latter.†

The sixth year of his life (575-6 A. D.) Mahomet spent at Mecca under the care of his mother. When it was nearly at an end, she planned a visit to Medina, where she longed to show her boy to the maternal relatives of his father. So she departed with her slave girl Omm Ayman (Baraka,) who tended her child; and they rode upon two camels. ‡ Arrived at Medina, she alighted at the house of Nâbigha, where her husband had died and was buried. The visit was of sufficient duration to imprint the scene and the society upon the memory of the juvenile Mahomet. He used often to call to recollection things that had happened on this occasion; and seven and forty years afterwards, when he entered Medina as a refugee, he recognized the lofty quarters of the Bani Adî:—"In this house," said he, "I used to sport with Aynasa, a little girl of Medina; and with my cousins, I used to put to flight the birds that alighted upon its roof." And as he gazed upon the house, he added:—"here it was my mother lodged with me; and in

* *Wâkidi*, pp. 21 and 131—*Hishâmî*, p. 379. The deputation from the Hawâzin contained Mahomet's foster uncle Abu Burkan. Pointing to the enclosure in which the captives of their tribe were pent up, they said:—"there are three (foster) fathers and (foster) mothers of thine, and those who have fondled thee in their bosom, and we have suckled thee from our breasts. Verily we have seen thee a suckling, and never a better suckling than thou, and a weaned child, and never a better weaned child than thou; and we have seen thee a youth," &c., &c. *Wâkidi*, p. 21.

† *Wâkidi*, p. 204—*Hishâmî*, p. 379. It is added, "the Bani Saâd say, he also gave her a male and a female slave; and that she united them in marriage, but they left no issue."

‡ The number of the party is not stated; but there would be one, if not two camel-drivers, and perhaps a guide besides.

"this very house is the tomb of my father; and it was there, in that well (or pond,) of the Bani Adî, that I learnt to swim."

After the sojourn of about a month, Amina bethought her of returning to Mecca, and set out in the same manner as she had come. But when she had reached about half way, a spot called Abwâ, she sickened and died, and there she was buried. The little orphan was carried upon the camels to Mecca, by his nurse Baraka (Omm Ayman,) who, although then quite a girl, seems to have been a faithful nurse, and continued to be the child's constant attendant.

The early loss of his mother, around whom his constant heart and impressible affections had entwined themselves, no doubt imparted to the youthful Mahomet something of that pensive and meditative character, by which he was afterwards distinguished. In his seventh year he could appreciate the bereavement, and feel the desolation of his orphan state. In the Coran he has alluded touchingly to the subject. While re-assuring his heart of the divine favour, he recounts the mercies of the Almighty; and amongst them, this is the first;—"Did he not find thee an orphan, and furnished thee with a refuge?" (*Sura XCIII.*, 6.) On his pilgrimage from Medina to Hodeibia, he visited his mother's tomb, and he lifted up his voice and wept, and his followers likewise wept around him; and when he was asked regarding it, he said;—"the tender memory of my mother came over me, and I wept."*

The charge of the orphan was now undertaken (576 A. D.) by his grandfather Abd al Muttalib, who had by this time reached the patriarchal age of four-score years; and by whom he was treated with a singular fondness. A rug used to be spread under the shadow of the Kaaba, where the aged chief reclined in shelter from the heat of the sun; and around his

* The whole of this account is from *Wackidi* (p. 213); where is added the following tradition:—"After the conquest of Mecca, Mahomet sat down by his mother's tomb, and the people sat around him, and he had the appearance of one holding a conversation with another. Then he got up, weeping; and Omar said, 'Oh thou to whom I could sacrifice both my father and my mother! Why dost thou weep?' He replied, 'This is the tomb of my mother: The Lord hath permitted me to visit it, and I asked leave to implore pardon for her, and it was not granted; so I called her to remembrance; and the tender recollection of her overcame me, and I wept.' And he was never seen to weep more bitterly than he did then. But *Wackidi's* Secretary says this tradition is a mistake; for it supposes the tomb of Mahomet's mother to be in Mecca, whereas it is at Abwâ. The prohibition, however, against praying for his mother's salvation is given in other traditions, and it forms a singular instance of the sternness and exclusive severity of the dogmas of Mahomet's faith.

carpet, but at a respectful distance, sat his sons. The little Mahomet used to run up close to the patriarch, and unceremoniously take possession of his rug, and when his sons would drive him off, Abd al Muttalib would say, "Let my little son alone," and stroke him on the back, and delight to watch his childish prattle.*

He was still under the care of his nurse Baraka; but he would ever and anon quit her, and rush into the apartment of his grandfather, even when he was alone or asleep.

The guardianship of Abd al Muttalib lasted but two years, for he died eight years after the attack of Abraha, at the age of fore-score years and two: (578 A.D.) The orphan child bitterly felt the loss of his indulgent grandfather; as he followed the bier to the cemetery of Hajûn, he was observed to be weeping; and when he grew up, he retained a distinct remembrance of his death.† The gentle, warm, and confiding heart of Mahomet was thus again rudely wounded, and the fresh bereavement would be rendered the more poignant by the dependent position in which it left him. The nobility of his grandfather's descent, the deference with which his voice was listened to throughout the little vale of Mecca, and the splendid liberality displayed by him in discharging the annual offices of feeding the pilgrims and giving them drink, while they were witnessed with satisfaction by the thoughtful child, left, after they had passed away, a proud remembrance, and formed the seed perhaps of many an ambitious thought, and many a day-dream of power and domination.

The death of Abd al Muttalib left his family (*i.e.*, the progeny of Abd Menâf,) without any powerful head, and enabled the

* *Hishâmî*, p. 35—*Wâkidi*, p. 22. Many incidents are added to the narrative taken evidently from the point of view of later years. Thus Abd al Muttalib says "Let him alone, for he has a great destiny, and will be the inheritor of a kingdom":—

لے لیوئس ملک *Wâkidi* adds the injunction the nurse Baraka used to

receive from him, *not to let him fall into the hands of the Jews and Christians, who were looking out for him, and would injure him!*

† *Wâkidi*, p. 22, where it is said that Mahomet was eight years of age, when his grandfather died, aged eighty-eight years. Others make Abd al Muttalib to have been 110, and some even 120 years old at his death. *Causain de Perceval* has shown the futility of these traditions, which would make the patriarch to have begotten Hamza when above 100 years old. (*Vol. I.*, p. 290, *note 4*)

other branch, descended by Omeya from Abd Shams (*i.e.*, the Omayyan stem,) to gain an ascendancy. Of the latter family the chief at this time was Harb, the father of Abu Sofân, to whom belonged the "leadership" in war, and who possessed a numerous and powerful body of relations.

Of Abd al Muttalib's sons, Harith, the eldest, was now dead, and the chief of those who survived were Zobeir* and Abu Tâlib (both by the same mother as Abdallah, the father of Mahomet,) Abu Laffâb, Abbâs, and Hamza. The two last were very young. Zobeir was the oldest, and to him Abd al Muttalib bequeathed his dignity and offices.† Zobeir, again, left them to Abu Tâlib, who, finding himself too poor to discharge the expensive and onerous task of providing for the pilgrims, waived the honor in favor of his younger brother Abbas. But the family of Hâshim had fallen from its high estate; for we find that Abbâs was able to retain only the *Sickaya* (or giving of drink), while the *Rifâda* (or furnishing of food,) passed into the rival branch, descended from Noufal, son of Abd Menâf.‡ Abbâs was rich, and his influential post, involving the constant charge of the well Zamzam, was retained by him till the introduction of Islam, and then confirmed to his family by the prophet; but he was not a man of strong character, and never attained to any commanding position at Mecca. Abu Tâlib, on the other hand, possessed many noble qualities, and enforced a greater respect; but whether from his poverty, or other cause, he, too, remained in the back ground. It was thus that in the oscillations of phylarchal government, the prestige of the house of Hâshim waned and disappeared; while a rival branch had risen into importance. This phase of the political state of Mecca began with the death of Abd al Muttalib, and continued until the conquest of Mecca by Mahomet himself.

* *Wâckidi*, p. 17.

† *Wâckidi ibidem* and p. 15½. Zobeir evidently held a high rank at Mecca, but how long he survived is not apparent. *Wâckidi* says of him.

وكان شاعرا وشريفا وألده ارمي عبد المطلب

‡ *Hishâmi* (p. 35) specifies that Abbâs inherited the *Sickaya*; and the subsequent history gives proof that he held nothing more. The authority for stating that the branch of Noufal possessed the *Rifâda*, is given by M. C. de Perceval as derived from D' Ohsson. We have not traced it to any early Arabic writer. Abbâs, no doubt, did not inherit the *Sickaya* till Zobeir's death, when he would be old enough to manage it. M. C. de Perceval makes him succeed to it immediately after Abd al Muttalib's death; but this is opposed to tradition as well as probability, for he was then only twelve years of age.

To Abu Tâlib, the dying Abd al Muttalib consigned the guardianship of his orphan grandchild; and faithfully and kindly did he discharge the trust.* His fondness for the lad equalled that of Abd al Muttalib himself: he made him sleep by his bed, eat by his side, and go with him when he walked abroad: and this tender treatment was continued until Mahomet emerged from the helplessness of childhood.†

It was during this period that Abu Tâlib, accompanied by Mahomet, undertook a mercantile journey to Syria. At first he intended to leave the lad behind him, for he had reached twelve years of age, and was able to take care of himself. But when the caravan was now ready and Abu Tâlib prepared to mount his camel, his nephew was overcome by the prospect of so long a separation, and clung by his protector. Abu Tâlib was moved, and carried the boy along with him. The expedition extended to Bostra and perhaps farther. The journey lasted for several months, and afforded to the young Mahomet opportunities of observation, which were not lost upon him. He passed near to Petra, Jerash, Ammon, and other ruinous sites of former mercantile grandeur; and their sight, no doubt, deeply imprinted upon his reflective mind the instability of earthly greatness. The legends of the valley of Hejer, with its lonely deserted habitations hewn out of the rock, and the tale of divine vengeance against the cities of the plain, over which now rolled the billows of the Dead Sea, would excite apprehension and awe, while their strange and startling details would win and charm the childish heart ever yearning after the marvellous. On this visit, too, he came into contact with the national profession of Christianity in Syria, and passed through several

* *Whitcomb*, p. 22. The disposition, however, to magnify the prophet is manifest here, as in the case of Abd al Muttalib: and there is added this marvellous incident connected with Abu Tâlib's scanty means, that the family always rose from their frugal meal hungry and unsatisfied if Mahomet were not present, but if he were there, they were not only satisfied, but had victuals to spare. So, too, the other children used to run about with foul eyes and dishevelled hair, whereas the little Mahomet's head was always sleek and his eyes clean. There thus appears so continuous a tendency to glorify the nascent prophet, that it becomes hard to decide what, amidst these statements, to accept as facts, and what to reject. (*Vide Canonis I, C. and II, D. in No. XXXVII. above quoted.*)

† The reason given for Mahomet being entrusted to Abu Tâlib is, that his father Abdallah was brother to Abu Tâlib by the same mother, (*Tabari*, p. 99); but so was Zohair also.

Jewish settlements. The former he never before had witnessed, for he could as yet have been acquainted only with occasional and isolated specimens of the Christian faith. Now he saw its rites in full performance by the whole people of the land. The national and the social customs founded upon Christianity, the churches with their crosses, images or pictures, and other symbols of the faith; the ringing of bells; the frequent assemblage for worship, the accounts (and, possibly, the glimpse by himself) of the continually repeated ceremonial, must have effected a deep impression upon him, which would be made all the more practical and lasting by the sight of whole tribes, Arab like himself, converted to the same faith and practising the same observances. However fallen and materialized was the Christianity of that day in Syria, it cannot be doubted that it would strike the thoughtful observer in favourable and wonderful contrast with the gross and unspiritual idolatry of Mecca. Once again, in mature life, Mahomet visited Syria, and whatever reflections of this nature were then excited, would receive an intenser force, and a deeper color, from the bright scenes and charming images which childhood had pictured upon the same ground.*

* The account of this journey is given by all the biographers with the many ridiculous details anticipative of Mahomet's prophetic dignity. The following is the gist of them—

The youthful Mahomet, along with the rest of the caravan, alighted at a monastery or hermitage on the road, occupied by a monk called Bahfra. The monk perceived by a cloud which hovered over the company, the bending of boughs to shelter one of their number, &c., that it contained the prophet expected shortly to arise. He therefore invited the party to an entertainment; but when they had assembled, he perceived that the object of his search was not amongst them: he enquired where the wanting guest was, and they sent for the lad Mahomet, who, on account of his youth, had been left to watch the encampment. Bahfra questioned him and examined his body for the seal of prophecy, which he found upon his back; he then referred to his sacred books, found all the marks to correspond, and declared the boy to be the expected prophet. He proceeded to warn Abu Tâlib against the Jews, who would at once recognize the child as the coming prophet, and moved by jealousy, seek to slay him. Abu Tâlib was alarmed, and forthwith set out for Mecca with his nephew.

The fable is so absurd, that a feeling of contempt and mistrust is excited with respect to the entire traditional collections, which, every here and there, give place to such tales. A clue to the religious principle which engendered these stories is attempted in the Article of No. XXXVII, of this *Review*, Canon II. G.

Dr. Sprenger thinks that Abu Tâlib sent back Mahomet under charge of Bahfra to Mecca; (*Life*, p. 79) and grounds his deduction on the phrase *طاب له* *ابو* *ردا*—at p. 23½ of Wâkidi. But this expression may equally signify, "Abu Tâlib took him back with himself" to Mecca; and this meaning is undoubtedly the one intended.

The subject has been discussed in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. III., p. 454; IV., p. 188; and IV., p. 457; where professor Fleischer

No farther incident of a special nature is related of Mahomet, until he had advanced from childhood into youth.*

and Wustenfeld oppose Dr. Sprenger's view. Dr. Sprenger has written a further paper on the subject in the *Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1853, where he has given the various authorities in original, bearing upon the point. I. *Tirmidzi* says that Abu Tâlib sent Mahomet back from Syria by Abu Bakr and Bilâl which (as Sprenger shows,) is absurd seeing that the former was two years younger than Mahomet, and the latter then not born. II. *Hishâmî* mentions Abu Tâlib himself return with Mahomet, after concluding his business at Bostra. III. *Wâkidi* gives several traditions, one in which the monk, immediately after warning Abu Tâlib to make Mahomet return without loss of time to Mecca, expires (*Wâkidi*, p. 22½) and a second, that, viz. quoted above, upon which Dr. Sprenger so much relies (*Ibid*). But he has omitted a third detailed account of the journey which is given in the same volume, on the authority of Muhammad ibn Omar (i.e., *Wâkidi* himself) it is full of marvellous statements, and ends with distinctly saying that Abu Tâlib re-

turned to Mecca with Mahomet. رجع به أبو طالب. This may have escaped Dr. Sprenger's notice, as it occurs under another chapter in *Wâkidi*, i.e., the "marks of prophetic rank in Mahomet" (p. 28½) So also (*Tabari*, p. 60.) فخر به عمه سريعا

Dr. Sprenger goes further. He suspects that the monk not only accompanied Mahomet to Mecca, remained there with him and as he finds the name *Baktra* in the list of a deputation from the Abyssinian King to Mahomet at Medina, forty years later, he concludes the two to have been one and the same person; and he thinks that the early Mahometan writers endeavoured to conceal the fact, as one discredit to their prophet. The conjecture is ingenious, but the basis on which it rests is wholly insufficient. It is besides quite inconsistent with our theory of the rise of traditions, in which design is not apparent. Omissions, no doubt, occurred, and stories died out, but on different grounds (see Canon II. L in the article on the Sources for the Biography of Mahomet above quoted).

Some Arabs will have it that this monk was called Jergû (*Georgius*), Christian apologists call him Sergius.

* Weil (p. 29) states that in his sixteenth year Mahomet journeyed to Yemen with his uncle Zobeir on a mercantile trip. Dr. Sprenger (p. 79, note 3.) says that there is no good authority for this statement, nor can we find any original authority for it at all. The expression with respect to Abu Tâlib (وكان لا سفر سقرا الا كان معه) "that he never undertook a journey, unless

Mahomet were with him," might possibly imply that he undertook several; but in the absence of any express instance, it can hardly be pressed to prove that he did. So (*Wâkidi*, p. 29) it is said that Abu Tâlib never took him again on a journey after this Syrian expedition, fearing lest injury should befall him

(ورجع به أبو طالب فما خرج به سفرا بعد ذلك خوفا عليه)

—but the sentence is a mere pendant to the absurd story of the Jews recognizing in Mahomet the coming prophet, and seeking to lie in wait for his life, and is therefore equally futile with it.

The chief reason which leads us to suppose that this was Mahomet's only mercantile journey (besides that taken for Khadja,) is that, had he undertaken any other, we should indubitably have had special notice of it in *Wâkidi*, *Hishâmî*, or *Tabari*.